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THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF CHINA.

Pl. XXII.
(Frontispiece)

Temple in the Mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu of the Ming Dynasty.

THE

RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

OF

CHINA,

Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect
Manners, Customs and Social Institutions connected therewith.

BY

J. J. M. DE GROOT, PH. D.

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VOLUME III.

BOOK I

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD,

Part III, The Grave *(Second Half).*

LIBRAIRIE ET IMPRIMERIE
ci-devant
E. J. BRILL
LEIDE — 1897.

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PART III.

THE GRAVE.

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING THE CUSTOM OF BURYING THE DEAD IN THE SAME GROUND WITH THEIR ANCESTORS.

1. On Family Graves. — On conveying the Dead to their Native Place for Burial.

The last chapter of the Second Volume on pp. 800 *sqq.* has acquainted our readers with an ancient Chinese custom, still prevalent, of burying deceased women in the same grave with their husbands. Seeing that this custom is a natural outgrowth of the principle that a wife is the property of her husband and, in virtue thereof, ought to be placed in his tomb just like his other possessions, it is certainly not unnatural that it early became a custom in China to bury sons by the side of their parents, as being their property, and that the same rule was followed with regard to daughters, if the parental power over them had not been ceded, by marriage, to a husband, or a husband's parents.

The simple conclusion is, that family graves must have been of common prevalence in the ancient Chinese Empire. The custom of living together in clans, each composed of the descendants of one family, greatly favoured this state of things, naturally turning the burial ground of each settlement or village into one large family grave-yard.

Our readers have been acquainted with this state of affairs in a few words on page 376. The *Cheu li* testifies to the correctness of our conclusion, as it states in a passage, reproduced by us on page 421, that royal families used to be buried in one common sepulchral ground, in which the graves were arranged in accordance

with the rank and position of their occupants and their place in the family hierarchy. The same work says that the common people too were buried in family grave-yards. »The Great officer » for the Graves has charge of the burial grounds of the whole » State. He maps them out, sees that the inhabitants of the ca- » pital are buried on the same spot where the members of their » own clan sleep, maintains the prohibitions enacted in regard of » such clan-grounds, assigns the localities where they shall be laid » out, determines the dimensions (of the graves) and the number » (of trees to be planted thereon), and arranges that every clan has » a cemetery of its own. Whenever people contend for a burial » ground, he hears the cause (and delivers judgment). At the head » of the officials attached to his person, he makes tours of inspection » around the borders of the burial grounds, and he dwells in a » mansion situated between the grounds, in order to watch over » them" [1]. Another passage says: »The Chief Director of the » People ensures rest and peace to all the people by means of » six of their fundamental customs, the second of which is, that » the graves of each clan are placed together" [2].

In the *Li ki* (chapter 9, l. 56) we read that »Ki Wu-tszĕ » declared that burying more than one person in a grave had only » been in vogue since the time of the Prince of Cheu" [3], who, as our readers know, was a brother of the first ruler of the Cheu-dynasty. According to another passage in the same Classic, reproduced on page 262, the same Ki Wu-tszĕ, who lived contemporary with Confucius, made the same assertion on another occasion, when the family Tu wished to bury a second person in a grave situated on his premises. But with all deference to the knowledge Ki Wu-tszĕ may have possessed of antiquity, we believe it safer to accept his statement with a little caution, the more so, as it seems to stand quite alone in ancient Chinese literature. It is certain at any rate that the practice in question was of very common prevalence

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1 墓大夫掌凡邦墓之地域。爲之圖、令國民族葬、而掌其禁令、正其位、掌其度數、使皆有私地域。凡爭墓地者聽其獄訟。帥其屬而巡墓厲、居其中之室、以守之. Chapter 21, ll. 49 and 50.

2 大司徒以本俗六安萬民、二曰族墳墓. Chapter 9, ll. 36 and 37.

3 季武子曰、周公蓋祔. Section 檀弓, I, 1.

in the age of Cheu, some passages in the books warranting this. Apart from the above case of the family Tu, it is said that Confucius buried his father and mother in one grave (see page 663), and that the consort of king Chao Siang was placed in her husband's tomb some time after he had been buried therein (page 443). Besides, we have shown our readers by a special dissertation inserted on pp. 800 *sqq.* that burying deceased wives in the tombs of their pre-deceased husbands has been maintained in China as a custom from the most ancient historical times down to this day. The custom is confirmed at present by a popular device, borrowed from the *Poh hu t'ung i*, which runs: »Burying husband and wife in one grave serves to consolidate conjugal duty" [1].

Down to this day, clan life and family life having undergone no change of any importance, the ancient method of burying the dead in family grave-yards or clan grave-grounds and of placing very near relations, especially husbands with their wives and concubines, in the same tomb, has probably remained in vogue uninterruptedly. We read, for instance, in the Books of the T'ang Dynasty that T'ang Hiu-kung [2], a high officer who died in A. D. 712, »spent several hundred thousands of his wealth to build a »large grave-ground, in which all his kinsfolk in the five degrees »of mourning were buried" [3]. Imperial mausolea of each dynasty, as printed data show, were generally separated from each other over one vast area, and every Son of Heaven could enjoy after his death the company of his consort proper and his concubines, whose corpses were interred in or near the precincts of his mausoleum, nay even under his own tumulus. This fact has been stated on pp. 443—445, and illustrated by some particulars. We have there shown that Imperial children too used to be buried in those mausoleum-grounds, and that this honour was granted even to distinguished ministers, the position of a servant of the Throne with respect to his sovereign being, in theory, little different from that of a son to his father (comp. page 508).

In Chapter XIV it will be related that the mausolea of the sovereigns of the Ming dynasty and those of the House now reigning

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[1] 合葬者所以固夫婦之道也. Chapter IV, § 崩薨.

[2] 唐休璟.

[3] 出財數十萬大爲塋墓、盡葬其五服親. New Books, ch. 111, l. 20; also the Old Books, ch. 93, l. 6.

are laid out so as to form family grave-yards, and that the sepulchres of princes and magnates contain within their precincts the tumuli of their descendants, arranged to the right and left. Burying their dead in a similar way is common among the people in the northern provinces, as may be seen from the illustration on page 375. And the grounds in which villages use to inter their dead are family-cemeteries, simply because each village-community is formed as a rule of persons only who, being supposed to be descended in the paternal line from one common ancestor, bear the same clan-name. In Fuhkien it is uncommon, though not at all quite out of fashion, to bury in such grounds more than one person in one grave. The chief reasons herefor will be given in Chapter XIV.

The current editions of the Rituals for Family Life generally contain an appendix, stating how the tombs should be arranged in family grave-grounds. It is based on the instructions of one Chao Ki-ming [1], a scholar who lived under the Sung dynasty. As a rule, it is illustrated by a map. The Rituals for Family Life being the chief vademecum of the people for their domestic rites and ceremonies, we may assume that family grave-grounds certainly in most cases are laid out in accordance with those instructions. Hence we must place them before our readers. The first dead person is to be buried with his head to the North, his wife on his right side, under the same tumulus; but should he have been married more than once, his first wife is placed on his left, the second on his right, the third again to the left, and so on. His sons, whether born of his wives or of his concubines, are likewise buried with their heads to the North, in front, on his left or principal side, and his grandsons on the right, each younger one a little further away from his grave. The great-grandsons and great-great-grandsons follow in similar order, respectively in front of the sons and the grandsons, as do succeeding generations, in regular order. Wives are buried at the sides of their husbands, with observance of the rule of arrangement in force for the first ancestor, and so are the concubines who have given birth to sons; but their graves are placed a little backward, as a sign of their being of lower rank than the wives.

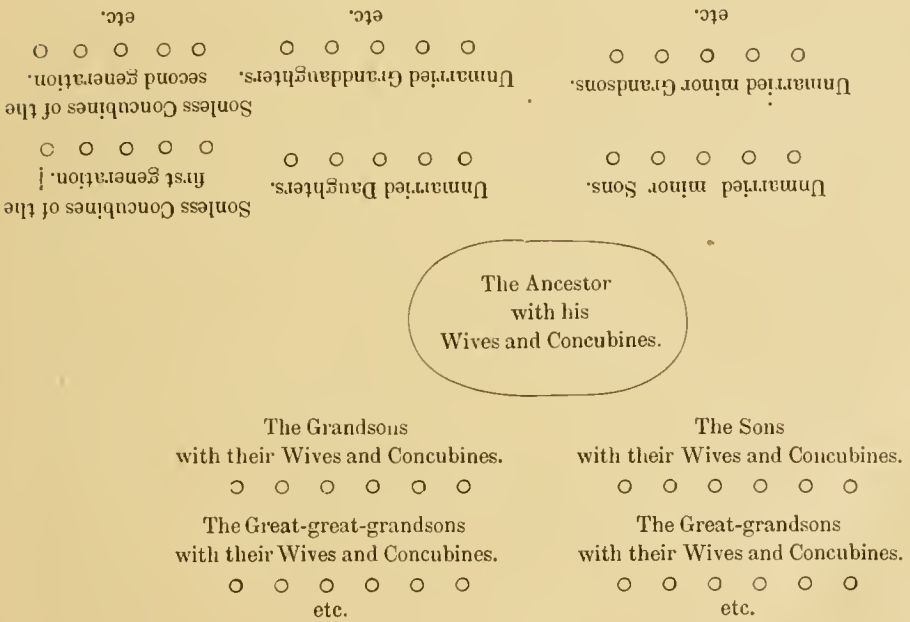
Those who die before reaching puberty are to be buried behind the first or central grave, the boys on the left side of the dead man who rests therein, and the unmarried maidens on his right. They are all to be placed with their heads to the South. Here too

[1] 趙季明.

the dead of the first generation lie nearest the central grave, those of the second generation follow next, and so on. They are not buried in the order of age, it being unreasonable, when a boy or girl dies, to keep open a place for his or her elder brother or sister, in anticipation of their untimely death.

The concubines who have not born any sons to their husbands may be buried with the latter under the same tumulus, as a great favour. But, in general, their place is on the left side of the unmarried daughters of the same generation. The altar for the sacrifices to the God of Earth, the tutelary divinity of sepulchral grounds, should be placed to the North-East.

To illustrate the above order of arrangement we submit the following plan to the eye of the reader:



After all, it is obvious enough why the Chinese throughout all ages have displayed such partiality for burying their dead, and being themselves buried, in the same ground with their ancestors. Is not the interring together of children of the same stock an inseparable counterpart of the clan life which the nation has always regarded as the chief corner stone of its social organisation? Has it not been practised since the dawn of time, and is not posterity therefore obliged to adhere to it as firmly as to any other institution of the holy ancients? Moreover, is it not a sacred duty of wives

and children to have their bodies and souls re-united after death with those whom the moral laws of all ages have taught them to follow and serve with the most absolute submission and devotion, both in this life and the life hereafter? Last not least, is it not an invaluable advantage to every dead man to rest in the proximity of his living offspring, who, by taking good care of his grave, greatly benefit his manes which dwell therein, and who regularly feed and clothe the same by means of sacrifices? This is even a boon to the offspring themselves, who thus ensure the protection of a tutelary divinity that never turns its eyes away from their needs and wants. The doctrine that the soul dwells in the grave which contains the body it formerly animated with life and breath, although it cannot, perhaps, be called the mother of the custom of interring the dead as much as possible in their ancestral burial ground, yet it may safely be said to form the chief factor which has ensured to that custom an unbroken existence down to the present day.

The native books are full of evidence that the conveying of the mortal remains of persons who have died elsewhere, to the place where they were born and their ancestors were buried, has prevailed in China throughout all ages. In the *Li ki* (ch. 9, l. 52) it is related of Kiang Shang [1] or T^{c}ai Kung [2], the first ruler of the principality of Ts^{c}i [3] with which he was invested by the founder of the Chcu dynasty: »After he had been invested with his state and had »settled in (its capital) Ying-khiu, he and his descendants for five »generations were taken back to Cheu (their ancestral home), to »be buried there. A man of higher order has said: 'For music we »must use that of the persons from whom we are descended, and »in ceremonies we should not forget those to whom we trace our »origin'. And the ancients had a saying that a dying fox turns its »head towards the hill (where it was whelped). Such things flow »forth from feelings which are human" [4]. The *Tso ch^{c}wen* and the twenty four Standard Histories relate so many instances of persons who were carried back to their place of nativity after their decease, that the conclusion is enforced upon us that this matter has always

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[1] 姜尙.

[2] 大公.

[3] 齊.

[4] 大公封於營丘、比及五世皆反葬於周。君子曰、樂樂其所自生、禮不忘其本。古之人有言曰、狐死正丘首。仁也. Section 檀弓, 1, 1.

been considered a sacred duty of the living, a duty the fulfilment of which children in particular might not neglect in regard of their parents. Ch'en Sheu [1], a high grandee of the third century, who is especially known as the author of the Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms, the fourth of the Standard Histories, is said to have been degraded by the Government as a punishment for having overlooked this duty on the death of his mother, though he had done so in obedience to her explicit behests. »He resigned his office » by reason of her demise. She had ordered him before her death » to bury her in Loh-yang, and he obeyed her will in this; but » he thereby rendered himself guilty of not conveying a mother to » her native place for burial, and was condemned to degradation" [2].

It seems, indeed, to have been an established opinion during many ages that persons who had not forwarded the bones of their parents to the family burial ground, were unworthy to occupy a post in the service of the State. The Official Histories recount, for instance, that in the fourth century one »T'ing T'ien, Governor of » Yen-cheu, having been murdered by Ting Ling and Tih Liao, » his corpse was not sent home, and yet his son Sien remained in » office and did not resign his post, so that those who discussed » the matter blamed him for it" [3]. Mention is also made of one » Ku Ch'ang-hüen from the country of Wu, prefect of Wu-ch'eng, » who in the third year of the period Kien yuen (A. D. 481) was » guilty of not having taken home the remains of his father Fah- » siu, who had died in the period T'ai shi (A. D. 465—471) dur- » ing the reign of the House of Sung, while engaged in subjugating » the northern regions; he nevertheless had indulged in musical » festivities and pleasure excursions, like a man in ordinary circum- » stances of life. Hence an officer petitioned to be charged with an » investigation of the matter and to project, after deliberation, cer- » tain measures to be taken in regard thereof" [4]. Again, the records

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[1] 陳壽.

[2] 以母憂去職。母遺言令塟洛陽、壽遵其志、又坐不以母歸葬、竟被貶議. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 82, l. 2.

[3] 兗州刺史滕恬爲丁零翟遼所沒、屍喪不反、恬子羨仕宦不廢、議者嫌之. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 64, l. 1. See also the History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 33, l. 15.

[4] 建元三年烏程令吳郡顧昌玄坐父法秀宋

of the same period mention a military grandee, Khiu Kwan-sien [1] by name, who was cruelly slain while in the imperial service and » to whose son Hiung the emperor Shi Tsu thereupon said: 'Your » father was deputed by Us to go to Honan and there to exercise » government. Loyally and faithfully he has defended his territory, » and even in death he has not dishonoured the duties placed upon » his shoulders by his sovereign; We feel very grateful therefor. » That his mortal remains are in a country far away and cannot » be recovered We deeply deplore; but this stain is blotted out » from your future official career and shall not impede your pro- » motion'" [2].

The custom of conveying the dead to their ancestral home being influenced in particular by the consideration that they ought to rest where their offspring live, in order that these may take proper care of their graves and souls for all ages to come, the logical consequence is that there must have lived people who, having lost their father while residing with him abroad, and being prevented by circumstances from conveying his remains to the original home of the family, have resolved to settle for good in the vicinity of the spot where they had buried him. Chang Pa [3], a native of Shuh [4], the present province of Sze-ch'wen, » was appointed » governor of Hwui-khi (in the province of Chehkiang) in the period » Yung yuen (A. D. 89—105), and died there at the age of » seventy. Before his demise he gave the following instructions to » his sons: 'At present the road to Shuh is difficult to travel, and » long. Hence you must not convey my body to our homestead for » burial, but you may bury me here, confining yourself to preserving » a little hair and a few teeth of mine'. The sons, in obedience to » his commands, buried him in Ho-nan, in the district of Liang,

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泰始中北征死亡、屍骸不反、而昌玄宴樂嬉游與常人無異。有司請加以清議. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 4, l. 16.

[1] 丘冠先.

[2] 及死世祖敕其子雄曰、卿父受使河南秉。忠守、死不辱王命、我甚賞。惜喪屍絶域、不可復尋、於卿後宦塗無妨. Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty, ch 59, l. 5.

[3] 張霸.

[4] 蜀.

» and for this reason they established their homestead there" [1]. Concerning Khung Hi [2], a descendant of Confucius, who died about the end of the first century of our era as governor of Lin-tsin [3] in the present province of Shansi, we read: » He died while in » office, after having resided in his district for three years. His last » will stated that his burial should not be postponed. Ch'ang-yen » and Ki-yen, his two sons, ten and odd years old, were urged » by Hü Kiün-jen, the governor of P'u-fan, to take the dead man » back to Lu (his native country); but they retorted: 'If we take » our father home in a cart, we disobey his commands, and to » abandon his grave is revolting to the human feelings'. Accordingly » they settled for good at Hwa-yin" [4]. Many more such instances, drawn from the history of later dynasties, we could place before our readers; but let these suffice.

China having, during the epoch in which the dynasties of Cheu and Han wielded the sceptre, produced men like Chwang-tszĕ, Yang Wang-sun, Lu Chih and Hwang-fu Mih, who desired to be buried even without a coffin or clothing, we are not surprised that there then also lived persons who objected to being conveyed to their ancestral home after their death, deeming it not worth while that so much trouble should be bestowed on their worthless bones. Of such social Chinese anomalies we have an interesting instance in the person of Ts'ui Yuen [5], a high magnate of the second century who breathed his last in Loh-yang, the Imperial Metropolis. » When » about to shuffle off this mortal coil, he gave the following testa- » mentary charge to his son Shih: 'Human beings borrow from » Heaven and Earth the breath upon which they live, and at the » end of their terrestrial carreer they restitute the etherial parts of

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[1] 永元中爲會稽太守、卒年七十。遺勑諸子曰、今蜀道阻遠、不宜歸塋、可止此葬、足藏髮齒而已。諸子承命、葬於河南梁縣、因遂家焉. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 66, l. 19.

[2] 孔僖. [3] 臨晉.

[4] 在縣三年卒官。遺令卽葬。二子長彥季彥並十餘歲、蒲坂令許君然勸令反魯、對曰、今載柩而歸則違父令、舍墓而去心所不忍。遂留華陰. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 109, first part, l. 15.

[5] 崔瑗.

» that breath to Heaven, giving their bones back to Earth; conse-
» quently, what part of the Earth can be unsuitable for concealing
» their skeletons? You must not take me back to my place of birth,
» nor may you accept any funeral presents, neither offerings of mut-
» ton or pork'. Respectfully receiving these his last orders, Shih
» kept the corpse in Loh-yang and there buried it" [1].

Bringing corpses home from distant places in heavy, substantial coffins, hermetically closed, is of most common occurrence in China at the present day. In the Amoy vernacular it is denoted by the term *ūn koan* [2], »to send back a coffin", in writing, by the expressions 反葬, 還葬, 歸葬 etc., which all mean: »to send home and bury". Scarcely anybody who can afford the expense entailed, will fail to bring back the body and soul of his deceased father or mother to the original homestead, unless important circumstances prevent the same, or some kinsfolk of the deceased lie buried near at hand, their graves thus forming an off-shoot from the original family cemetery, which offers a proper resting place. Already on page 129 we have referred to this custom, and on page 131 we have stated that in places or towns where people from other parts of the Empire have settled in considerable numbers, it has occasioned the erection of special buildings, in which corpses are preserved until a favourable opportunity occurs for sending them home. In the southern provinces it is hardly possible to travel without meeting almost daily with coolies carrying an encoffined corpse which they have been conveying for weeks, nay months, and the whole world has heard of the numerous dead taken home in ships and steamers from transmarine settlements; indeed, rumour speaks of entire cargoes of corpses forwarded to China, there to moulder and mingle with the dust of their beloved flowery land. Even bones alone are frequently taken home in parcels or travelling boxes; but we shall have to speak of this in Chapter XIII.

Wherever, in Java, Borneo, or in China itself, the writer has witnessed the expedition of a coffin, the same ceremonies were enacted as those which precede a burial, viz. such as have been

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[1] 臨終顧命子實曰、夫人稟天地之氣以生、及其終也歸精於天、還骨於地、何地不可藏形骸。勿歸鄉里、其賵贈之物羊豕之奠一不得受。實奉遺令、遂留葬洛陽. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 82, l. 15.

[2] 運棺.

described at the beginning of Chapter VII of the First Part of this Book (pp. 140 *et sqq.*). An auspicious day and hour are also selected for the removal of the coffin from the mortuary house, or, more correctly speaking, for its displacement from the spot where it has been kept since the coffining (comp. page 140). The prayer droned over during the farewell sacrifice contains a special clause informing the defunct of the long voyage to be made, and expressing sorrowful resentment on the part of the living because of his mortal remains having to suffer the terrible dangers of waves and winds. Pending the departure of the ship or steamer, the coffin is often deposited for a considerable time somewhere near the anchorage or in a lighter, like a piece of merchandise, and the time for embarking the same is not made to depend upon any decision of the almanac or a day-professor.

While *en route*, the coffin is in charge of a son or kinsman who has made the journey for this special purpose or for other reasons. The attentions which this guardian has to bestow upon the coffin are neither great, nor numerous. When prompted by devotion to the soul, or by tedium, he tries to soothe its olfactory nerves by kindling a couple of incense sticks and inserting them somewhere in the lid or the side boards; moreover, he regularly feeds the white cock which, in order to strengthen the vital power of the soul (comp. pp. 199 *seq.*), follows in a basket or is tied on to the lid. When travelling by land, the guardian has to hire fresh carriers from station to station, and whenever the object of his cares is carried across private property, he has to affix small shreds of red cloth in door-posts, gates, trees etc., for the purpose of averting evil influences from the spirits which inhabit those spots, and from the corpse (see page 155). As a rule, the coffin hangs from a rafter, both ends of which rest upon the shoulders of the carriers, and which is tied lengthwise over the lid by means of ropes passing underneath the bottom. One or two mats, or some large sheets of oiled paper or other cheap material, are placed over the coffin, to protect it from sun and rain. We have never seen a corpse escorted on its way home by a ceremonial retinue of any kind or description.

When nearing its destination, the coffin is met outside the town or village, or at the landing place, as the case may be, by the nearest relations, dressed in such mourning as is prescribed for their several degrees of kinship. The chief among them pour forth their death-howl in a kneeling attitude, after which the bearers

resume their march, everybody following in the rear. If the grave is ready and the day happens to be felicitous for the burial of the corpse, the procession meets one or more bands of musicians ordered by the family, and sundry persons and groups carrying the implements for a complete burial procession, including a number of » auxiliary pavilions" sent by the friends (see page 167). There is also a pavilion containing a temporary tablet for the manes (*hún péh*, see p. 70); but if such a tablet has been brought along with the corpse from abroad, an empty pavilion is sent out to fetch it. In many cases they also put the cock therein, or else on the top of it. Without loss of time everything is arranged and a regular funeral procession is formed, which conveys the corpse straight to the tomb, where it is buried with the customary ceremonies.

But, as our readers know from page 103, every interment which takes place eight or more days after death requires the selection of an auspicious day and hour. Consequently, when a corpse arrives from afar, it is generally necessary to defer the burial. It is then met by the mourners only, and without much ceremony taken to a *síp ts^{c}ù*, or to some spot assigned for keeping encoffined corpses such as has been mentioned on pp. 127 *sqq.*; from thence it is afterwards transferred to the grave with the required pomp. In many cases also, when it is expected the interment will be possible soon after the arrival, the coffin is placed somewhere in the open field or under a huge boulder in the mountains, to await burial. Custom severely forbids a corpse being taken into the dwelling [1]. It is indeed self-evident that people who object to persons dressed in mourning, or even messengers announcing a demise, entering their houses, for fear they may introduce death (see pp. 641 *sqq.*), *a fortiori* would refuse entrance to death itself in the shape of a human corpse. Only things of a felicitous nature may enter a house and they must be called in as often as possible; but things of an unfelicitous nature may leave it only.

Here we have, however, to do with a superstition in defense of

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1 That this custom has a very firm hold upon the Chinese, we had an excellent opportunity of witnessing on the occasion of the following incident. In the evening of the 12th. March 1887, when a sunny, but sultry day had enticed nearly the whole fishing fleet of Amoy out to sea, a gale suddenly arose, capsizing dozens of boats and causing the loss of more than a hundred lives. For several days thereafter a considerable number of bodies were washed ashore, but not one of them was taken home by the relations. They were all dressed and coffined on the sands where they were found, amidst loud wailings, and carried direct to the burial ground.

which the Chinese are not able to appeal to their ancestors of olden times. Indeed, the Classics show that the ancients in general by no means shared this superstitious aversion from receiving the dead into their dwellings. The *Tso ch'wen* informs us that the Ruler Chwang [1] of the kingdom of Ts'i [2], who was assassinated by Ts'ui Chu in the fifth month of the twenty-fifth year of the ruler Siang's reign (B. C. 547), »was first put aside by his murderer in the »northern suburbs, and on the day ting-hai was buried in the »village of Shi-sun. There were only four shah (see page 187) in »the train; people were not warned out of the way; there were »only seven inferior carriages in the procession, and no men at »arms. In the twenty-eighth year, in the twelfth month, the »people of Ts'i removed their ruler from his grave *and gave him »a provisory burial in the great chamber*, putting the corpse of »Ts'ui Chu into his old coffin in the market place. The people »could still recognize it and said: 'This is Ts'ui'. And in the »twenty-ninth year, in the second month, they buried Chwang in the »northern suburbs" [3]. The evidence supplied by this extract is supported by the *Li ki*, which work contains the following rescripts (ch. 53, ll. 1 and 4): »When a ruler, being on the march, dies »in a mansion, they do not, on arriving at the gate of his ancestral »temple, demolish the wall, but straightway enter that gate and »go to the spot (in the hall) where the provisory burial is to take »place. And in the case of a Great officer they remove the pall »on arriving at his house, place the corpse on a bier, and enter »the gate. At the eastern steps they set the bier down, remove »it and then take the body upstairs, thereupon going straight to »the place of the provisory burial" [4].

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[1] 莊. [2] 齊.

[3] 崔氏側莊公於北郭、丁亥葬諸士孫之里。四翣、不蹕、下車七乘、不以兵甲。二十八年十二月齊人遷葬莊公、殯於大寢、以其棺尸崔杼於市。國人猶知之、皆曰、崔子也。二十九年二月齊人葬莊公於北郭.

[4] 諸侯行而死於館、至於廟門不毀牆、遂入適所殯。大夫、至於家而說轅、載以輤車、入自門。至於阼階下而說車、舉自阼階升、適所殯. Sect. 雜記, I, 1.

As the ancient Chinese did not object to having dead bodies taken into their houses, it certainly appears a strange contradiction that, as has been stated on page 641, it was a rule among them that nobody wearing mourning garments or a dress indicating mourning might enter the gate of a Ruler, and that nothing resembling funereal implements should be brought therein. Our readers have been informed on page 642 that the first part of this rescript is still in force at present, people in the three years' mourning not being allowed to enter the Imperial Palace, nor any government building or fortress. Its second part is also maintained to this day, for no dead body may be taken into any walled city whatever without a special permit of the Board of Rites or, in the case of Peking, of the Emperor. The »Imperial Regulations for the Board of Rites" [1] contain the following rescript:

»When on the death of a mandarin in active service, or that »of the father, mother or wife of such a dignitary, the encoffined »body is taken back to the original abode, the Board of Rites, in »case the family have presented a petition to this effect, is entitled »to give them a letter to the local authorities, ordering them to »allow the deceased to be carried into the city with a view to the »preparations for burial. But should an encoffined corpse be sent »to the Metropolis, it is not permitted to bring it within the »city-walls, except in the case of high officers of the first or »second degree, when permission to do so has been granted by »the Emperor himself, on a proposal made to this effect by the »said Board" [2].

Admittance into a walled town being a high favour awarded only to deceased servants of the State and their nearest relations, any family having among its members one to whom such honours are granted rises enormously in the estimation of the public. The glory it sheds upon them is so much coveted, that even when they do not dwell in a city, but in a suburb, village or hamlet, they will apply for the required permission and, having obtained it, will

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[1] 欽定禮部則例.

[2] 官員卒於任、及其父母妻之喪、柩回原籍、本家具呈到部、給文知照該地方官准其入城治葬。若柩回京師者不准入城、惟二品以上大臣由部奏請得旨、准其入城. See the *Ta Tsʻing luh li*, ch. 17, l. 41.

convey the corpse through the capital of their province, department or district, as the case may be. The entrance of the coffin becomes a triumphal march. A complete funeral train, the longest and most splendid the family can afford, escorts it. A large number of citizens, all real or pretended relations by consanguinity or friendship, send »auxiliary pavilions" or follow in the rear, eager to be seen by the public and to attract to themselves a part of the admiration bestowed on the illustrious dead. Magistrates, seated in palankeens of state, issue from their Yamens, each with a cortege of lictors and soldiers, and accompany the procession till it leaves the city through another gate. Other authorities and many admiring citizens salute the defunct at the roadside by presenting incense when the coffin passes, and by making bows and prostrations from behind a table decked with sacrificial viands. Is it surprising that the family in most cases deem it necessary to leave the corpse outside the walls for a few days beforehand, in order to give everybody time to make preparations for its glorious entry?

Nominally for the glorification of the defunct, but in reality for the exaltation of the family, the latter send round printed notifications to relations, friends and acquaintances, informing them of the happy event of which they are so proud. These documents closely resemble the announcements of death described on pp. 111 *seq.* and represented by Plate VII; they are printed with the same type, folded in the same way, and the names of the sons, grandsons, brothers etc. parade at the end in a corresponding manner. The tenor is also chiefly the same. Instead of the character 訃, they bear on the outside the word 告, »announcement". The following is the translation of a specimen which in 1877 came into our possession at Amoy, when one Ch'en Kang-yung[1], who had perished twenty-four years before in the province of Kiangnan in the war against the T'ai-p'ing rebels, was brought home in state.

»The crimes and sins of the unfilial .... (name of the eldest »son) and his fellow mourners were deep and heavy; but instead »of killing and destroying the perpetrators thereof, the bane en»gendered by them fell upon their deceased father" (Here follow the titles, names etc. of the dead, with an enumeration of the offices he had successively held and the honours which the Emperor had bestowed upon him, such as his admission into temples for the

[1] 陳剛勇.

worship of loyal mandarins, the commission of an envoy to worship upon his grave, etc.). »Alas, bravely fighting, he sacrificed his life » in the department of T'ai-p'ing, in Kiangnan province, on the 26th. » day of the first month in the third year of the period Hien fung » (1853), during the difficulties which harrassed the country at that » time; he had enjoyed fifty-seven years of life. His unfilial sons .... » by different ways rushed to the spot where he fell and, creeping » on their knees over the ground, sought for him; but not until » the 23rd. of the eighth month of this year did they succeed in » obtaining the remains of his loyal person. The unfilial sons .... » in person have seen the remains collected and dressed, and have » carried them back to the ancestral home; and now they intend to » bring them within the walls of the city in accordance with the » Regulations, and to prepare his funeral. You are herewith care- » fully informed thereof.

» We have with care selected the fourth day of the twelfth month » for accepting your cards [1]" [2].

Sending the dead back to their native soil is generally understood by the people in China to be a matter for the care of the Government in so far as soldiers are concerned who have died in distant garrisons or in the dependencies of the Empire. It is doubtful, however, whether the Government really deems itself bound to do anything in this respect or to make it incumbent upon the mandarinate to assist it in the discharge of such a duty. But, seeing that in ancient times an example was set by one of the most renowned occupants of the Throne, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that many emperors have subsequently sent home the remains of their soldiers, every epoch in China, including that in which the present dynasty reigns, having produced monarchs who were most

1 This means that they are prepared to receive on that day such relations and friends as wish to bring sacrificial articles, specified on a card, to the family dwelling and offer them up to the manes of the defunct.

2 不孝○○等罪孽深重、弗自殞滅、禍延顯考○○○痛於咸豐三年正月二十六日在江南太平府力戰殉難、享壽五十有七歲。不孝○○等分路匍匐赴尋、遲至本年八月二十三日始得忠骸。不孝○○親視檢斂、扶柩回籍、遵例入城治喪。謹告。

謹擇十二月初四日領帖.

anxious to frame their conduct upon the acts recorded of their predecessors. It is, indeed, stated in the Standard Histories that Kao Tsu [1], the first emperor of the Han dynasty, »ordained in the eighth » year of his reign (199 B. C.) that for officials and private soldiers who » had marched out with the army and lost their lives, small coffins » should be made, and that they should be transported back to the » districts whence they came; further, that they should there be pro- » vided by the authorities with clothes, shrouds, coffins and other » requisites for their burial and a small sacrificial victim (*i. e.* a » pig or goat) should be offered to their manes, and that the prin- » cipal officials should see to their being decently interred" [2].

The care which, so many centuries ago, the great founder of the Han dynasty ordered to be paid to the mortal remains of his soldiers, far exceeded that which is bestowed by the mandarinate of the present day upon the warriors who are levied in other parts of the Empire to end their days in the garrisons in Formosa and the Pescadores. The only thing the authorities do for these corpses is to send them across the Formosa Channel to Amoy, the nearest sea port on the continent, and to keep them there for some time at the disposal of their families, in case they should claim them and convey them home. The air-tight coffins are stored up in a shed of clay, poorly built, which as late as 1890 stood a few paces beyond the large, massive granite gate locally known as the *Tìn-lâm koan* [3], »Barrier domineering the South". A custodian, salaried by the authorities, dwells in the immediate proximity. Every coffin is inscribed with the name and birth-place of the dead man enclosed therein. The building is vulgarly called *hâi chʿiúⁿᵍ* [4]: »the shed for human bones". In former years, the coffins were kept within the precincts of the *Hái-sín sī* [5] or »Convent of the Sea-clams", a small Buddhist monastery located on the shore of the outer harbour, the inmates of which acted as custodians against a yearly stipend. The Memoirs concerning Amoy give the following particulars on this head:

»In the 27th. year of the Khien lung period (A. D. 1762),

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[1] 高祖.

[2] 八年令士卒從軍死者爲槥、歸其縣、縣給衣衾棺葬具、祠以少牢、長吏視葬. Books of the Early Dynasty, ch. 1, second part, l. 12.

[3] 鎭南關. [4] 骸廠. [5] 海蜃寺.

» Hia Hu-siang, prefect of the district of T'ai-wan (in Formosa), » equipped a 'general-pacification ship', assigned exclusively for the » transportation of the encoffined remains of soldiers who had been » temporarily stationed in the island. They were to be stored up for » safe keeping in a coffin-shed, erected within the Convent of the » Sea-clams. By the Maritime Sub-prefect of Amoy letters were sent » to the magistrates of the districts where these dead men had » formerly lived, who gave notice to their respective families that they » might search out their coffins and take possession of them. The » time allowed them was one year, at the end of which the coffins » were buried in the environs of Amoy. The ship sailed twice a » year, once in the first month and once in the fifth, and was » not then required to carry any victuals for the military. The costs » were borne by the magistrates of the one sub-prefecture and the » four districts in which the department of T'ai-wan (at the time » embracing the whole island) was divided, each contributing an- » nually ten taels of silver; but in the 37th. year of the Khien » lung period their contributions were raised to fifteen taels, so » that the total sum amounted to seventy-five taels. This money » was administered by the treasury of the T'ai-wan district, out of » which twenty-four taels were paid to the monks of the convent » as a compensation for the incense, lamps and sacrifices which they » offered up for those abandoned souls, and the rest was spent in » defraying the burials. In this 37th. year the stipend of the monks » was increased by six taels.

» Afterwards, the contributions falling off or not coming in re- » gularly, the number of unburied human remains became exceed- » ingly large. Therefore, from the first year of the Kia khing » period (1796) contributions were levied at various periods on the » initiative of the Maritime Sub-prefects (of Amoy) Khiu Tseng- » sheu, Yeh Shao-fen, Hien Ch'ing and Meh Siang, and sundry » plots of ground were purchased to bury them in. In the first year » of the period Tao kwang (1821), Sun 'Rh-chun, the Head of » the Civil Service in the Province (of Fuhkien), ordained that, » commencing from that year, himself, the Taotai of T'ai-wan and » the prefect of T'ai-wan, and the magistrates of each of the three sub- » prefectures and four districts of which T'ai-wan consisted, should » each contribute fifteen taels every year, which produced a total » sum of one hundred and fifty taels" [1].

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[1] 乾隆二十七年臺灣縣夏瑚詳設太平船、專

2. On burying the Souls of the Dead without their Bodies.

In the foregoing pages it has been demonstrated that the root of the custom, so generally observed by the Chinese in all ages, of carrying the dead back to their native soil, is no other than a recognized necessity of taking the soul thither, which the people have always been perfectly sure does not separate from the body after death. Well considered, it is the soul which has always been the chief object of this custom, the corpse being merely regarded as the means by which the soul is to be enticed back to the ancestral home.

With this fact before us, we understand that the Chinese since remote times should try to get back to their homes the souls of those of their dead whose bodies had been lost, or could not be taken home from foreign parts because of the great distance or for some other reason. They called upon the soul to return home, prepared a grave for it, and buried it therein, probably, in most cases, by means of a soul tablet or the clothes of the deceased. We find such curious burials mentioned in the books as »interments with evocation of the soul" or »burials of evoked souls" [1]. We will try to throw light upon their antiquity and upon the part they have played in religious life, by giving some extracts from the native literature which refer to them.

運流寓兵民棺骸。於海墘寺內設棺廠收貯。由厦防同知移知原籍廳縣、招各親屬認領。以一年爲限、逾限卽就厦地埋葬。運載船戶一年正五月兩次、免配兵穀。其經費臺灣一廳四縣每歲各捐銀十兩、三十七年增捐各十五兩、共七十五兩。存臺灣縣庫、給寺僧香燈祀孤銀二十四兩、餘爲埋葬之用。三十七年增寺僧銀六兩。

後因捐解不齊、骸骨堆積過多。嘉慶元年以後厦防同知裘增壽、葉紹棻、咸成、麥祥先後捐資買地掩埋。道光元年布政司孫爾準詳定、以是年爲始、藩司及臺灣道府三廳四縣每年各捐十五兩、共一百五十兩. Chapter II, ll. 56 and 57.

[1] 招魂葬.

The Standard Annals of the Han dynasty afford evidence that the custom prevailed in the Imperial family as early as the first century of our era, the emperor Kwang Wu having observed it with regard to his sister, whose grave had been destroyed, like those of so many other members of his family, during serious seditions which marked the first years of his reign. When her husband Teng Ch'en [1] died (A. D. 49), »the Emperor ordained that her soul, which was »established in a tablet at Sin-yé, should be called back, ushered »in, and placed with Teng Ch'en in the same grave at Poh-mang" [2]. Such things were by no means practised by the Court alone, it being stated of Li Ku [3], a military commander in the second century, who perished in prison under the imputation of high treason: »His son Sieh after his death performed the funeral rites, the bu»rial, and everything connected with it. He forthwith selected aus»picious days, had a coffin made, prepared a grave-dress of silk, »fixed underneath the collar of it a piece of white glossy satin »upon which, as upon an ancestral tablet, were written the titles »and names of the deceased and the year and month of his »birth; and having thereupon called upon the soul, he encoffined »that dress and placed it in a tomb" [4].

In another work we read: »According to the Description of Yü»chang (the present province of Kiangsi), the grave of Hü Tszĕ»tsiang is located at a distance of four miles from the local capital. »In former times, this Tszĕ-tsiang came hither from afar because »an awful sedition was harrassing the Middle Kingdom; he »crossed the Yang-tszĕ, joined the troops of Liu Yiu, died, and »was buried inside the Ch'ang gate. This occurred under the Han

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[1] 鄧晨.

[2] 詔招迎新野主魂、與晨合葬於北芒. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 45, l. 10.

[3] 李固.

[4] 其子燮追行喪葬等事。卽卜吉製棺、用緻絹作明衣、領下定白綾條、書如神主式稱號姓名生時年月、招魂而殯葬之. *Wu hioh luh*, ch. 19, l. 19. The author of this work does not mention the source from which he has drawn these details, neither have we been able to discover it. A biography of Li Ku and his son occurs in chapter 93 of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, but not a word is said in reference to a burial without the body. We, therefore, plead some reservation as to the reliability of the above, the assertions of the *Wu hioh luh* not being always above suspicion. See, for instance, what we have stated on page 825.

» dynasty, in the second year of the period Hing p'ing (A. D. » 195). When the dynasty of Wu was settled on the throne, the » Governor Ch'en Ki during the T'ien ki period (A. D. 277—280) » had a sudden vision in broad daylight, while he was seated in » his court, beholding, as in a dream, a man dressed in a single » robe of a yellow colour and with a yellow kerchief around his » head. He introduced himself as one Yang from the country of » Jü-nan, and asked for Hü Tszĕ-tsiang a burial in an other tomb, » whereupon he suddenly vanished. Ki forthwith inquired after » the place where Hü Tszĕ-tsiang had died. But, finding it was » unknown, he evoked his soul and buried it. The verse in which » the evocation was worded he had composed by the literator Shi » Hia" [1].

In the period in which the above episode is said to have occurred, the correctness of burying souls in empty graves was seriously objected to by many. Probably mature reflection on the matter led the thinking portion of the people to the conviction that a disembodied human soul, having for the sake of its self-preservation to stick to the body in which it had been accustomed to dwell, cannot but feel highly uncomfortable in a grave where that natural support is entirely wanting, and that such a grave cannot possibly serve to promote its happiness. Moreover, such anomalous burials were disapproved of because no mention thereof is made in the writings of the Cheu dynasty or in earlier times, which fact is sufficient to stigmatize them as heterodox inventions. The opposition hereto became so strong that »the Emperor forbade them in the first year of the T'ai hing period (A. D. 318)" [2]. This prohibition, which shows that they were then practised on an extensive scale, was apparently the immediate consequence of the following event relating to Yueh [3], prince of Tung-hai [4], a military

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1 豫章記曰、許子將墓在那四里。昔子將以中國大亂遠來、渡江、隨劉繇而卒、藏于閶門裏。于時漢興平二年也。吳天紀中太守沈季白日于聽事上坐、忽然如夢見一人、著黃單衣黃巾。稱汝南羊、與許子將求改葬、因忽不見。即求其喪。不知處所、遂招魂葬之。命文學施遐爲招魂文. *Yuen kien lei han*, ch. 181, l. 14.

2 太興元年初禁招魂葬. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 8.

3 越. 4 東海王.

commander who had stood in the field in the North-west of the Empire against the powerful Shih Lih, with whom our readers have been made acquainted on pages 343 and 612:

»In the fifth year of the period Yung kia (A. D. 311) he died » in Hang. His demise was kept secret. Fan, prince of Siang-yang, » became commander-in-chief of his troops and fell back upon » Tung-hai, to bury the deceased there. Shih Lih pursued him. » At the city of Ning-pʿing, in the district of Khu, the general » Tsʿien Twan sallied forth upon Shih Lih; but he perished in the » engagement and his troops were scattered on all sides.

»Shih Lih now gave orders to burn Yueh's encoffined corpse. » 'This man', he said, 'has disturbed the peace of the Realm; in » the name of the Realm I will avenge this crime; therefore I burn » his bones, informing Heaven and Earth of this my deed'. Shih » Lih's cavalry then inclosed the army on all sides, which was several » hundred thousands strong. Shooting his arrows into its ranks, he » caused such large numbers to fall that the corpses lay accumu- » lated as high as mountains. Over a hundred thousand princes, » noblemen, officers and privates thus perished. Chang, a younger » brother of Wang Mi, succeeded in setting fire to the rest of the » troops, which were then entirely devoured (by the flames).

»Pʿei, the consort (of Yueh), was taken prisoner (not long after) » and was sold to Madam Wu. But in the Tʿai hing period she » managed to effect her escape across the Yang-tszĕ river. As she » wished to evoke the soul of her husband and bury it, the » emperor Yuen ordered his officers to minutely discuss the de- » sirability hereof, upon which the learned Fu Shun reported as » follows: 'The Holy Ones have instituted the rites and ceremo- » nies in order to prolong the affection for others (after their » death). They have introduced the use of tombs and grave vaults » in order to hide therein the mortal remains of human beings » and to serve the latter by means of obsequies; — on the other » hand, they have instituted ancestral temples and shrines for the » purpose of establishing the disembodied souls therein and there » to worship the same by means of felicitous ceremonies. The bodies » of the dead are taken out of the house and carried away; but » the manes are on the contrary ushered in and taken back home, » which shows that a capital difference exists between graves and » ancestral temples, and that the rescripts concerning the treatment » of bodies and souls are of a different character. If, further, we » consider that the method of invoking on a broad scale the spirits

» of the dead consists in sacrificing to them in more than one place, » viz. in ancestral temples, sacrificial apartments in the house, and » side-chambers, and that their graves are the only places where » no offerings are presented them, it is quite clear that the grave is » not the place where the soul resides. If in the case now sub- » mitted to our judgment the distinction between the body and the » soul is lost sight of, and the lines of conduct which ought to be » followed with regard to ancestral temples on the one side and » graves on the other, are confused, no transgressions of the ritual » institutions can surpass this in monstrosity'.

» Upon this, the emperor declared that he refused his license. » Madam P'ei did not, however, submit to this decision, but buried » Yueh in Kwang-ling. Afterwards, in the last year of the same T'ai » hing period (A. D. 321), when the grave had fallen into decay, » she transferred the soul to another grave, situated in Tan-t'u" [1].

Since that time, the books teach us on many a page that the question whether burying souls alone could be deemed consistent with good morals and orthodox ritual laws, has frequently engaged

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[1] 永嘉五年薨于項。祕不發喪。以襄陽王範爲大將軍統其衆、還葬東海。石勒追。及於苦縣甯平城將軍錢端出兵距勒、戰死、軍潰。

勒命焚越柩、曰、此人亂天下、吾爲天下報之、故燒其骨、以告天地。於是數十萬衆勒以騎圍、而射之、相踐如山。王公士庶死者十餘萬。王彌弟璋焚其餘衆、并食之。

裴妃爲人所略、賣於吳氏。大典中得渡江。欲招魂葬越、元帝詔有司詳議、博士傅純曰、聖人制禮以事緣情。設冢椁以藏形而事之以凶、立廟祧以安神而奉之以吉。送形而往、迎精而還、此墓廟之大分、形神之異制也。至於宗廟寢廟祊祭非一處、所以廣求神之道、而獨不祭于墓、明非神之所處也。今亂形神之別、錯廟墓之宜、違禮制義莫大於此。

於是下詔不許。裴妃不奉詔、遂葬越于廣陵。大興末墓毀、改葬丹徒. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 59, l. 39.

the attention of wise and philosophical men. And no wonder, for nothing is so intimately connected with the doctrines of the hiao as burials and funeral observances. Many Chinese embraced the views of Fu Shun, maintaining that a disembodied soul, when the body is not recoverable, ought to be lodged in a tablet, and not in a tomb. Others, however, likewise after mature deliberation, held that, as burying the dead ranks amongst the highest duties prescribed by the hiao, nobody can dispense with it, even though the corpse is not at hand, unless there exist uncertainty as to the death of the person in question. Some of those who have viewed the matter from this point make, we find, much of the advantage that, by burying the soul, a fixed date is obtained from which the different stadiums in the period of mourning may be calculated, and also the sundry sacrifices and observances which custom requires to be celebrated at fixed times after the burial.

Chinese moralists being far from unanimous in regard to the propriety of the custom now under notice, it continued to be practised in ensuing centuries. In the year 693, two consorts of the emperor Jui Tsung [1] of the T'ang dynasty, respectively bearing the family names Liu [2] and Teu [3], were put to death by order of the empress-dowager Wu [4], who had usurped the throne; and »when Jui Tsung resumed the government (in A. D. 710), he evoked »their souls and buried them to the south of the walls of the »capital" [5], it being unknown what had become of their corpses. In the same year, the lady Chao [6], consort of Chung Tsung [7] who had preceded Jui Tsung on the throne, became the object of a similar ceremony. »On the demise of Chung Tsung, they performed »for her the rites connected with the burial of a woman at her »husband's side with evocation of her soul, as nobody knew »where she was buried. P'eng King-chih, Doctor in the Court »of Sacrificial Worship, had presented to the emperor a memorial »of the following tenor: 'Anciently there existed no such cere»mony as burying evoked souls. Hence it is not allowed in the »present case to use a coffin, vault or hearse. But, as in ancient »times when, according to the Record of the Suburban Sacrifices

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1 睿宗. 2 劉. 3 竇. 4 武.

5 睿宗卽位招魂葬於都城之南. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 51, fl. 16 and 17.

6 趙. 7 中宗.

» which is contained in the Books of the Han Dynasty, Hwang-ti's » clothes and caps were buried in mount Kiao [1], the soul of this » Empress should be evoked in the sacrificial temple of the Mau- » soleum with the aid of her sacrificial robe; then this robe must » be placed on a soul-carriage, a great sacrificial victim (bullock) » be offered and an announcement of this be made to her; then » the dress must be taken to the sacrificial hall, be spread out on » the right side of the Imperial resting place (*i. e.* the place where » his tablet stands), be covered with a corpse-pall, and finally be » buried at the side of the Emperor'. This advice was followed" [2].

In those times, burials of evoked souls were in vogue even amongst the people. We read *e. g.* that one Yao Si-yun [3], who lived in the seventh century, »evoked his father's soul, buried it and, out of » sorrow that he had died on the frontiers, settled in a shed upon the » tomb" [4]. » And Yang Shao-tsung's wife, whose maiden name was » Wang, a native of Hwa-yin in Hwa-cheu, having lost her mother » while she was still carried on her back, her step-mother brought her » up with the utmost love. Her father died when he was quartered » with the army in the country of Liao, and her step-mother de- » parted this life when Wang was fifteen years old. She brought » the coffins of her two mothers together, erected an image of her » father, called upon his soul, and placed them all three in one » grave, on the left side of which she settled in a shed. In the » period Yung hwui (650—656) it was decreed by the Emperor that » an Imperial donation of sundry things and rice should be bestowed » upon her and the entrance (to her house or village) should be » decorated with a gateway, in consideration of her having, on

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1 This statement is found in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 25, I, l. 30. It is, however, not given by this work as an historical fact, but merely as the private opinion of some person not named.

2 及中宗崩、莫知葬所、行招魂祔葬之禮。太常博士彭景直上言、古無招魂葬之禮。不可備棺椁置轀輬。宜據漢書郊祀志葬黃帝衣冠於橋山故事、以皇后褕衣於陵所寢宮招魂、置衣於魂輿、以太牢告祭、遷衣於寢宮、舒於御榻之右、覆以夷衾而祔葬焉。從之. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 51, l. 11.

3 姚栖雲.

4 招魂葬其父、痛其父死於邊乃廬於墓次. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 456, l. 14.

» her father's decease in the west of Liao under the Sui dynasty, » shown herself capable of calling back his soul and burying it, and » in consideration also of her having dwelt in a hut of boards in the » grave-ground of her grandparents, where her grief had affected the » hearts of the passers-by" [1].

Later ages too afford instances of such burials. The History of the Ming Dynasty relates that, at the conquest of the Metropolis Nanking by the rebellious king of Yen [2] in A. D. 1402, the conqueror issued orders for the capture of the wife and two daughters of the minister Hwang Kwan [3]), wishing to detain them in custody as hostages of this faithful champion for the dynasty, who was then leading out troops against him. But these heroic women with more than ten members of their family got the start of him by drowning themselves from a bridge. Yet ere tidings of their death reached him, Hwang Kwan said: »'My wife possesses so much firmness and self- » sacrificing attachment that she will certainly have lost her life already', » and he evoked her soul and buried it on the banks of the Yang- » tszĕ river" [4]. The Code of Laws of the dynasty now seated on the throne explicitly ordains that violation of a grave in which an evoked soul is interred shall be punished just as severely as the violation of a grave occupied by a corpse (see page 868), which shows that the Government recognizes such burials as a good custom, deserving the protection of law and justice. Connecting this with the fact that they have been of common prevalence for at least eighteen centuries, we can scarcely doubt of their occurrence even nowadays.

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[1] 楊紹宗妻王、華州華陰人、在襁而母亡、繼母鞠愛。父征遼歿、繼母又卒、王年十五。乃舉二母柩、而立父象、招魂以葬、廬墓左。永徽中詔、楊氏婦在隋時父歿遼西能招魂克葬、至祖父母塋隧親服板築、哀感行路、因賜物段并粟、以闕表門. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 205, l. 4. Also the Old Books of the same House, ch. 193, l. 7.

[2] 燕王. [3] 黃觀.

[4] 吾妻有志節、必死、招魂葬之江上. Chapter 143, l. 5.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CARE BESTOWED BY THE PEOPLE AND THE AUTHORITIES UPON THE DEAD OF OTHERS.

1. Public Charity towards to Dead.

The customs and conceptions relating to the Grave, which have been described in this work, have no doubt fully convinced our readers that in the Middle Kingdom graves are looked upon in quite another light than amongst ourselves. On yonder side of the globe they are not a means to rid one's self of useless mortal remains in a way considered the most decent; nor are they merely rendered sacred to the memory of the dead. In China the grave is sacred, but in quite a different sense. It is sacred especially as an abode of the soul, not only indispensable for its happiness, but also for its existence, for no disembodied spirit can long escape destruction unless the body co-exists with it to serve it as a natural support. Both the body and the soul require a grave for their preservation. Hence the grave, being the chief shelter of the soul, virtually becomes the principal altar dedicated to it and to its worship.

Such ideas still prevail in China, and have prevailed there since very ancient times. Consequently the people have always regarded it as a dire calamity to be buried in an incomplete manner, and the greatest possible disaster not to be buried at all. Is has been stated in our chapter on Coffins and Grave vaults (pp. 280 *sqq.*) that to be committed to the earth without a coffin was of old regarded as a curse; how much more terrible then must it have been to be deprived of a grave, the disembodied soul being thus wretchedly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, to the scorching summer sun, the merciless rains, snows, frost and ice which the various seasons bring!

The conception that souls are doomed to a pitiable condition if their bodies be badly interred, is brought out in sharp lines in the following legend, to be found in a work of the fourth century. In the opinion of the nation it is no legend, but an historical

event, Chinese civilisation not yet having reached that pitch at which myth and truth can be properly distinguished. » Under the Han- » dynasty, Wen Ying, also named Shuh-ch'ang, was invested with » the dignity of prefect of Kan-ling (province of Chihli) during the » period Kien ngan (A. D. 196—220). Spending the night some- » where after having crossed the frontiers of that country, he beheld » in a dream, during the third watch, a human being who, prostrate » before him, said: 'Ere now my parents buried me hereabouts, » but when the tide rises it flows over my grave; the coffin being » submerged, it becomes half full of water, so that I possess nothing » wherein to keep myself warm. Hearing that you, my Lord, are » here, I have come hither to take refuge with you. Bent down, » I express the hope that you will to-morrow deign to prolong » your stay a little, in order to repair to the place and transfer me » to a high and dry spot'. Whereupon the spectre lifted up its » clothes, to show Ying they were all wet through".

» Moved with compassion, Ying immediately arose from his sleep. » He told his followers what had happened, but they said: 'Dreams » are falsehoods; are they deserving of concern?' He thereupon lay » down again to rest; but when about to fall asleep, the spectre » appeared as before. 'I have informed Your Lordship of my mi- » series', it said, 'why do you not feel commiseration for me?' » Ying drowsily asked: 'Who are you?' 'I was born in the country » of Chao', was the reply, 'but am now one of the spirits of the » family Wang-mang'. 'Where is your coffin?' asked Ying. 'Not » far from your own bed curtains; ten and odd pu to the North, » underneath a withered willow tree on the bank of the river. The » day being about the break, I cannot appear before you again; » therefore fix the spot firmly in your memory, my Lord!' Ying » answered he would do so, and then suddenly awoke from his sleep.

» When the day had broken and all were ready to start, Ying » said: 'It is said that dreams are deserving of no concern; but » might not this be a real event of no small importance?' — 'Why » should we mind losing a few moments?' suggested his followers, » 'why don't you go and examine the matter?' Ying got up im- » mediately, and in the company of ten and odd men marched » up along the river against the stream. They found indeed a » withered willow. 'This is it', they exclaimed, dug up the earth at » its foot, and soon found a very rotten coffin, half in the water. » 'I declare what my men have said is idle talk', replied Ying » to his followers; 'whatever the people tell each other should

» certainly be put to the test'. He had the coffin carried to another » spot, buried it, and departed" [1].

Insufficient and sloven burial causing severe suffering to the soul, it was often inflicted by way of punishment upon disgraced grandees who were deemed to have deserved no better. Many instances hereof are to be gleaned from the Standard Histories. We read *e. g.* of Chang T'ang [2], one of the highest dignitaries of the Empire in the first century before our era, who incurred the high displeasure of the Son of Heaven: » He thereupon committed suicide. At his death » his whole possessions amounted to no more than the five hundred » pieces of money he had received from the Emperor; this was all » he left. His brothers and sons desired to give him an expensive » burial, but his mother said: 'T'ang has died after having been » accused of evil things by the high ministers of the Son of Heaven; » why should we give him a costly burial?' So they laid him upon » an ox-cart and gave him a coffin only, but no vault. The Em-

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[1] 漢南陽文潁、字叔長、建安中爲甘陵府丞。過界止宿夜、三鼓時夢見一人跪前曰、昔我先人葬我於此、水來湍墓、棺木溺漬水處半、然無以自溫。聞君在此、故來相依。欲屈明日暫住須臾、幸爲相遷高燥處。鬼披衣示潁而皆沾溼。

潁心愴然卽寤。語諸左右、曰、夢爲虛耳、亦何足怪。潁乃還眠、向寐處夢見。謂潁曰、我以窮苦告君、奈何不相愍悼乎。潁夢中問曰、子爲誰。對曰、吾本趙人、今屬汪芒氏之神。潁曰、子棺今何所在。對曰、近在君帳、北十數步、水側枯楊樹下卽是吾也。天將明、不復得見、君必念之。潁答曰喏、忽然便寤。

天明可發、潁曰、雖曰夢不足怪、此何太適。左右曰、亦何惜須臾、不驗之耶。潁卽起、率十數人將導順水上。果得一枯楊。曰、是矣、掘其下、未幾果得棺、棺甚朽壞、沒半水中。潁謂左右曰、向聞於人謂之虛矣、世俗所傳不可無驗。爲移其棺、葬之而去. *Shen shen ki*, chapter 16.

[2] 張湯.

» peror, on hearing this, said: 'If she were not such a mother, she » would not have given birth to such a son'" [1].

Chinese books also teach us that emperors themselves have often forbidden disgraced officers whom they desired to punish after their death, to be buried decently, and that the kinsmen of such dead men were liable to be reprimanded should they presume to bury them properly. Concerning Ma Yuen [2], a celebrated military commander in the first century of our era, we read: » Formerly, when sojourning » in Kiao-chi (the modern Tongking, to quell with a military force » a revolt against the Chinese suzerainty), he had steadily swallowed » the seeds of a plant known by the name of I-i, which renders » the body light, tempers the animal passions and subdues the influ- » ences of malarious vapours. These seeds being larger in the South, » Yuen took with him a full cart-load when his army returned, » for the purpose of sowing them. Though the people at that time » considered them to be remarkable and precious southern products » and every man of wealth and influence coveted them, nobody » made any report of the matter to the Throne, Yuen being in the » full enjoyment of the imperial favour. But when he died, some » one calumniated him in an address to the emperor, stating that » what he had brought home in that cart was nothing less than » brilliant pearls and veined preciosa. The emperor's wrath was in- » censed to such a pitch that Yuen's wife and children, bewildered » with fear, did not venture to convey his corpse to the old family » sepulchre. They selected to the west of the city a plot of ground of » a few acres, purchased it, and contented themselves with burying » him there in a slovenly manner. Not a single visitor or old friend » ventured to come and present his condolences" [3]. Another page

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[1] 遂自殺。湯死、家產直不過五百金、皆所得奉賜、無它贏。昆弟諸子欲厚葬湯、湯母曰、湯爲天子大臣被惡言而死、何厚葬。爲載以牛車、有棺而無槨。上聞之曰、非此母不生此子. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 59, l. 7; also the Historical Records, ch. 122, l. 10.

[2] 馬援.

[3] 初援在交阯、常餌薏苡實、用能輕身、省慾、以勝瘴氣。南方薏苡實大、援欲以爲種、軍還載之一車。時人以爲南土珍怪、權貴皆望之、援時方有寵、故莫以聞。及卒後有上書譖之者、以爲

in the Standard Histories of those times recounts that Liang Sung [1], maternal grandfather of the emperor Hwo [2] and paternal grandfather of the magnate Liang Shang mentioned on page 411, in A. D. 83 having died in prison, where he was detained under a false imputation, was left unburied; but afterwards, when Hwo had ascended the throne, this monarch allowed the family to convey the remains home, and even ordered that they should be dressed and coffined in a rich style and interred with pomp and show [3].

It was, indeed, the rule in the first ages of our era to refuse a decent burial to people who died in jail, it being on record that the emperor Hiao Wen [4] of the Wei dynasty in A. D. 473 issued an edict, stating that »thenceforth the criminals detained »in the Metropolis and elsewhere in the Empire, who died in »prison before sentence had been pronounced against them, should »be buried by the authorities in a coffin and with grave clothes »on, unless they had near relations (to provide for them in this »way), and that their remains should no longer be left exposed »in the open air" [5]. Even as late as the Ming dynasty people who died in captivity were not otherwise dealt with, as the following episode proves. »When Mr. Li Tung-kang of Kao-mih (in Shantung »province) was Governor of Kansuh, he happened to perceive in »the capital of that province, in a corner of the walls of the jailor's »house, a heap of bleached bones, and was informed that they were »the remains of convicts of long years ago. Moved by commisera»tion, he said: 'But these dead men have already atoned for their »crimes; why then are their bones exposed to the air?' He laid »out a public cemetery outside the city and buried them there" [6].

前所載還皆明珠文犀。帝益怒棳、妻孥惶懼、不敢以喪還舊塋。裁買城西數畝地、槀葬而已。賓客故人莫敢弔. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 54, l. 15.

1 梁竦. 2 和.

3 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 64, ll. 7 *seq.*

4 孝文.

5 自今京師及天下之囚、罪未分判、在獄致死無近親者公給衣衾棺櫝葬埋之、不得曝露. Books of the Wei Dynasty, ch. 7, first part, l. 5.

6 高密東冏李公撫甘肅時、偶視都司獄牆隈白骨堆積、詢之、乃遠年罪人死者。公蹙然曰、

The miserable condition to which, as the Chinese believe, souls are doomed whose bodies are not properly buried, we may place among the chief reasons for their giving decent interment to their parents and relations, and for this being considered one of the very first duties imposed upon mankind by their social laws. Further it fully explains the fact that burying a non-interred or imperfectly interred corpse of any individual to whom one is not related, is considered by the nation as the greatest service that can be rendered to his soul and, consequently, as a charitable deed of such merit that it cannot fail to call down blessings on the person who performs it. The good that befalls a man in this world, as well as the evil, are indeed generally ascribed to spirits who reward or punish him. Already in the oldest of the Standard Histories, as we have seen on page 283, the burying of the most depraved tyrant that ever lived is represented as an act of merit deserving the special recompense of the high Heavens. Books of subsequent ages also contain sundry tales concerning rewards, distributed by souls to those who had bestowed upon their bodies the greatest attention that can be paid to a dead man. A few of these tales we will quote, to give the readers an idea of their general tendency. The simple fact that they are set down in black and white, stamps them in the eyes of the Chinese as historical events, to doubt the veracity of which would never occur to the minds of the greatest sceptics.

» Ts'ui Hung's Account of the later times of the Kingdom of Yen » (which existed in the fourth century: comp. page 653), makes » mention of one Chao Chih, a native of Ch'ao-ko (in the province » of Honan), who despised wordly goods and took pleasure in giving » them away. The mother of his neighbour Li Yuen-tu having died » and the family being too poor to afford the expense of the burial, » Chih said to his elder brother: 'To run to the succour of the dead » and to help those who have not enough is the first principle of » human love. We have two oxen in our house, give them one'. » In this way Yuen-tu was enabled to bury his mother. In one of the » following years, when Chih was strolling about in the dark, he » saw an old matron who gave him a jar with gold, saying: 'You

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死已償其罪矣、遺骸暴露何也。遂於城外作義塚、埋之. *Kien wen luh* 見聞錄, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 人事, ch. 94.

» knew how to give me a decent burial; this is a present where-
» with I reward you. After your fiftieth year you will become un-
» speakably rich and esteemed; but do not then forget Yuen-tu'" [1].

» During the Tsin dynasty, in the period Lung ngan (A. D.
» 397—402), one Yen Tsung had built a new house. At night he
» dreamed that some one said to him: 'Why have you spoiled my
» grave?' The next day he dug up the ground in front of his bed,
» and saw a coffin. He set out sacrificial articles on the spot and
» said: 'Being compelled to transfer you to some better spot, I will
» prepare a small grave for you elsewhere'.

» The next morning there came a man to his door and asked per-
» mission to enter. After he had made himself known as a certain
» Chu Hu, the two men were seated and the visitor spoke: 'I have
» dwelt here for forty years, and you bestowed upon me so generous
» a benefit yesterday; how shall I show my gratitude? This day
» being an auspicious one, it offers you a good opportunity to remove
» my coffin out of your house. In my linen coffer I have mirrors
» of gold, wherewith I wish to succour you'. Taking three mir-
» rors out of a linen box which stood at the upper end of the
» coffin, he presented them to Tsung, and suddenly vanished" [2].

» T'ang Li-yuen, when crossing the Yang-tszĕ-kiang, perceived

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[1] 崔鴻後燕錄曰、趙秩朝歌人也、輕財、好施。鄰人李元度母死、家貧無以葬、秩謂其兄曰、赴死救不足仁之本也。家有二牛、以一牛與之。度得以葬。他年秩夜行、見一老母、遺秩金一瓶曰、子能葬我、是以相報。子五十已後當富貴不可言、勿忘元度也. *Yuen kien lei han*, chapter 181, l. 9.

[2] 晉隆安中顏從嘗起新屋。夜夢人語云、君何壞吾冢。明日牀前亟掘之、遂見一棺。從便爲設祭云、今當移好處、別作小塚。

明朝一人詣門求通。姓朱名護、列坐乃言、我居四十年、昨蒙厚賜、相感何如。今是吉日、便可出棺矣。僕巾箱中有金鏡、願以相助。遂於棺頭巾箱中取金鏡三枚贈從、忽然不見. »The Copse of Wonders" 異苑, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 人事, ch. 94.

» the corpse of a woman, drew it out of the water and buried » it. The next night he dreamt that he found himself in a deep » mountain recess. The bright moon had just risen above the » horizon, a cool and gentle breeze played through his clothes, and » in the distance a melody produced by a Pandean pipe was heard, » the tones of which melted sweetly away. Suddenly a charming » woman appeared on the brink of the bush. Between her lips she » hummed: 'The various melodies of the Purple Mansion (the » heavenly spheres) could be clearly distinguished by the ear one » after the other, in this pure, cool night'.

» When he presented himself in the Metropolis at the examina- » tions for the highest literary degree, the following theme was given » the candidates to write an essay upon: 'In the Hiu mountains, » during moon-lit nights, Wang Tszĕ-tsin is heard playing on his » Pandean pipe'. Li-yuen now used the words he had heard in his » dream as the third and fourth lines in his composition, in conse- » quence of which he succeeded and was raised to the rank of tsin- » shi. The people considered this a reward bestowed upon him by » the woman he had committed to the grave" [1].

» In the last year of the period Ching teh (A. D. 1521), Wang » 'Rh-pieh, a fisherman of Poh-yang (a district bordering on the » great lake of that name), saw a corpse floating in the water. Out » of pity he spent all his savings to buy a coffin and give it » a decent burial. Everybody mocked his stupidity. Not long af- » terwards, when he had to suffer dire privation because of the » winter-cold, he caught several tens of big perch near the oozy » banks. One half of his lucky take he bartered for rice, and the » rest he took home to his mother. When she cut them up, the

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[1] 唐厲元渡江見一婦人屍、收葬之。夜夢在一處如深山中。明月初上、清風吹衣、遙聞有吹笙聲音韻縹緲。忽有美女在林下。自詠云、紫府參差曲清宵次第聞。

及就試、得緘山月夜聞王子晉吹笙題。用夢中語作第三第四句、竟以是得賞舉進士。人以爲葬婦人之報. *Lang hüen ki* 瑯嬛記, a work of the Yuen dynasty; quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 人事, ch. 94.

» knife gave a screaching sound, the fish being full of gold. They » thus became rich people, and everybody considered this a reward » for his filial behaviour and sense of duty" [1].

It would be easy to glean dozens of such tales from Chinese books. They pass among the people as historical truths and are handed down by oral tradition with endless variations, exercising a wide influence upon the line of conduct pursued with respect to neglected human remains. Hopes of reward and, no less, fear of the wrath of the souls concerned if they be remorselessly left in their forlorn condition, give rise from time to time to charitable societies for the distribution of coffins and the repair of the graves of the indigent. Such coffin-societies are, as a rule, corporations of long standing; but most grave repairing societies only exist for a short time, being dissolved when the restoration of a certain number of graves has been completed, or a certain sum of money, fixed upon beforehand, has been expended in that work of charity.

Owing to the circumstance that each family and each clan consider it their appointed duty to help the poor amongst them to procure the requisites for burying the dead, very few people have to apply to public charity for coffins. Consequently, the corporations that distribute them are not very numerous. They are especially found in towns and cities, clan-fellowship being weaker there than in the country. In 1886 there were only three in Amoy.

Coffin-distributing societies are organized in a very simple way. Some men of means give a fixed sum, thus creating a fund which is maintained by annual or monthly contributions. Out of this fund the expenses required for the charity are defrayed. A salaried cashier, who is at the same time the book-keeper, is appointed to manage the daily business. When a poor man applies to a member of the society for a coffin, a messenger is sent out with him, if necessary, to inquire whether the conditions of the family are really

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[1] 正德末鄱陽漁人王二八見浮尸。憐之、罄所有鬻棺爲葬。衆咄其迂。尋冬寒餒甚罟、漁淤潭中得巨鯉數十。以半易粟、餘持歸奉母。剖之、刀錚錚、皆黃金也。後成富、皆以爲孝義之賜.
Memoirs of the Department of Jao-chen, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 人事, chapter 94.

such as to require assistance. After this, a ticket furnished with the seal of the society is given to the applicant, whom it entitles to receive a coffin at some coffin shop the owner of which has contracted with the society for the delivery of a certain number. If the society has the reputation of being well managed, its funds are constantly supplemented by voluntary donations from charitable men, anxious to gain a stock of merit for themselves by thus succouring the dead. Moreover, there are many men and women who contribute in fulfilment of vows, made to the gods with the object of obtaining a cure from sickness or rescue from dangers either for themselves, or for members of their family.

Some societies work in this way for several years, being dissolved only when no more money comes in and the funds are exhausted. Many have but a short existence, being founded by men who desire only to distribute a limited number of coffins. The formation of such a temporary society is announced to the public by bills posted up in the streets, and specially by long wooden sign-boards in front of the houses where the poor in need of coffins must apply, stating in big characters that »The firm N.N. will distribute so-and-so many coffins", or bearing some other inscription of similar tenor. When the last coffin has been given away, the boards are taken down, and the poor have henceforth to look out for succour elsewhere. Occasionally, some well-to-do person in a similar manner distributes coffins entirely at his own expense, chiefly with the object of gaining popularity; indeed, reputation, respectability and prestige, or, as the Amoy people say, *t'é biēn* [1], is eagerly coveted by whoever has money enough to aspire thereto. In 1886, and during many years previously, a rich merchant of the name of Yeh Teh-shui [2] stood foremost in Amoy among this class of philantropists. He also deserved well of his fellow townsmen by gratuitously providing the poor with medicines.

As a rule, such charitable institutions and persons add to their charity by supplying with each coffin they give away a small sum of money — people say, half a dollar on an average — to help the family to defray the funeral expenses. In many cases they give also a certain quantity of lime, to be mixed with the clay which is placed around the coffin at the interment (comp. page 213).

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[1] 體面.

[2] 葉得水.

Some societies even go so far as to have Buddhist masses celebrated at regular intervals of a few years in a temple in the town or its neighbourhood, with the object of comforting the souls of the dead to whom they have lent succour, and thus delivering them out of the pangs of hell.

We now come to the temporary corporations who desire to save from suffering the souls of the multitude of dead of the poorer classes by repairing their graves. Such graves of the indigent, being covered only with a very low tumulus, are generally soon lost sight of by the family; they disappear without leaving a trace behind, and are then destroyed by others, desirous of burying their own dead on the spot. To prevent this is the object of such corporations.

Each grave repairing society is represented by a few men constituting a committee of management. They spend the money chiefly upon vast burial grounds in the environs of cities and towns, barren hills or plains unsuited for productive agricultural pursuits. These parts teem with the graves of the poor who have been unable to bury their dead in more favourable spots. The work of repair is usually let out in lots. The contractors begin the work only on such days as are appointed by the almanac as fit for digging in the ground, for if they act otherwise, their workmen will be visited by accidents and disease be sent down by the wrathful spirits of the soil (comp. page 105), who never patiently suffer any reckless disturbance of their rest.

In the island of Amoy, scarcely any better material is ever used for the repairs than bits of broken jars or pots, and fragments of tiles. The numerous holes formed in the graves in consequence of shallow interment and decay of the coffin wood, are covered by the workmen with such-like rubbish; some earth is spread thercover, and then the whole surface of the graves is plastered with a mixture of lime and clay, and finally with a thin coating of lime only. After such a would-be restoration great prudence is required in walking over the graves, lest one's feet sink down at every step and render the repairs undone. But in a country where the belief prevails that treasures and furniture of paper enrich the dead, and paper houses are perfectly fit to shelter them, a rotten coffin covered with a fragile layer of potsherds and plaster can hardly be deemed insufficient to harbour their souls. It is unnecessary to say that within a short time such repaired graves show as many openings as before, made by the hoofs of strayed cattle or runaway horses.

Nevertheless, no new repairs are made until a new corporation undertakes another general restoration.

The work finished, the burial ground has the aspect of a vast field of snow, irregularly undulated, which, when bathed in sunlight, dazzles the eyes. Very often the corporation crowns its commendable work with a Buddhist mass, celebrated at its expense in a temple in the proximity of the graves, expecting to have the souls of all those dead miraculously comforted by the priests and carried up to the regions of higher bliss to which Buddha's Church gives access.

Repairing other people's graves is never undertaken without the authorisation of the local magistracy. Otherwise, there is no doubt that employers and workmen would become the victims of the depraved officials and low characters who, heartily welcoming the unsought-for opportunity to extort money, would put in force the law against the malicious violation of the graves of others, unless such denunciation were bought off with money. Not even charity of the highest order known in China is beyond the reach of such evil practices! But there is another reason why the corporations always apprize the powers that be of the virtuous work they desire to undertake. They want to direct attention to it, and thus to open the way to some official recompense. The Collective Statutes of the reigning House prescribe that, »when public spirited men » have given burial to a great number of corpses of the poor, or » have covered up and interred considerable quantities of withered » bones, the authorities shall scrutinize the act and then reward » it with marks of distinction in the shape of lettered boards to » be hung over their doors" [1]. That even an honorary gate can be granted if the sum laid out has amounted to a thousand taels or more, has been stated already on page 791.

2. The Proper Interment of the Dead is the Business of the Government.

Official Rescripts relating to the Disposal of the Dead. Laws for the Protection of Corpses and Graves.

The great care bestowed by the Chinese people in all ages both

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[1] 如有好義之人收葬貧屍、及掩埋枯骨數多者、有司勘實給扁旌獎. *Wu hioh lu*, chapter 2, l. 16.

Pl. XXIII.

Burial Ground near Amoy, with freshly plastered Graves.

upon their own deceased relations and the neglected dead of others, almost necessarily pre-supposes that the Government of the Empire can never have been behind hand in its concern for the proper burial of its subjects. Government could not, indeed, follow any other line of conduct, at the risk of belying its own devise, adopted probably at the foundation of the State, namely, that the whole nation is one single family and the rulers are an intrinsic part of it. Moreover, should the Government neglect this matter, it would commit a great inconsequence, inasmuch as active attention to burials forms a natural part of the Religion of the Dead, which is intimately bound up with the h i a o; indeed it would thus fall short of a thorough enforcement of the great national virtue which, as our readers know, has always held a foremost place in its concerns as being the substratum of its policy towards Society.

During a long series of ages down to the present day, the care bestowed by the Chinese Government upon the corpses of its subjects has had many and varied aspects. With one of them our readers are already acquainted, namely, the rules enacted by successive dynasties for the disposal of the dead of each social class, that is to say, Emperors, members of the Imperial family, nobles and mandarins of all grades, the gentry, and the common people. These rules form part of each dynastic code of ritual institutions and rescripts for the exercise of the Religion of the State. A few particulars on this head have been given already in the First Volume of this work (pp. 235 *sqq.*).

Besides these official attempts to ensure to everybody in the Empire after his death a treatment in accordance with his rank, dignity or social standing, probably every dynasty has made severe laws against the violation of dead bodies and the desecration of graves. Unfortunately, only those in force at present, as laid down in the Code of Laws, are accessible. Inasmuch as only a small portion of them has ever been translated into any European language, we shall give all these articles in the following pages.

大清律例卷二十五
刑律。賊盜下
發塚

CHAPTER XXV OF THE LAWS OF THE GREAT TS'ING DYNASTY.
CRIMINAL LAWS. — REBELLION, ROBBERY AND THEFT, III.
ON OPENING GRAVES.

First Fundamental Article.

凡發掘他人墳塚見棺槨者杖一百流三千里。已開棺槨見屍者絞監候。發而未至棺槨者杖一百徒三年。招魂而葬亦是。爲從減一等。

若年遠塚先穿陷及未殯埋而盜屍柩者杖九十徒二年半。開棺槨見屍者亦絞。

其盜取器物磚石者計贓准凡盜論、免刺。

» Every person who opens a grave belonging to others and renders the coffin or the vault visible, shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be deported for life to a distance of 3000 miles. Should he have opened the coffin or the vault and rendered the corpse visible, he shall be strangled, after previously being kept in jail to await (the confirmation of his sentence by the higher authorities). And he who has opened a grave without reaching the coffin or the vault, shall be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and three years' banishment. — The same punishments shall be inflicted if only an evoked soul were buried in the grave [1]. — Accessories to the crime shall be liable to a punishment one degree less severe.

» If a coffin containing a corpse be stolen out of a grave of old date which has become open or has caved in, or if such a coffin be stolen before provisory burial or burial for good, the perpetrat-

1 This clause is interesting, as it shows that the law for the protection of the dead is chiefly intended to protect the soul, which cannot subsist without the body. Compare pp. 847 *sqq.*

ors shall receive ninety blows with the long stick and be banished for two years and a half. Should they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse visible, they shall also be strangled (Comp. page 881, the sixth supplementary article).

»In case of theft of implements and objects, bricks and stones (from a grave), the culprits must be punished as in ordinary cases of theft, according to the value of the things appropriated[1]; but they need not be branded[2].

Second Fundamental Article.

若卑幼發五服以內尊長墳塚者同凡人論。開棺槨見屍者斬監候。若棄屍賣墳地者罪亦如之。買地人牙保知情者各杖八十、追價入官、地歸同宗親屬。不知者不坐。

若尊長發五服以內卑幼墳塚開棺槨見屍者緦麻杖一百徒三年。小功以上各遞減一等。

祖父母父母發子孫墳塚開棺槨見屍者杖八十。

其有故而依禮遷葬者尊長卑幼俱不坐。

»Should an inferior or junior member of a family have opened the grave of a relation who held a higher rank in the family or was older than himself, and for whom he has, or had, to wear mourning in one of the five degrees, he shall be put on trial just as if he had opened the grave of a person to whom he was not related. If he has opened the coffin or the vault and rendered the corpse visible, he shall be beheaded, after having been kept in prison until his sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities. This punishment shall be inflicted also in case he has thrown the corpse away and sold the burial ground; moreover, the buyer, and the broker or go-

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1 A list of punishments to be inflicted upon thieves in proportion to the value of the stolen goods is given in chapter 24 of the Code, § 竊盜.

2 Ordinary thieves are branded on the upper part of the right arm with the characters 竊盜, »theft". A recidivist receives a second brand on the left arm, and if a man who has already been branded twice is convicted of theft a third time, he is to be condemned to strangulation. See chapter 24 of the Code, § 竊盜.

between who has effected the sale shall both be punished with eighty blows with the long stick if they were aware of the circumstances of the case; the purchase-money shall be sequestered and confiscated to the profit of the magistracy, and the ground be given back to the members of the clan to which the deceased belonged. But if either the buyer or broker has acted unwittingly, he shall not be punished.

»If a higher or senior member of a family has opened the grave of an inferior or junior relation, he shall, if he has opened the coffin or the vault and rendered the corpse visible, be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and three years banishment if he had to mourn for the dead in the fifth degree. But should the dead person be such a relation of his in the fourth or a higher degree of mourning, the punishment is to be reduced one degree for each higher degree of mourning [1].

»Paternal grandparents or parents who open the grave of their grandchild or child and open the coffin, so that the corpse becomes visible, shall be punished with eighty blows with the long stick.

»(In all the cases provided for by this article) neither the superior and senior relations, nor the inferior and junior kinspeople commit any punishable crime when they transfer the dead into another grave for valid reasons, with observance of the established rites.

Third Fundamental Article.

若殘毀他人死屍及棄屍水中者各杖一百流三千里。若毀棄緦麻以上尊長未葬死屍者斬監候。棄而不失其屍及毀而但髡髮若傷者各減一等。

毀棄緦麻以上卑幼死屍、各依凡人毀棄依服制遞減一等。

毀棄子孫死屍者杖八十。其子孫毀棄祖父母

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1 That is to say, if the dead were to be mourned for by the perpetrator in the fourth degree, the punishment shall amount to 90 blows and 2½ years banishment; and if his mourning were in the third or the second degree, the punishment shall be 80 blows and 2 years, or 70 blows and 1½ years. Compare our remarks on page 567, and the list of punishments given at the foot of that page.

父母及奴婢雇工人毀棄家長死屍者不論殘失與否斬監候。

»Whoever mangles the corpse of a member of another family, or casts it into the water, shall be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and be transported for life to a region three thousand miles distant. And he who mangles or casts away the still unburied corpse of a superior or senior member of his family for whom he must wear mourning in one of the five degrees, shall be decapitated, but previously be kept in jail until his sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities. Each of these punishments is to be reduced one degree if the corpse thrown away were not lost in consequence of the crime, or when the mangling only caused injury to the hair.

»He who mangles or casts away the dead body of an inferior or junior relation of his for whom he must mourn in one of the five degrees, shall be punished as if he had committed the same crime against a person who is not a member of his family, but with a reduction of one degree for each higher degree of mourning.

»Mangling or throwing away the corpse of a son or grandson shall be punished with eighty blows with the long stick. But any child or grandchild who commits the same offence against his or her paternal grandparent or parent, and any male or female slave who mangles or throws away the dead body of his or her master, or any hired workman who commits such an offence against his employer, shall be beheaded, after previously being kept in jail until the sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities, neither the nature of the mutilations, nor the loss of the corpse in consequence of the crime being taken into account in such an event.

Fourth Fundamental Article.

若穿地得無主死屍不即掩埋者杖八十。

若於他人墳墓爲熏狐狸因而燒棺槨者杖八十徒二年。燒屍者杖一百徒三年。若緦麻以上尊長各遞加一等、卑幼各因其服依凡人遞減一等。

若子孫於祖父母父母及奴婢雇工人於家長墳墓熏狐狸者杖一百。燒棺槨者杖一百徒三年、燒屍者絞監候。

»He who, while digging in the earth, finds a corpse which has no owner, and does not forthwith cover it up with earth, shall receive eighty blows with the long stick.

»Should any person smoke foxes out of a grave which belongs to others, and thereby set fire to the coffin or the vault, he shall be punished with eighty blows with the long stick and be banished for two years. If the corpse is burnt, he shall receive a hundred blows and be banished for three years. If the corpse be that of a superior or senior member of his family for whom he must mourn in any of the five degrees, each of these punishments shall be increased one degree for each higher degree of mourning; but if an inferior or junior relation of his be buried in the grave, the punishment shall be in proportion to the mourning which the perpetrator must observe for him, that is to say, it will be the same as is inflicted in the case of a corpse belonging to another family, but with the reduction of one degree for each higher degree of mourning.

»If a son or grandson smokes a fox out of the grave of one of his parents or paternal grandparents, or if a slave or slave woman does such a thing in the grave of his or her master, or a hired workman in that of his employer, the culprit shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick. Should the coffin or the vault have suffered by the fire, the punishment shall be one hundred of such blows and three years banishment; and if the corpse be burnt, strangulation shall be inflicted, the culprit being previously kept in jail till the sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities.

Fifth Fundamental Article.

平治他人墳墓爲田園者、雖未見棺槨、杖一百。仍令改正。

於有主墳地內盜葬者杖八十、勒限移葬。

»Whosoever levels another's grave even with the ground and converts it into a field or garden, shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick, though he may not have rendered the coffin or

the vault visible. Moreover he shall be ordered to put it into good condition again (Comp. p. 894, the seventeenth supplementary article).

»Any one who fraudulently inters a corpse in a grave-ground owned by another, shall be liable to a punishment of eighty blows with the long stick and be compelled to remove the body elsewhere within a fixed time.

Sixth Fundamental Article.

若地界內有死人、里長地鄰不申報官司檢驗而輒移他處及埋藏者杖八十。以致失屍者首杖一百、殘毀及棄屍水中者首杖六十徒一年。棄而不失及髡髮若傷者各減一等、杖一百。

因而盜取衣服者計贓准竊盜論、免刺。

»When a person is found dead within the precincts of a place, the headman of the village and the people living in the neighbourhood shall be punished with eighty blows with the long stick should they neglect to inform the magistrates of the fact, that these latter may hold an inquest, or if they arbitrarily transfer the corpse to another spot, or bury it. If the corpse is in consequence lost, the chief culprits among them shall receive one hundred blows, and should it be mutilated (by others) or cast into the water, they shall then receive sixty blows and be banished for one year. Should it be cast away, but not lost, or the hair only be injured, a punishment one degree less severe, that is to say, one hundred blows with the long stick, shall be inflicted upon them.

»If in such a case people have stolen the clothes from the corpse, they may be tried for ordinary theft and the punishment be fixed in accordance with the value of the things appropriated; but they need not be branded [1].

The above fundamental articles have been completed, partly modified and sharpened by sundry supplementary articles, enacted at different periods. Some earlier editions of the Code contain a few of such articles which are sought for in vain in later editions. We give them as found in an edition published in 1882, the latest reprint at our disposal.

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1 See notes 1 and 2 at the foot of page 869.

First Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1870)

發掘常人墳塚開棺見屍爲首者擬斬立決。爲從、無論次數、俱擬絞監候。

其發塚見棺鋸縫鑿孔抽取衣飾、尙未顯露屍身、爲首者擬絞立決。爲從俱擬絞監候。

發塚開棺見屍爲從幫同下手開棺者、不論次數、秋審俱入情寔。在外瞭望一二次者入於緩決、三次及三次以上者入於情實。

其發塚見棺鋸縫鑿孔爲從幫同鑿棺鋸棺三次及三次以上者入於情實、一二次者入於緩決。在外瞭望六次者入於情實、一次至五次者入於緩決。

至發掘常人墳塚見棺槨爲首者改發近邊充軍、年在五十以上發附近充軍。爲從者杖一百徒三年。

»If the grave of an ordinary person has been dug up, the coffin opened and the corpse rendered visible, the chief culprits shall be condemned to decapitation with the sword, and their execution not be postponed (for confirmation of the sentence by the higher authorities). As for the accomplices: without taking into consideration how many times they have joined in such a crime, they shall be condemned to strangulation and be kept in jail till their sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities (Comp. the first fundamental article).

»He who has opened a grave and rendered the coffin visible, then sawn a seam or made a hole in it and extracted clothes and ornaments from it even without laying bare the corpse, shall, if he has acted as chief culprit, be condemned to strangulation and be executed without awaiting confirmation of his sentence by the higher authorities. All his accomplices shall likewise be sentenced to strangulation, and be confined in jail until their sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities.

»When graves have been dug up, the coffins opened and the

corpses rendered visible, all the accomplices who have assisted the chief culprits by laying hands on the graves and opening the coffins shall, without the number of times they have committed such an act being taken into consideration, at the autumnal revision of their sentence (by the high provincial authorities) be ranked among the criminals whose cases are properly verified (and whose sentence consequently need not be sent up to the Metropolis for Imperial confirmation). And those who, without having been actively engaged in the crime, have been present as spectators, shall, if they have been present on one or two such occasions, be ranked (at the said revision) among the criminals whose execution must be delayed, (their sentence having to be sent up to Peking for confirmation); but if they have been present on three or more occasions, they shall be ranked among those whose cases are properly verified.

»And in case graves have been opened, the coffins rendered visible and seams have been sawn or holes made therein, then the accomplices who have assisted in cutting and sawing shall, if they have committed the crime on three or more occasions, be ranked at the provincial revision among the criminals whose cases are properly verified; but if they have rendered themselves guilty thereof only once or twice, they shall be ranked among those whose execution must be delayed. And those who, without having been actively engaged in the crime, have been present as spectators, shall, if they have been present on six occasions, be ranked among the criminals whose cases are properly verified; and if they have been present on from one to five occasions, they shall be classed amongst those whose execution is to be delayed until the Imperial confirmation of their sentence has been given.

»If the grave of an ordinary person has been dug up, so that the coffin or vault has become visible, the chief culprits shall be transported for life to a province not far distant [1], but if they are fifty or over fifty years old, they shall be transported for life to an adjacent province. The accomplices shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years (Comp. the first fundamental article).

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1 The provinces or departments, near or far-off, where convicts condemned to lifelong banishment are to be sent, are enumerated for each province separately in chapter 5 of the Code, §§ 充軍地方 and 徒流遷徙地方. Convicts condemned to temporary banishment are not sent out of their province.

Second Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1821)

盜未殯未埋屍柩鋸縫鑿孔爲首一二次者杖一百徒三年。三次者總徒四年、四次五次者發邊遠充軍、六次及六次以上者發極邊烟瘴充軍。

爲從一二次者杖九十徒二年半。三次者杖一百徒三年。四次五次者總徒四年。六次七次者發邊遠充軍。八次及八次以上者發極邊烟瘴充軍。

»If a person has once or twice stolen a coffin containing a corpse, which was not yet temporarily buried or buried for good, and has then sawn a seam or made a hole in it, he shall, if he has acted as chief culprit, be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and three years banishment. Should he have committed such a crime three times, he shall be banished for four years; if four or five times, he shall be banished for life to a distant province; and if he has committed the offence six or more times, he shall be banished for ever to the remotest province where a malarious climate reigns (Kwangtung).

»As for the accomplices: — if they have joined in the crime once or twice, they shall be liable to ninety blows with the long stick and banishment for two years and a half. If they have done so three times, they shall receive one hundred blows and be banished for three years, and if four or five times, the banishment shall last for four years. Should they have joined in such a crime six or seven times, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a distant province, and if they have done so eight or more times, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment in the remotest province where a malarious climate reigns.

Third Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1806)

凡奴婢雇工人發掘家長墳塚、已行未見棺者爲首擬絞監候。爲從發近邊充軍。

見棺槨者爲首絞立決。爲從絞監候。

開棺槨見屍者爲首斬立決梟示。爲從斬監候。

毀棄撇撒死屍者不分首從皆斬、立決梟示。

如有家長尊卑親屬或外人爲首爲從、分別服制凡人各以首從論。

»Any slave, either male or female, who has opened the grave of his or her master, or any hired workman who has opened that of his employer, the work being commenced, but the coffin not yet being rendered visible, shall, if he (or she) has acted as chief culprit, be strangled, being previously kept in prison for the confirmation of the sentence by the higher authorities. The accomplices shall be sent into lifelong banishment in a province not far distant.

»Should the coffin or vault have become visible in such a case, the chief culprits shall be strangled and their execution not be postponed till the sentence has been confirmed. And their accomplices too shall be executed in the same way, being previously detained in prison for confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities.

»And if the coffin or vault has been opened and the corpse has become visible, the chief culprits shall be decapitated without awaiting revision of their sentence, and their heads be exposed on stakes as a warning to the public. The accomplices too shall be liable to decapitation, but shall be kept in prison to await confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities.

»Finally, if the corpse has been mutilated, thrown away, beaten, or tossed about, both the chief culprits and the accomplices shall be beheaded; their execution shall not be postponed for confirmation of their sentence, and their heads shall be exposed as a warning to the public.

»If, in the above cases, there be among the chief culprits and the accomplices elders of the family of the dead person, or superior and inferior relations of his, or members of other families, each one must be severally sentenced, in his capacity of chief culprit or accomplice, in accordance with the mourning which he must observe for the dead person, or in accordance with the circumstance of his being no relation to the same.

Fourth Supplementary Article.

貪人吉壤將遠年之墳盜發者、子孫告發、審有確據、將盜發之人以開棺見尸律擬絞監候。

如非其子孫、又非實有確據之前人古塚、但因有土墩見人埋葬輒稱伊遠祖墳墓、勾引匪類夥告夥証、陷害無辜、審明、將爲首者照誣告人死罪未決律杖一百流三千里。爲從各照誣告爲從律科斷。

若實係本人遠祖之墳被人發掘盜葬、因將所盜葬之棺發掘拋棄者、照祖父母父母被殺子孫不告官司而擅殺行兇人律杖六十。

若盜葬者並無發掘等情、止在切近墳旁盜葬、而本家輒行發掘者、應照地界內有死人不報官司而輒移他處律科斷。如有毀棄屍骸、照地界內有死人而移尸毀棄律科斷。

若非係墳地、止在田地場園內盜葬、而地主發掘開棺見屍、仍照律擬絞。其不開棺見尸者各照本律減一等治罪。

如兩造本係親屬、其所侵損之墳塚棺槨屍骸與本身皆有服制者各照律內服制科斷。

»If some one, coveting another's burial ground which brings good luck (to the offspring), has fraudulently dug up a grave of ancient date, and the descendants of that dead person lodge a complaint against him with the magistrates, who, on investigating the case, find incontestable proofs of the crime, the perpetrator thereof shall be condemned to strangulation in accordance with the fundamental law against opening coffins and rendering visible the corpses therein contained, and be imprisoned until his sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities (See the first fundamental article).

»Should there, however, be no offspring of that dead person, or no incontestable proofs exist that the old grave is really that of some person of former times, and it should appear that people, on seeing a burial performed in a place where there was a heap of earth, have pretended without good reasons that it was a grave of

a remote ancestor of theirs, bringing with them bad folks of the same sort as themselves to lodge a complaint in concert with them and to bear witness with them, for the purpose of plunging innocent folks into grief and trouble — in such a case, after the truth has been properly ascertained, the chief culprits shall be sentenced according to the law which provides for cases of false accusation against others when the sentence of death has not yet been executed, that is to say, they shall be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and transportation for life to a distance of 3000 miles [1]. And their accomplices shall each be sentenced in accordance with the law which contains provisos against accomplices in false complaints.

»But, if the grave be really that of a remote ancestor of the party concerned, and this ancestor has been dug up by others and another corpse fraudulently buried in his place, — if then this second coffin be dug up (by the original owners of the grave) and cast away, they shall be punished with sixty blows with the long stick, in accordance with the law against sons or grandsons who, should their grandparents or parents be killed, do not enter a complaint with the authorities, but, taking the law into their own hands, slay the murderer.

»Should the parties who have buried the corpse in a fraudulent manner not have unearthed the old corpse or done any damage to the same, but simply performed the burial in the immediate proximity of the tumulus, then the original owners shall, if they have dug out the second corpse without authorisation, be sentenced according to the fundamental law which provides against those who, when a person is found dead within the precincts of a place, do not inform the magistrates thereof, but arbitrarily transfer the corpse to another spot (sixth fundamental art.). And if thereafter the corpse or the skeleton be mutilated (by others), or cast away, they shall be sentenced according to the fundamental law which provides against those who, when a person is found dead within the precincts of a place, transfer the corpse to another spot, in consequence of which it is mutilated or cast away (see the sixth fundamental art.).

»If the fraudulent burial has not been performed in a burial ground, but simply in a field, meadow or garden, and the owner of this ground has dug up the grave, opened the coffin, and rendered the corpse visible, he shall be condemned to strangulation, in accord-

1 Comp. Chapter 30 of the Code, § 誣告.

ance with the fundamental law (art. I). But if he has not opened the coffin or rendered the corpse visible, his sentence shall be reduced by one degree of punishment, likewise in accordance with the fundamental law (art. I).

»If both parties are relations by consanguinity or affinity, so that there exist mourning ties between the corpse in the damaged grave or coffin and the perpetrators, each one of the latter shall be sentenced in accordance with the gradations of mourning as fixed by law.

Fifth Supplementary Article.

民人、除無故空焚已葬屍棺者仍照例治罪外、其因爭墳阻葬開棺易鑼埋藏占葬者亦照開棺見屍殘毀死屍各本律治罪。

若以他骨暗埋豫立封堆、僞說蔭基、審係恃强占葬者照强占官民山場律治罪。

審係私自偷埋者照於有主墳地內偷葬律治罪。其侵犯他人墳塚者照發掘他人墳塚律治罪。

如果審係地師教誘、將教誘之地師均照詐教誘人犯法律分別治罪。若地方官隱諱寬縱、不實力查究、照例參處。

»If — apart from the case when people, without valid reasons, take a buried coffin out of a grave and burn it, which is a crime that must be punished in accordance with the supplementary articles — it should occur that obstacles are laid in the way of a burial because the ground is in dispute, and yet such burial be arrogantly performed in those grounds after the parties have opened a coffin therein buried, placed the remains in an urn and interred them, they shall also be punished according to the (first and second) fundamental articles which contain provisos against opening coffins, rendering corpses visible and mutilating them.

»Should any person secretly bury other bones under a tumulus which he has thrown up for that purpose, and then falsely pretend that the spot is a patrimonial possession of his, it shall be inquired into whether this burial has taken place by an abuse of authority, and the culprit in this case shall be punished according to the fundamental law which provides against forcible

appropriation of grounds reserved by the Government or belonging to the people [1].

»If, however, the enquiry brings to light that the deed was done in an underhand, clandestine manner, the culprit shall be punished according to the (fifth) fundamental article which provides against burying corpses stealthily in the burial grounds of others. And if he has thus encroached upon a grave of the other party, he shall be punished according to the (first) fundamental article which provides against digging up other people's graves.

»In case it is discovered that the culprit has been seduced by geomancers to commit the act, they shall be punished according to the fundamental law which provides against inducing people by bad suggestions to transgress the laws [2]. The local authorities also shall, according to the supplementary articles, be included in the case and punished, should they have hushed up, evaded or connived at such a crime, or neglected to investigate it with promptitude.

Sixth Supplementary Article.

(Passed in 1821)

盜未殯未埋屍柩及發年久穿陷之塚、未開棺槨者杖一百徒三年。爲從杖九十徒二年半。

開棺見屍爲首一次者發邊遠充軍、二次者發極邊烟瘴充軍、三次者絞。爲從一次者徒四年、二次者發邊遠充軍、三次者發極邊烟瘴充軍、三次以上者亦絞。

»They who have stolen a coffin containing a corpse not yet buried temporarily or for good, and also they who have dug up a grave that had become open or had caved in with age, shall, if they have not opened the coffin or the vault, be sentenced to one hundred blows with the long stick and three years banishment (Comp. the first fundamental art. and the second supplementary art.). Their accomplices shall receive ninety blows and be banished for two years and a half.

»Should they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse

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1 To be found in chapter 9 of the Code, § 盜賣田宅. It stipulates one hundred blows with the long stick, followed by lifelong banishment in a country three thousand miles away.

2 This law, contained in chapter 32 of the Code, stipulates the same punishment for the man who has induced another to a crime, as for the perpetrator himself.

visible, the chief culprits shall, if they have committed this offence only once, be sent to a distant province into lifelong banishment. Should they have committed it twice, they shall be sent into such banishment to the remotest province where a malarious climate reigns (Kwangtung); but should they have perpetrated the crime three times, they shall be strangled (Comp. the first fundamental art.). As for the accomplices: — if guilty of the offence for the first time, they shall be banished for four years; if they have committed it twice, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a distant province; having committed the offence three times, they shall be banished to the most distant province where malarious diseases reign; and having repeated it more than three times, they shall be strangled.

Seventh Supplementary Article.

凡愚民惑於風水擅稱洗筋檢筋名色、將已葬父母及五服以內尊長骸骨發掘檢視占驗吉凶者均照服制以毀棄坐罪。帮同洗檢之人俱以爲從論、地保扶同隱匿、照知人謀害他人不卽阻首律杖一百。

若有故而以禮遷葬仍照律勿論。

»If among the ignorant people which is led astray by the fung-shui theories, anybody, pretending without valid reasons that he ought to wash the remains and examine them, should exhume the bones of his buried father or mother, or of a superior and senior member of his family for whom he must observe mourning in one of the five degrees, and examine the bones and augur good or evil therefrom, he shall be sentenced as if he had mangled the corpse or thrown it away, but in accordance with (the relationship existing between him and the dead man according to) the rescripts on mourning (See the third fundamental art.). Those who have assisted him in washing and examining the bones, shall all be dealt with as accomplices; and the headman of the ward and his assistants, if they have hushed up the matter, shall be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick, as required by the law against those who, knowing that any one intends to do harm to another, do not immediately take measures to prevent the conspirator.

»If the remains are transferred into another grave for valid reasons and with observance of the proper ceremonial, the case is, according to the (second) fundamental article, not actionable.

Eighth Supplementary Article.

(Enacted in this shape in 1810)

凡毆故殺人案內兇犯起意殘毀死屍及棄尸水中、其聽從擡棄之人、無論在場有無傷人、俱照棄屍爲從律杖一百徒三年。若埋屍滅跡、其聽從擡埋之人、審係在場幇毆有傷律應滿杖者、亦杖一百徒三年。其在場並未傷人、止于聽從擡埋者照里長地鄰棄尸律杖六十徒一年。

[如案內餘人起意毀棄及埋屍滅跡、仍照棄屍爲首律杖一百流三千里]。

不失屍者各減一等。若受雇擡埋並不知情者仍照地界內有死人不報官司而輒移藏律杖八十。

至竊劫之犯、如有在湖河舟次格鬬致斃、屍墮水中漂流不獲、及山谷險隘猝然遇暴、屍沉澗溪、本無毀棄之情、仍依格殺本律科斷、毋庸牽引棄屍之律。

若係在家黃夜格捕致屍姦盜之犯、或在曠野道途格殺拒捕盜賊罪、本不應擬、抵將屍毀棄掩埋移投坑井者照地界內有死人不報官司私自掩埋律杖八十。因而遺失者照地界內有死人移置他所以致失屍律杖一百。

如有格殺之後懷挾仇恨逞兇殘毀投棄水火割剝損傷者仍照毀棄死尸本律科罪。

其隨同協捕共毆之餘人有犯棄毀移埋等項、俱照此例分別辦理。

»If in a case of wilful murder committed in a riot the murderers suggest the mutilation or mangling of the corpse, or the casting of it into the water, those who suffer the corpse to be carried off and thrown away shall all be punished, as accomplices, under the (third) fundamental article which provides against the throwing away of corpses, and, without its being taken into consideration whether they have or have not received any wounds on the spot, they shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished

for three years [1]. Should the murderers have effaced vestiges of the riot by burying the corpse, the men who have tolerated their carrying away the same and burying it shall — if it be judicially proved that they were present on the spot and had a hand in the affray or were wounded, in which case the law requires the highest number of blows ever inflicted — also receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years. But those who have merely been present on the spot without receiving wounds, being thus only guilty of having suffered the culprits to bear the corpse away and bury it, shall come under the (sixth) fundamental article which provides against village chiefs and neighbours suffering a corpse to be thrown away, and be sentenced to sixty blows with the long stick and banishment for one year.

»[Should in the above case other persons than the rioters have suggested a mangling of the corpse or the throwing of it away, or have effaced traces of the fact by burying it, they shall be adjudged in accordance with the (third) fundamental article which contains provisos against those acting as chief culprits in the crime of throwing away a corpse, and be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and transportation for life to a distance of three thousand miles.]

»Should the corpse not be lost, each of the above punishments shall be abated one degree. And if the corpse has been conveyed away and buried by men who were paid for their work or were unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, they shall fall under the (sixth) fundamental article which contains provisos against those who, when a person is found dead within the precincts of a place, do not inform the magistrates or arbitrarily transfer the corpse to another spot and bury it, and, like such offenders, receive eighty blows with the long stick.

»Now passing on to cases of theft and robbery. If in a ship on a lake or river there occur a fight in which some one is killed, and his corpse falls into the water, floats away and is not rescued; or if somewhere in the mountains on a steep and dangerous path any one should meet with a cruel death by violence, which may occasion his corpse to be swallowed up by a brook — in both of these cases, if originally there existed no intention to mutilate the corpse or to cast it away, sentence shall be pronounced according

1 That is to say, with one degree less punishment than the third fundamental article requires for the chief offenders. It is a general rule in China that accomplices are punished one degree less severely than the chief culprits.

to the fundamental laws against homicide, and the article concerning the throwing away of dead bodies is here not applicable.

»And if in a house, in the dark, an attack has been made, entailing manslaughter in consequence of fornication or robbery, or if thieves or robbers have murderously assailed any one in the open field or on the public highroad, then to those who cannot be brought up for trial for this crime, but who have tolerated the mutilation of the corpse, its being cast away, buried or taken to an abyss or well and thrown therein, the (sixth) fundamental article containing provisos against those who, when a person is found dead within the precincts of a place, do not inform the magistrates, but secretly transfer it elsewhere and hide it in the ground, shall be applicable, that is to say, eighty blows with the long stick shall be inflicted upon them. And if in consequence of their non-activity the corpse was lost, the (sixth) fundamental article against those who, when a dead body is found within the precincts of a place, transfer it to another spot, so that it is lost, shall be applicable to them, and a hundred blows with the long stick shall be inflicted.

»If, after such a murder, some one, harbouring feelings of hatred and revenge, in a fit of cruelty mutilates the corpse or throws it into the water or the fire, or cuts and hacks, injures and wounds it, he shall be sentenced according to the (third) fundamental article which contains provisos against mutilating or throwing away of dead bodies.

»All other persons who have accompanied the perpetrators of the crime, helped them in the attack or taken an active part in the fight, shall, if accused of the throwing away or the mangling of the corpse, or of its transportation to another spot, or of its burial etc., be specially tried under the application of the provisos contained in the present supplementary article.

Ninth Supplementary Article.

凡盜葬之人、除侵犯他人墳塚發掘開棺見屍者仍各按照律例治罪外、如因盜葬後被地主發掘棄毀、無論所葬係尊長及卑幼屍柩、俱照强占官民山塲律杖一百流三千里。

如於有主墳地及切近墳旁盜葬、尚無侵犯、致被地主發掘等情者照强占山塲滿流律量減一等、杖一百徒三年。

若止於田園山塲內盜塋者照强占山塲滿流律量減二等、杖九十徒二年半。

仍勒限一個月押令犯屬遷移、逾限不遷卽將犯屬枷示、候遷移日釋放。其唆令盜葬之地師訟師與本犯一體治罪。

» Whenever people have fraudulently buried a corpse — apart from the cases when they have encroached upon the grave of another, dug it up, opened the coffin, or rendered the corpse visible, for which crimes they are to be punished according to the fundamental and supplementary articles — if then, after that burial has been performed, the grave be dug up by the owner of the ground and the corpse thrown away or mutilated, it shall not be taken into consideration whether the buried corpse is that of a superior or senior family member (of the buriers) or an inferior or junior relation of theirs, but to all of them the fundamental law shall be applicable which contains provisos against forcible appropriation of grounds which are reserved by the Government or belong to the people (Comp. the fifth supplementary article), viz. one hundred blows with the long stick shall be inflicted, followed by a lifelong banishment to a country three thousand miles away.

» Should such a fraudulent burial have been performed in burial ground which is owned by another, or in the close proximity of a tumulus without incroaching upon the grave itself, then, in case the owner of the ground has dug up the (new) grave and has acted as above, the same law which demands transportation for life for forcible appropriation of grounds shall be applicable (to the buriers), but with a reduction of one degree, so that the punishment shall amount to one hundred blows with the long stick and banishment for three years.

» And if they had only fraudulently buried the dead in a field or in an ordinary plot of ground, again the same law shall be applicable to them, but with a reduction of two degrees, so that they shall receive ninety blows with the long stick and be banished for two years and a half.

» Besides, (in each of these three cases) the family of the offenders shall be enjoined to remove the remains within one month, and if they do not do so, they shall be placed in the cangue, no more to be released from it until the day on which the order is executed. The geomancers and the advocates who have induced the

culprits to perform the fraudulent burial, shall be punished together with the chief offenders.

Tenth Supplementary Article.

(Enacted in this shape in 1845)

凡子孫發掘祖父母父母墳塚、均不分首從。已行未見棺槨者皆絞立決。見棺槨者皆斬立決、開棺見屍並毀棄尸骸者皆凌遲處死。

若開棺見屍至三塚者、除正犯凌遲處死外、其餘俱發往伊犂當差。如有尊長卑幼或外人爲首爲從、分別服制凡人各以首從論。

»Should children or grandchildren dig up the grave of their parent or grandparent, no distinction between chief culprits and accomplices shall be made. If they have begun the work, but not yet rendered the coffin or the vault visible, they shall be strangled, without postponement of execution till their sentence has been confirmed. Should the coffin or the vault have been rendered visible, they shall all be beheaded, likewise without such postponement; and if they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse visible, or if they have mutilated the remains, or cast them away, they shall all undergo slow death by the knives[1] (Comp. fundamental art. II and III).

»If people have opened the coffins in three graves, rendering the corpses visible, they shall all, excepted the chief culprits, who shall suffer slow death by the knives, be transported to Ili and there be placed in government thraldom. If the chief culprits or

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1 The punishment also applied in cases of parricide, matricide and rebellion. It is called ling-ch'i, generally written 凌遲, though the correct form is 凌剮. The word means »ignominious slashing". »It is", says the commentary to the Code, »to be inflicted in the following manner: The criminal is sliced and slashed until »there remain no fleshy parts on his body. After this, the male organs are destroyed »with the knife, or, in the case of a woman, the female organ, and then the body »is vicerated, in order to extinguish life. Subsequently the limbs are severed from »the trunk and the bones destroyed, after which no more is done": 凌遲者其法、乃刣而磔之、必至體無餘臠。然後爲之割其勢、女則幽其閉、出其臟腑以畢其命。仍爲支分節解、殲其骨而後已. Chapter 4, l. 3. It seems, however, that practically the mutilation is confined to a few slashes quickly followed by decapitation.

accomplices are superior and senior relations of the buried persons, or inferior and junior relations, or people not belonging to their family, they must be severally sentenced, in their capacity of chief culprits or accomplices, in accordance with the mourning which they must observe (for the buried persons), or in accordance with the circumstance of their being no relations of the same.

Eleventh Supplementary Article.

(Dating from 1806)

凡指稱旱魃刨墳毀屍、爲首者照發塚開棺見屍律擬絞監候。如訊明實無嫌隙、秋審入於緩決、若審有挾仇洩忿情事、秋審入于情實。

爲從帮同刨毀者改發近邊充軍、年在五十以上仍發附近充軍、其僅止聽從同行並未動手者杖一百徒三年。

» If people declare a dead man to be a devil who causes drought, and dig up his grave and mangle the corpse, the chief offenders shall suffer under the (first) fundamental article which provides against the digging up of graves with the opening of the coffin and rendering visible of the corpse, and be sentenced to strangulation, but be kept in jail to await the confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities. If it has been proved at the judicial nvestigation that the culprits cannot really be suspected of having used the accusation of the dead as a pretext, their sentence shall at the provincial autumn revision be ranked among those which are to be delayed (and sent to Peking for Imperial confirmation); but if it be proved that they have acted from a grudge, or in an outburst of hatred, the case shall at the autumnal revision be placed among the cases properly verified (and not be sent up to the Metropolis).

» As to the accomplices who have assisted in digging up the grave and mangling the corpse, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment in a province not far distant, or, if they are over fifty years of age, to an adjacent province; and those who have done nothing more than tolerate the crime or have accompanied the culprits, without moving their hands, shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years.

Twelfth Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in this shape in 1814)

子孫盜祖父母父母未殯未埋屍柩、不分首從、開棺見尸者皆斬立決。如未開棺槨、事屬已行確有顯跡者皆絞立決。

如有尊長卑幼或外人爲首爲從、分別服制凡人各以首從論。

»Sons or grandsons who steal a coffin containing the corpse of their parent or grandparent not yet buried temporarily or for good, shall, whether they are chief culprits or accomplices, be beheaded without postponement of the execution till their sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities, if they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse visible. Should they not have opened the coffin or the vault, but unmistakable marks be found that a beginning of this crime had been made, they shall all be strangled, without postponement of their execution for confirmation of their sentence.

»If, in the above cases, there be among the chief culprits and accomplices superior and senior or inferior and junior relations of the dead person, or members of other families, each one must be severally sentenced, in his capacity of chief culprit or accomplice, in accordance with the mourning which he must observe (for the dead person), or in accordance with the circumstance of his being no relation of the same.

Thirteenth Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in this shape in 1814)

有服卑幼盜尊長未殯未埋屍柩、未開棺槨者爲首期親卑幼發極邊足四千里充軍、功緦卑幼發邊遠充軍。爲從期親卑幼發邊遠充軍、功緦卑幼發近邊充軍。

開棺見尸者爲首期親卑幼實發雲貴兩廣極邊烟瘴充軍、功緦卑幼發極邊足四千里充軍。爲從期親卑幼發極邊足四千里充軍、功緦卑幼發邊遠充軍。

如有尊長或外人爲首爲從、分別服制凡人各以首從論。

»Inferior or junior members of a family, who have stolen a coffin containing the corpse of a superior or senior relation not yet buried temporarily or for good, shall, if they must mourn for the defunct, be sentenced as follows, should they not have opened the coffin or the vault: — in case they acted as chief culprits, they shall be banished for life to a most distant province four thousand miles away if they are inferior or junior relations who must mourn in the second degree; and to lifelong transportation to a distant province if they are such relations in the three lower degrees of mourning. In case they have acted the part of accomplices, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a distant province if they belong to the mourners of the second degree; and if they are mourners of the three lower degrees, to a province not far away.

»But, if they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse visible, chief culprits who are inferior or junior relatives of the dead person and must mourn for him in the second degree, shall be decidedly banished for life to a most distant province where the climate is malarious, such as Yunnan, Kweicheu, Kwangsi, or Kwangtung; or if they are such relations in the three lower degrees of mourning, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a most distant province four thousand miles away. And of the accomplices, those who rank among the inferior and junior mourners in the second degree shall be banished for life to a most distant province four thousand miles away, and such as rank among those in the third, fourth or fifth degree, to a distant province.

»Should, in the above cases, there be among the chief culprits and accomplices superior and senior relations of the dead person, or members of other families, each one must be severally sentenced, in his capacity of chief culprit or accomplice, in accordance with the mourning he must observe (for the dead person), or in accordance with the circumstance of his being no relation of the same.

Fourteenth Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1870)

有服卑幼發掘尊長墳塚、未見棺槨者爲首期親卑幼發極邊足四千里充軍、功緦卑幼發邊遠充軍。爲從期親卑幼發邊遠充軍、功緦卑幼發近邊充軍。

見棺槨者爲首期親卑幼實發雲貴兩廣極邊

烟瘴充軍、功緦卑幼發極邊足四千里充軍。爲從期親卑幼發極邊足四千里充軍、功緦卑幼發邊遠充軍。

如有尊長或外人爲首爲從、分別服制凡人各以首從論。

開棺見屍並鋸縫鑿孔首從之卑幼、無論期親功緦、均照常人一例問擬。

»Inferior or junior members of a family, who have dug up the grave of a superior or senior relation without rendering the coffin or vault visible, shall, if they must mourn for the defunct, be sentenced as follows: — in case they have acted as chief culprits, they shall be banished for life to a most distant province four thousand miles away if they are inferior or junior relations who must mourn in the second degree, and subjected to lifelong banishment in a distant province if they are such relations in the three lower degrees of mourning. If they have been engaged in the crime as accomplices, they shall be banished for life to a distant province should they be relations in the second degree; but if they are relations in the three lower degrees, to a province not far away.

»If the coffin or vault has been rendered visible, the chief culprits, if they are inferior or junior relations of the dead who must mourn for him in the second degree, shall be sent decidedly into lifelong banishment to a most distant province where a malarious climate reigns, such as Yunnan, Kweicheu, Kwangsi or Kwangtung; but if they are such relations in the three lower degrees of mourning, they shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a most distant province, four thousand miles away. And of the accomplices, those inferior and junior relations who rank in the second degree of mourning shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a most distant province, four thousand miles away, and such as rank in the three lowest degrees, to a distant province.

»Should the chief offenders or accomplices be superior and senior relations of the dead person, or people not belonging to his family, then they must be severally sentenced, in their capacity of chief offenders or accomplices, in accordance with the mourning which they must observe (for the occupant of the desecrated grave), or in accordance with the circumstance of their being no relations of the same.

»Persons who have opened the coffin of a dead person of whom they are inferior or junior relations and rendered the corpse visible, or have sawn a seam in the coffin or cut a hole in it, shall, whether they are chief culprits or accomplices, all be brought up for trial and sentenced according to the (first) supplementary article which contains provisos against such crimes when perpetrated against an ordinary person, without its being taken into consideration whether they are relatives in the second, third, fourth or fifth degrec ot mourning.

Fifteenth Supplementary Article.

(Dating from 1810)

有服尊長盜卑幼未殯未埋屍柩、開棺見屍者緦麻尊長爲首依發卑幼墳塚開棺見屍杖一百徒三年律減一等。未開棺槨者再減一等。如係小功以上尊長爲首、各依律以次遞減。爲從之尊長亦各按服制減爲首之罪一等。

如有卑幼或外人爲首爲從、分別服制凡人各以首從論。

»Superior or senior members of a family, who have stolen away a coffin which contains the corpse of an inferior or junior relation not yet buried temporarily or for good, shall, if they must mourn for the defunct, be sentenced as follows, should they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse visible: — if they are superior or senior relations who must mourn in the fifth degree, they shall, if they have acted as chief offenders, come under the (second) fundamental article which stipulates one hundred blows with the long stick and three years banishment for those who dig up the grave of an inferior or junior relation, open the coffin and render the corpse visible, but they shall be punished one degree less severely. Should they not have opened the coffin or the vault, their punishment shall be abated one degree more. And if they are superior or senior relations in the fourth degree of mourning or in a higher degree, their punishment shall, if they have acted as chief offenders, be reduced in proportion, in accordance with the same fundamental article. Should they have acted as accomplices, each of them shall be punished one degree less severely

than the chief offenders, in accordance with their relationship as established by the degrees of mourning.

»If among the chief culprits or accomplices in the crime there are inferior or junior relations of the dead person, or people who are no relations of his, then they must be severally sentenced, in their capacity of chief culprits or accomplices, in accordance with the mourning they must observe (for the deceased), or in accordance with the circumstance of their being no relations of the same.

Sixteenth Supplementary Article.
(Dating in this revised shape from 1870)

糾衆發塚起棺索財取贖、已得財者將起意及爲從下手發掘扛擡棺木之犯比依强盜得財律、不分首從、皆斬立決。跟隨同行在場瞭望之犯發新疆給官兵爲奴。其未經得財者首犯仍比依强盜得財律斬立決、從犯俱發新疆給官兵爲奴。

如發塚後將屍骨拋棄道路並將控告人殺害者亦照强盜得財律、不分首從、皆斬立決。

»If any party have opened a grave, taken the coffin out of it and set a ransom upon it, then, if they have already received a ransom, those who have suggested the deed, their accomplices and those who have lent a helping hand in digging up the coffin and removing it, shall come under the fundamental law which provides against those who have appropriated wealth by robbery with main force [1], that is to say, both the chief offenders and their accomplices shall be condemned to be beheaded with the sword, and their execution shall not be postponed for confirmation of the sentence by the higher authorities. Those who have followed close at their heels, or have been present at the scene of the crime as spectators, shall be deported to Turkestan and there be given in slavery to the soldiery of the authorities. And if the offenders have not yet received a ransom, the fundamental law which provides against appropriating wealth by robbery with main force shall likewise be applied to the chief culprits and they shall be

1 See chapter 23 of the Code, § 强盜, the first fundamental article.

decapitated, without postponement of their execution till their sentence has been confirmed, and all the accomplices shall be sent to Turkestan and there be given into slavery to the soldiery of the authorities.

»Should the offenders, after opening the grave, have thrown away the remains on the road and then accused somebody else of a murder, the law which provides against appropriating goods by main force shall also in this case be applicable to them and decapitation without revision of the sentence be the punishment of them all, no distinction being made between chief culprits and accomplices.

Seventeenth Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1821)

平治他人墳墓爲田園、未見棺槨、止一塚者仍照律杖一百。如平治多塚、每三塚加一等、罪止杖一百徒三年。

卑幼於尊長有犯、緦麻功服各加凡人一等、期親又加一等。若子孫平治祖墳並奴僕雇工平治家長墳、一塚者杖一百徒三年。每一塚加一等、仍照加不至死之例、加至實發雲貴兩廣極邊烟瘴充軍爲止。

其因平治而盜賣墳地、得財者均按律計贓准竊盜論加一等。贓輕者各加平治罪一等。知情謀買者悉與犯人同罪、不知者不坐。

如因平治而强佔或盜賣、計畝數多按例應擬徒流充軍。

以至因平治而見棺見屍並棄毀屍骸、按例應擬軍遣斬絞凌遲者仍照各本例從其重者論。

其子孫因貧賣地、留墳祭掃並未平治又非盜賣者不在此例。

»He who has levelled a tumulus belonging to others and made a field or garden of it, shall, if he has not rendered the coffin or the vault visible and has levelled only one grave, be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick in accordance with the

(fifth) fundamental article. But if he has levelled several tumuli, his punishment shall be increased one degree for every three, up to one hundred blows and three years banishment as a maximum.

»Should inferior or junior members of a family violate the grave of a superior or senior relation in the above way, their punishment shall, in case the perpetrators are mourners in the three lowest degrees, be one degree more severe than if they had violated the grave of a person not belonging to their family, and it shall again be increased by one degree if they are mourners in the second degree. Should sons or grandsons level the grave of an ancestor, or slaves that of their master, or workmen that of their employer, they shall receive one hundred blows and be banished for three years. These punishments shall be increased one degree for each extra grave levelled by them; but such increase shall never entail the pain of death on the culprits, nor shall it ever exceed lifelong banishment to a most distant province with a malarious climate, such as Yunnan, Kwei-cheu, Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

»If people who have levelled another's grave fraudulently sell the ground, they shall, if they have received money, be sentenced as for ordinary theft according to the amount received, in accordance with the fundamental law concerning such offence [1], but with the addition of one degree of punishment. If but a small sum has been obtained by the sale, each culprit shall be punished one degree more severely than it he had merely levelled the grave. And if those who have bought the ground were aware of the circumstances of the case, they shall be punished in the same way as the offenders; but they shall not be punished if they have bought it unwittingly.

»And if people who have levelled another's grave appropriate the ground by abuse of power and then fraudulently sell it or keep possession of it, sentence of temporary or lifelong banishment shall be pronounced on them, in accordance with the supplementary articles, in proportion to the size of the ground in question.

»Should, in levelling the ground, the coffin or the corpse become visible or the remains be thrown away or mutilated, so that the supplementary articles requiring lifelong banishment, decapitation, strangling, or slow death by the knives, become applicable, then in each of these cases the severest punishment required by the supplementary article relevant hereto shall be applied.

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1 Comp. note 1 on page 869.

»Should sons or grandsons sell their family sepulchral grounds because of poverty, but leave the graves as they are, sacrificing upon them and sweeping them (on the established annual dates), without levelling them, there being, moreover, no question of fraudulent sale, then such case would not fall under this article.

Eighteenth Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1821)

奴僕雇工人盜家長未殯未埋屍柩、未開棺槨、事屬已行確有顯跡者照發塚已行未見棺例爲首絞監候、爲從發近邊充軍。

開棺見屍者照發塚見棺槨例爲首絞立決、爲從絞監候。

其毀棄撇撒死屍者仍照舊例不分首從皆斬立決。

»If slaves or hired workmen steal the coffin which contains their master's or employer's corpse not yet buried temporarily or for good, they shall, if the coffin was not opened by them, but unmistakable signs are found that a beginning had been made for such purpose, fall under the (third) supplementary article which provides against the opening of (their master's or employer's) grave without the coffin being rendered visible, that is to say, the chief culprits shall be strangled, after having been detained in prison for confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities, and the accomplices shall be sent into lifelong banishment to a province not far distant.

»Should they have opened the coffin and rendered the corpse visible, they shall come under the (third) supplementary article which provides against the digging up of (their master's or employer's) grave so that the coffin or vault is rendered visible, that is to say, the chief culprits shall be strangled and their execution not be postponed till the sentence has been confirmed, and the accomplices too shall be strangled, after having been kept in jail for confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities.

»And if they have mutilated, thrown away or beaten the corpse, or tossed it about, they shall fall under the same supplementary article and both chief culprits and accomplices shall be beheaded, without their sentence being subjected to revision by the higher authorities.

Nineteenth Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1821)

發掘墳塚並盜未殯未埋屍柩、無論已開棺未開棺及鋸縫鑿孔等項、人犯各按其所犯本條之罪、分別首從、併計科斷。

如一人疊竊有首有從、則視其爲首次數與爲從次數罪名相比、從其重者論。若爲首各次併計罪輕、准其將爲首次數歸入爲從次數內併計科罪、不得以爲從次數作爲爲首次數併計。亦不得以盜未殯未埋屍柩及鋸縫鑿孔之案歸入發塚見棺及開棺見屍案內併計次數治罪。

» When graves have been dug up, or coffins containing corpses not yet buried temporarily or for good have been stolen, whether the coffins in those graves have been opened or not, or whether seams have been sawn or holes made in those stolen coffins; or other matters of the kind have occurred, then for every offender the punishment shall be fixed after comparing together the sundry punishments he is liable to for each of those crimes, either in the capacity of chief culprit or accomplice.

» Should a man have many times stolen a corpse in the capacity of either chief culprit or accomplice, then the punishments he is liable to for all the cases in which he has acted in either of these capacities must be compared, and the severest punishment be inflicted upon him. Should the punishment for the cases in which he has acted as chief culprit, calculated by comparison, turn out not to be heavy, it is allowed to place such cases among those in which he has acted as accomplice, and to fix his punishment by the same comparative method; but never shall the cases in which he has acted as accomplice be so compared with those in which he has acted as chief culprit. Neither is it allowed to place the cases in which he has stolen a coffin containing a corpse not yet buried temporarily or for good, or in which he has sawn a seam in such a coffin, or chiseled a hole in it, among the cases in which he has opened a grave and rendered the coffin visible, or has opened such a coffin and rendered the corpse visible, and to inflict the punishment resulting from such comparison.

Twentieth Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1821)

受雇看守墳墓並無主僕名分之人、如有發塚及盜未殯未埋屍柩并鋸縫鑿孔與未開棺槨者、或自行盜發、或聽從外人盜發、除死罪無可復加外、犯該軍流以下等罪悉照凡人首從各本律例上加一等問擬。

»If a salaried keeper or custodian of a grave digs up the same, whether he opens the coffin or the vault, or not; or if a free person who is a slave in name and has to perform duties as such, steals the coffin containing his master's corpse not yet buried temporarily or for good, and saws a seam in it or makes a hole in it, the culprit shall, whether he has opened the grave or committed the theft himself, or has permitted others to do so, be sentenced according to the present laws just as any ordinary person who has committed the same crime in the capacity of chief culprit or accomplice, with an addition of one degree of punishment if he should incur lifelong banishment or a lighter punishment; for if he incurs the penalty of death, this may not be increased.

Twenty-first Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in this shape in 1870)

凡發掘貝勒貝子公夫人等墳塚、開棺槨見屍者爲首斬立決、梟示、爲從皆絞立決。見棺者爲首絞立決。爲從皆絞監候。未至棺者爲首絞監候、爲從發邊遠充軍。

如有發掘歷代帝王陵寢及會典內有從祀名位之先賢名臣、並前代分藩親王或遞相承襲分藩親王墳墓者俱照此例治罪。

若發掘前代分封郡王及追封藩王墳墓者、除犯至死罪仍照發掘常人墳塚定擬外、餘各於發掘常人墳塚本罪上加一等治罪。

以上所掘金銀交與該督撫、飭令地方官修葺墳塚。其王帶珠寶等物仍置塚內。

»Whosoever digs up the grave of an Imperial prince of the third or fourth order (Bei-lêh or Bei-tszĕ) or of one of a lower degree, or the grave of the consort of a prince, or of any one of similar rank, having opened the coffin or vault and rendered the corpse visible, shall, if he has acted in the capacity of chief culprit, be decapitated with the sword and the execution not be postponed till the sentence has been confirmed; his head shall be exposed in public as a warning to the people, and the accomplices shall all be strangled, without postponement for the confirmation of the sentence. Should the coffin have been rendered merely visible, the chief culprits shall be strangled without postponement of the execution till their sentence is confirmed, and the accomplices be strangled after having been kept in custody till such a confirmation arrives. And if they have not dug so far as to reach the coffin, the chief culprits shall be strangled after having been kept in jail till their sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities, and the accomplices be sent into lifelong banishment in a distant province.

»This article shall also apply to those who have dug up the mausoleum of an emperor or ruler of a former dynasty, or the grave of an ancient sage or renowned statesman of whom a tablet inscribed with the name is worshipped at the official sacrifices of the State in obedience to the Collective Statutes, or the grave of a feudatory Imperial prince or any other prince of the nearest Imperial kin of the past dynasty, or of any one who has then inherited such a rank by birth.

»Those who have dug up the grave of an Imperial prince of the second generation of the past dynasty invested with a fief, or of any one who then was, after his death, invested with the dignity of feudatory Imperial prince, shall be punished one degree more severely than those who have dug up the grave of an ordinary individual, except when they incur the pain of death, in which case they shall be sentenced as if they had dug up the grave of an ordinary person.

»The gold and silver which in any of the above cases might have been exhumed, shall be delivered to the Provincial Governor-General or Governor, who shall order the local magistrates to repair the violated grave. The pearls, precious articles and other things which the royal inmate of the grave wore on his body, shall again be placed in the tomb.

Twenty-second Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1825)

夫毀棄妻屍者比依尊長毀棄期親卑幼死屍律於凡人杖流上遞減四等、杖七十徒一年半。不失屍及毀而但髡髮若傷者再減一等、杖六十徒一年。

» If a husband mangles or casts away the corpse of his wife, the (third) fundamental article which contains provisos against superior and senior relations who mangle or cast away the corpse of an inferior or junior member of their family for whom they must mourn in the second degree, shall be applicable to him and he accordingly be condemned to a punishment which stands four degrees higher than the bastinado and transportation which would have to be inflicted on him had he committed the same crime against a person not related to him, viz. to seventy blows with the long stick and banishment for one year and a half. Should the corpse not be lost or the mangling only affect the hair, his punishment shall be diminished one degree and thus amount to sixty blows with the long stick and banishment for one year.

Twenty-third Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1852)

凡發掘墳塚及鋸縫鑿孔偷竊之案、但經得財俱核計所得之贓、照竊盜贓科斷。如計贓輕於本罪者仍依本例定擬、若計贓重於本罪者卽從重治罪。

» Whenever theft has taken place in connection with digging up a grave, sawing a seam in a coffin or making a hole in it, then only in case some spoil has been appropriated shall the quantity thereof be minutely calculated, in order to sentence the culprit in proportion to its value [1]. Should the punishment required for such an amount of spoil be lighter than that which the culprit would have to suffer for the crime proper (the violation of the grave or the coffin), the articles relevant hereto shall be applied; but should the contrary be the case, the heavier punishment shall be inflicted.

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1 Comp. note 1 on page 869.

Certainly it would hardly be possible to find more palpable evidence of the great stress which the rulers of the Chinese nation lay upon the inviolability of the dead and their graves, than the above collection of laws, providing so minutely against their desecration in every imaginable form. Probably we do not go beyond the truth when we say that no people on the face of the earth possesses a Codex on this head of like extent and severity, and this again suggests that the Religion of the Human Corpse is nowhere so highly developed as in China. And still our readers must not suppose that these laws include everything which the present dynasty has enacted on the subject. An article, the text of which has been given on page 133, forbids the people to leave the dead unburied for over a year; others, which will be reproduced in the last chapter of this Volume, forbid their being thrown into the water, or their being burnt [1]. Even to corpses of executed criminals the Code gives its protection, prescribing that »he who after an » execution mutilates the corpse shall be punished with fifty blows » with the short bamboo stick" [2]. Elsewhere we read: »He who » mutilates or spoils in another's sepulchal ground inscribed stone » tablets or stone animals, shall be punished with eighty blows » with the long stick" [3]. »And any person who, within the precincts » of an imperial mausoleum, has caused a fire by accident, shall, » if the fire did not spread, receive eighty blows with the long stick » and be banished for two years; but if it spreads over the forest » which covers the mountains, or attacks the trees growing in the » burial ground, he shall be punished with one hundred of such blows » and lifelong banishment to a country two thousand miles distant" [4].

But this article is by no means the only one by which the Government protects the trees which, since very ancient times, filial descendants have deemed it a holy duty to plant upon the graves of

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1 See chapter 17 of the Code, § 喪葬.

2 其已處決訖別加殘毀死屍者笞五十. Chapter 37, § 斷罪不當.

3 若毀人墳塋內碑碣石獸者杖八十. Chapter 9, § 棄毀器物稼穡等.

4 若於山陵兆域內失火者、雖不延燒、杖八十徒二年、仍延燒山林兆域內林木者杖一百流二千里. Chapter 34, § 失火.

their ancestors. A whole series of laws have been enacted for the purpose. This will appear natural rather than surprising to such of our readers as remember from our dissertation on sepulchral trees (pp. 460 *sqq.*) the important place they have ever held in the Religion of the Dead since times immemorial. We place these articles before our readers as found in an edition of the Code published in 1882.

大清律例卷二十三
刑律。賊盜上
盜園陵樹木

CHAPTER XXIII OF THE LAWS OF THE GREAT TS'ING DYNASTY.
CRIMINAL LAWS. — REBELLION, ROBBERY AND THEFT, I.
STEALING TREES FROM MAUSOLEA.

Fundamental Article.

凡盜園陵內樹木者皆、不分首從、杖一百徒三年。若盜他人墳塋內樹木者首杖八十、從減一等。

若計贓重於徒杖本罪者各加盜罪一等。

»Those who steal trees which grow in a mausoleum, shall all be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and banishment for three years, whether they have acted as chief culprits or as accomplices. And if trees which grow within another's sepulchral ground are stolen, the chief culprits shall receive eighty blows with the long stick and the accomplices be chastised one degree less severely.

»Should the punishment inflicted for the theft of things of the same value as the stolen trees be heavier than the banishment or the blows inflicted by this article, the punishment for the theft of such an amount of spoil shall be inflicted [1], with an increase of one degree.

1 Comp. note 1 at the foot of page 869.

First Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in this shape in 1825)

凡山前山後各有禁限。如紅椿以內盜砍樹株、取土取石、開窰燒造、放火燒山者比照盜大祀神御物律斬、奏請定奪。爲從者發近邊充軍。

若紅椿以外官山界限以內、除採樵枝葉、仍照舊例毋庸禁止、並民間修理房塋取土刨坑不及丈餘、取用山上浮石長不及丈、及砍取自種私樹者一概不禁外、其有盜砍官樹、開山採石、掘地成濠、開窰燒造、放火燒山在紅椿以外白椿以內者卽照紅椿以內減一等、爲首問發近邊充軍、從犯杖一百徒三年。

如在白椿以外、青椿以內者爲首杖一百徒三年、從犯減一等、杖九十徒二年半。如在青椿以外、官山以內者爲首杖九十徒二年半、從犯減一等、杖八十徒二年。

計贓重於徒罪者各加一等。

官山界址在二十里以外、卽以二十里爲限、若在二十里以內、卽以官山所止之處爲限。

弁兵受賄故縱、如本犯罪應軍徒者與囚同罪。贓重者計贓以枉法從重論。本犯罪應斬決者將該弁兵等擬以絞決。

其未經得賄、潛通信息、致犯逃避、本犯罪應軍徒者亦與囚同罪。本犯罪應斬決者將該弁兵等減發極邊烟瘴充軍。

僅止疎於防範者兵丁杖一百、官弁交部議處。

» In general there exist, both in front of the high grounds (in which the Imperial mausolea are situated) and at the back thereof, limits upon which it is not allowed to trespass. Should any one inside the red posts fell trees with a thievish intent, take away earth or stones, erect a kiln and burn pottery or bricks, or set the hills on fire, he shall be punished as if he had violated the fundamental article

against stealing Imperial implements assigned for the Great Imperial Sacrifice to the Deity (Heaven)[1], that is to say, he shall be beheaded, after the Imperial confirmation of his sentence has been asked for and obtained. And his accomplices shall be banished for life to a province not far distant.

» If people with a thievish intent fell trees belonging to Government outside the red posts, but still inside the limits of the grounds reserved to the Government, or if they open the mountains there to collect stones, or dig in the earth to make a canal, or erect a kiln for burning pottery or bricks, or set the hills on fire, they shall be punished one degree less severely than if they had done the same thing within the red posts, provided the crime be perpetrated outside the latter and within the white posts; that is to say, the chief culprits shall be condemned to lifelong banishment in a province not far distant, and the accomplices be beaten with one hundred blows of the long stick and be banished for three years. Gathering fuel, branches or leaves are acts which, according to former supplementary laws, need not be forbidden; further, taking away of earth and digging away of declivities for no more than one c h a n g, for the purpose of repairing people's houses or graves, or fetching to this end loose stones from the mountains, which are not bigger than one c h a n g, or felling and removing trees which are their private property, having been planted by themselves, — all such things, not being forbidden, do not fall under this law.

» Should an offence such as the above have taken place outside the white posts and within the blue posts, the chief culprits shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years, and the accomplices shall undergo a punishment one degree less severe, namely, ninety blows with the long stick and banishment for two years and a half. And if it has been committed outside the blue posts, but still in the grounds reserved for Government use, the chief culprits shall receive the last mentioned punishment, and their accomplices one a degree less severe, viz., ninety blows and banishment for two years.

» If theft of articles of the same value as the appropriated (or damaged) things should require a punishment heavier than such banishment, then in each of the above cases the punishment required for the theft of such an amount of spoil shall be inflicted, increased by one degree

» Should the landmarks of the Government reservation grounds

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1 See chapter 23 of the Code.

be placed beyond twenty miles, the boundaries shall nevertheless be deemed to terminate at twenty; and if they are placed within twenty miles, the boundaries shall be considered to terminate at the points to which the Government grounds extend.

»If officials or soldiers (settled in the mausoleum-grounds as guardians) have wittingly tolerated an offence such as the above for a bribe, they shall, if the culprits proper have to be punished with lifelong or temporary banishment, be imprisoned together with them and receive the same punishment. And if the appropriated (or damaged) things represent a considerable value, their value shall be calculated, and the heavier of the two punishments required by the violated laws shall be inflicted upon them. Should the perpetrators, however, deserve decapitation, those officials and soldiers shall be sentenced to strangulation.

»And should they not have received any bribes, but secretly have informed the offenders, so that the latter could effect their escape, they shall, if the offenders are to be punished with lifelong or temporary banishment, be imprisoned with them and receive the same punishment. But if the offenders are sentenced to decapitation, such officials and soldiers shall be punished one degree less severely, and be banished for life to the most distant province with a malarious climate.

»Those who have merely been negligent in maintaining the regulations regarding the guarding of the ground, shall, if they are soldiers, be chastised with one hundred blows with the long stick, and if they are officials, be delivered over to the Board to which they belong, and be brought up for trial by it.

Second Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1801)

姦徒知情私買墳塋樹木者、係子孫盜賣、其私買者減子孫盜賣罪一等。

若係他人盜賣者、其私買人犯、無論株數已伐者、初犯杖一百枷號一個月。再犯杖一百枷號三個月、犯至三次者照竊盜三犯例杖一百流三千里。爲從者減一等、未伐者又各減一等、不知情者不坐。

其私買墳塋之房屋碑石磚瓦木植者均減盜賣罪一等。

樹木等物分別入官給主。

» If some wicked individual has wittingly bought trees growing in a sepulchral ground, he shall, if it be the sons or grandsons who have fraudulently sold them to him, receive a punishment one degree less severe than that imposed on the latter for such sale.

» Should other individuals have thus fraudulently sold the trees, no account shall be taken of the number of the latter, nor of the circumstance whether they have been already felled or not, but the buyer shall, if he has committed the act for the first time, be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and exposure in the cangue for one month. Should he have committed the crime twice, he shall receive the same number of blows and be exposed in the cangue during three months; if three times, he shall come under the provisos of the supplementary article against those who commit a theft for the third time, and be subject to one hundred blows with the long stick, followed by lifelong transportation to a region three thousand miles distant. His accomplices shall be punished one degree less severely, and their punishment be commuted by one degree more if the trees have not yet been felled; and if they have acted unwittingly, they shall go unpunished.

» He who has bought buildings, stone tablets, stones, bricks, tiles or wooden structures belonging to a grave ground, shall be punished one degree less severely than the individual who has fraudulently sold those things to him.

» The trees and other articles shall, in the first case, be confiscated, and, in the second case, be given back to the legal owners.

Third Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in this shape in 1814)

盜砍他人墳樹、初犯杖一百枷號一個月、再犯杖一百枷號三個月。計贓重於滿杖者照本律加竊盜罪一等。犯案至三次者卽照竊盜三犯本例計贓分別擬以軍流絞候。

其糾黨成羣、旬日之間叠次竊砍至六次以上、而統計樹數又在三十株以上、情同積匪者、無論從前曾否犯案、卽照積匪猾賊例擬軍。如連日竊砍在六次以下三次以上、樹數在三十株以下十株以上者、照積匪例量減擬徒。仍各按竊盜本例刺字。

其竊砍止一二次者從一科斷、照前例問擬。盜賣他人墳塋之房屋碑石磚瓦木植者計贓准竊盜論、免刺。

» He who fraudulently fells trees which grow on a grave belonging to others, shall, if for the first time, be punished with one hundred blows with the long stick and an exposure in the cangue for a month, and on the second offence, with the same number of blows and such an exposure during three months. Should the punishment required for theft of things of the same value as the felled trees be heavier than the said maximum of blows which is ever inflicted, the culprit shall, in accordance with the fundamental article, receive the punishment required for theft of that amount of spoil, with an increase of one degree. And should the culprit have committed the crime three times, he shall be tried under the law against theft committed three times and, in proportion to the value of the stolen goods, be sentenced either to transportation for life, or to strangulation with postponement of the execution till the sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities.

» If some individuals have clubbed together and fraudulently felled grave trees several times within the lapse of ten days, then, if they have committed this crime six or more times and the number of trees felled exceeds thirty, so as to cause their work to resemble the enterprise of a band of thieves, it shall not be inquired into whether they have rendered themselves guilty of any crime at a former date, but they shall be sentenced to transportation for life, according to the supplementary article against the brigandage of banditti [1]. And if they have felled grave trees during several days in succession, from three to six times, the number of trees ranging from ten to thirty, then the same supplementary article shall be applied with proportionate mitigations of punishment, and mere temporary banishment be pronounced. In each of the above cases every convict shall be branded, as required by the law of theft.

» If the fraudulent felling of trees have taken place but once or twice, then the case shall be treated as if it were a first offence, and sentence be pronounced in accordance with the first rescripts (contained in this article).

» Fraudulent sale of buildings, stone tablets, stones, bricks, tiles

1 This article, inserted in chapter 24 of the Code, § 竊盜, prescribes that such convicts shall be sent into lifelong banishment to Yunnan, Kweicheu, Kwangtung, or Kwangsi.

or wooden structures from a grave ground which belongs to others, must be punished as ordinary theft in proportion to the value of the things in question; but the perpetrators need not be branded.

Fourth Supplementary article.
(Dating in this shape from 1810)

凡子孫將祖父墳塋前列成行樹木及墳旁散樹高大株顆、私自砍賣者、一株至五株、杖一百枷號一個月。六株至十株、杖一百枷號兩個月、十一株至二十株、杖一百徒三年。係旗人徒罪、折枷共枷號三個月。

計贓重者准竊盜加一等從其重者論。

二十一株以上者旗人發吉林當差、民人發邊遠充軍。

如墳旁散樹並非高大株顆、止問不應重杖。

若係枯乾樹木、不行報官私自砍賣者照不應重律杖八十。

看墳人等及奴僕盜賣者罪同。

盜賣墳塋之房屋碑石磚瓦木植者子孫奴僕計贓並准竊盜罪加一等。

»Sons or grandsons who have felled and sold for private ends from one to five high and big trees standing arrayed in rows in front of their grandfather's or father's sepulchral grounds, or detached along the sides thereof, shall be castigated with one hundred blows with the long stick and be exposed in the cangue for one month. Should they have felled and sold from six to ten of such trees, they shall receive the same number of blows and be placed in the cangue for two months, and if they have cut down eleven or more trees, up to twenty, one hundred blows with the long stick shall be inflicted, together with banishment for three years. If Bannermen are sentenced to such banishment, a cangue penalty lasting three months in all, shall be inflicted upon them by instalments.

»Should the theft of things of the same value as the trees felled require a heavier punishment, then the above cases shall be punished as theft, with an increase of one degree, and the sons or grandsons accordingly undergo the heavier punishment.

»If twenty-one trees or more have been felled and sold, the

culprits shall, if they are Bannermen, be banished to Kirin and be placed there in Government thraldom; and if they are civil subjects, they shall be banished for life to a distant province.

»The bastinado must in the above cases not be inflicted severely if the trees were planted sparsely along the sides of the grave, or if they were not high and big.

»If the trees in question were rotten or withered and were felled and sold for private ends without the authorities having been apprised of the matter, eighty blows with the long stick shall be inflicted, as in this case the law is not to be applied in its full severity.

»Persons charged with guarding the grave, and such like persons, as also slaves, shall, if they have sold grave trees with thievish intent, receive the same punishments as are prescribed in this article.

»When buildings, stone tablets, stones, bricks, tiles or wooden structures of a burial ground have been sold with thievish intent, the sons, grandsons or slaves who have done this deed, shall be punished for theft in proportion to the value of the spoil, but with an increase of one degree of punishment.

Fifth Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in this shape in 1845)

私入紅樁大道以內、偷打牲畜、爲首於附近犯事地方枷號兩個月、滿日改發極邊烟瘴充軍。爲從枷號一個月杖一百徒三年。

其因起意在內偷牲遺失火種、以致延燒草木者於附近犯事地方枷號兩個月、滿日發新疆、酌撥種地當差。爲從枷號一個月杖一百徒三年。如延燒殿宇墻垣、爲首擬絞監候、爲從杖一百流三千里。

»If people secretly slip into such parts of a mausoleum as lie inside the red posts or the great avenue, and steal or beat the sacrificial animals kept there, the chief offenders shall be exposed in the cangue for two months in proximity to the spot where the deed was committed, and thereafter be banished for life to the remotest province where malarious diseases prevail. Their accomplices shall be placed in the cangue for one month, receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years.

»They who, harbouring the intention to steal sacrificial animals

in a mausoleum, drop fire, thus causing shrubs and trees to catch fire, shall be exposed in the cangue for two months in proximity to the place where the offence has been committed and, after the expiration of this time, be banished to Turkestan, where it shall be decided into which localities they are to be distributed to live in Government thraldom. Their accomplices shall be placed in the cangue for one month, receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years. And if the fire has attacked halls or buildings, walls or inclosures, the chief offenders shall be condemned to strangulation, and be kept in jail to await confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities; and their accomplices shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished to a region three thousand miles distant.

Sixth Supplementary Article.
(Enacted in 1830)

凡旗民人等在紅椿以內偷窃人參至五十兩以上、爲首比照盜大祀神御物律斬、奏請定奪。爲從發新疆、給兵丁爲奴。二十兩以上、爲首發新疆、給兵丁爲奴、爲從杖一百流三千里。十兩以上、爲首寔發雲貴兩廣烟瘴地方充軍、爲從杖一百流二千里。十兩以下、爲首發近邊充軍、爲從杖一百徒三年。

在紅椿以外白椿以內偷窃人參至五十兩以上者、爲首擬絞監候、爲從發近邊充軍。二十兩以上、爲首實發雲貴兩廣烟瘴充軍、爲從杖一百流三千里。十兩以上、爲首發近邊充軍、十兩以下、爲首杖一百流三千里、爲從俱杖一百徒三年。

在白椿以外青椿以內偷窃者、照偷刨山塲人參例分別治罪。

未得參者各於已得例上減一等。

知情販賣者減私窃罪一等、不知者不坐。

得參人犯首從俱刺盜官參三字、未得參及販賣者俱免刺字。參物入官。旗人有犯、銷除旂檔、照民人一律辦理。

弁兵受賄故縱、本犯罪不應死者與犯人同罪。贓重者計贓以枉法從重論。本犯罪應斬決者爲首之弁兵擬絞立決、本犯罪應絞候者該弁兵發新疆、分別當差爲奴。其止疎於防範者兵丁杖一百、官弁交部議處。

»If Bannermen, civil subjects or any one whosoever dig ginseng [1] with thievish intent within the red posts of a mausoleum, to the weight of fifty taels or more, the chief offenders shall come under the fundamental law which provides against stealing Imperial implements assigned for the Great Imperial Sacrifices to Heaven [2], and be beheaded accordingly, but the Imperial confirmation of the sentence will first have to be obtained. Their accomplices shall be relegated to Turkestan, and there be given as slaves to the soldiery. The chief culprits shall be condemned to this latter punishment if the unearthed ginseng weighs twenty or more taels, and their accomplices in this case shall be castigated with one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for life to a region three thousand miles distant. Should the weight be ten or more than ten taels, the punishment for the chief offenders shall be lifelong banishment in a malarious province, viz. Yunnan, Kweicheu, Kwangtung or Kwangsi, and for the accomplices one hundred blows with transportation to a distance of two thousand miles; and should it be ten taels or less, the chief culprits shall be banished for life to a country not far distant, and the accomplices be beaten with one hundred blows and be banished for three years.

»If ginseng has been dug up without the red post, but within the white ones, the punishments shall be as follows: — for a weight of fifty taels or more, strangulation of the chief culprits, with imprisonment until their sentence has been confirmed by the higher authorities, and lifelong banishment of the accomplices to a province not far distant. For twenty taels or more, lifelong banishment of the chief offenders to a malarious region, viz. Yunnan, Kweicheu, Kwangtung or Kwangsi, and flagellation of the accomplices with one hundred blows, together with lifelong banishment to a region three thousand miles distant. For ten taels or more, the chief culprits shall be deported for life to a province

1 The well known root of a plant (*Aralia quinquefolia*?), which is much valued as a medecine and commands very high prices in China.

2 Comp. the first supplementary article.

not far off, and for a weight of less than ten taels, they shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be transported for life to a country three thousand miles off; and for each of these quantities the accomplices shall receive one hundred blows and be banished for three years.

»And should the digging have taken place outside the white and inside the blue posts, both the chief culprits and the accomplices shall be differently punished in a way such as the supplementary law which provides for those digging in the soil for ginseng with a thievish intent demands.

»If no ginseng has been found by the offenders, the punishments above specified in this article for cases in which it has been obtained, shall be inflicted with a mitigation of one degree.

»Those who have wittingly sold such ginseng shall be punished one degree less severely than the persons who have secretly dug it up; but they shall not be liable to punishment if they have sold it without being aware of its origin.

»If in the above cases ginseng has been appropriated, the chief culprits and the accomplices shall all be branded with the characters: »Theft of ginseng belonging to the Government"; but no branding shall take place if no ginseng has been appropriated, nor shall the persons who have sold it be branded. The ginseng and things (that have served for the unearthing of it?) shall be confiscated by the Government. If Bannermen have committed the offence, they shall be deprived of their Bannermanship and be sentenced according to the laws in force for civil subjects.

»Should petty officials or soldiers (charged with the guarding of the mausoleum grounds) have wilfully connived at the offence for a bribe, they shall be punished in the same degree as the offenders proper, unless the penalty of death has to be inflicted upon these latter. And if the quantity of ginseng is considerable, the punishment required for theft of things of its value shall be calculated and, if it is heavier than the punishments mentioned in this article, be inflicted upon the culprits. Should the offenders proper incur decapitation, the chief culprits among the bribed officials or soldiers shall be condemned to strangulation, and be executed without confirmation of their sentence by the higher authorities; but if the offenders have incurred such strangulation, those officials and soldiers shall be sent to Turkestan, there to be placed in different localities in Government thraldom.Those who have merely been remiss in maintaining the regulations with respect to the guarding of the ground, shall, if they are

soldiers, receive one hundred blows with the long stick, and if they are officials, they shall be delivered over to the Board to which they belong, to be brought up for trial by it.

Seventh Supplementary Article.
(Dating from 1852)

凡在陵寢圍牆以內盜砍樹木枝杈、爲首者先於犯事地方枷號兩個月、發近邊充軍。其無圍牆之處、如在紅樁以內盜砍者卽照圍牆以內科罪。若在紅樁以外白樁以內盜砍者爲首杖一百徒三年、如在白樁以外青樁以內、爲首杖一百、均枷號一個月。如在青樁以外官山以內、爲首杖一百。

爲從各犯俱於首犯罪上各減一等問擬。

其圍牆以外並無白樁青樁者均照官山以內辦理、

弁兵受賄故縱、及潛通消息致犯逃避者各與囚同罪。

»Those who with a thievish intent have felled trees or hewn off branches thereof in an Imperial mausoleum, within the walled-in grounds, shall, if they have acted in the capacity of chief culprits, first be exposed for two months in the cangue in the locality where the crime has been committed, and then be sent into lifelong banishment in a near province. Should they have done so in the grounds not surrounded by walls, but within the red posts, they shall be punished as if they had done so within the immured parts. If the offence have been committed outside the red and within the white posts, the chief culprits shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick and be banished for three years, and if the crime has been perpetrated outside the white and within the blue posts, they shall merely receive the hundred blows; but in each of these two cases they shall be placed in the cangue for one month. Finally, if they have committed the deed beyond the blue posts, but in the grounds reserved to the Government, the chief offenders shall receive one hundred blows with the long stick.

»Accomplices in all the above cases shall be sentenced to one degree less punishment than that which is required for the chief culprits.

»If the offence have been committed outside the immured parts,

and no white or blue posts were standing there, the case shall be dealt with as if it had been committed in the grounds reserved to the Government.

»If petty officials or soldiers attached to the place have willingly connived at the deed for a bribe, or have secretly warned the perpetrators, so that they could escape, they shall receive the same punishment as the men arrested".

Burial of uncared-for Human Remains by the Authorities. Official Assistance afforded to the Poor in burying their Dead.

If it be admitted that the *Cheu li* is a work actually dating from the Cheu dynasty, we may infer from it that already in pre-Christian times the Government of China was not indifferent about its subjects being properly buried, and even went so far as to charge itself with the duty of committing to the earth human remains neglected by others. Indeed, this book contains certain rescripts concerning the burial places of the people and the official control to be exercised over them, rescripts which have been reproduced by us on page 830. Moreover, we read therein:

»The Officer whose duty it is to provide against carrion-insects, »is charged with the removal of putrid human remains. Whenever »a Great Sacrifice takes place in (the suburbs of) the capital, he »shall ordain that unclean matter be cleared away in the villages »of the district, and that those who have been punished with »corporal mutilation, and people in penal servitude or wearing »mourning dress, are not to be admitted into the suburbs. He shall »act in the same way when there is a great concentration of troops »or a solemn reception of high visitors. When a corpse is found »on the road, he shall order it to be buried and boards to be »fixed up, inscribed with the date of the day and month; the »clothes and effects which were on the corpse he shall hang up »at the dwelling of the local officer, to be kept there for the »relations. He is also charged with the maintenance of the ordi-»nances which are in force in the capital for the treatment of »human remains in a state of decay" [1].

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[1] 蜡氏掌除骴。凡國之大祭祀令州里除不蠲、禁刑者任人及凶服者以及郊野。大師大賓客亦如之。若有死於道路者則令埋而置楬焉、書其

The *Cheu li* being a project of a constitution which has always been believed by nearly everybody to be a product of the times of Wen, the founder of the Cheu dynasty, and this glorious ruler in the golden days of yore having constantly been held up to the nation as a model for all emperors and princes, it follows as a matter of course that the care which, according to the *Cheu li*, the Government during the reign of his family bestowed upon the mortal remains of the people, has been greatly admired in later times. During the Han dynasty traditions were current which represented Wen as having on sundry occasions manifested exemplary benevolence towards human remains. In a work entitled *Sin shu* [1] or »The New Book", ascribed to one Kia I [2] who lived in the second century B. C., we read:

»King Wen, taking a nap in the daytime, dreamed that a man »climbed the walls of the city and exclaimed: 'I am the dry bones »of the north-eastern corner. Bury me without delay, with the »ceremonial appertaining to a king!' 'It shall be done', answered »Wen. On awaking from his sleep, he ordered his officials to resort »to the spot and look about there, and they actually found the bones, »whereupon they were told by the king to bury them forthwith, »as if they were those of a ruler. 'They are not owned by anybody', »said the officials, 'so we request that they may be buried with »such ceremonial as appertains to a Great officer of the fifth rank'. »But the king retorted: 'In my dream I have pledged my word; »how can I possibly retract it?' When the gentry and the people »heard of what had happened, they said: 'Our king does not »forsake dry bones of which he has merely dreamt; how much »the less will he forsake the living!' Upon which the subjects fully »entrusted themselves to their sovereign" [3].

日月焉、縣其衣服任器於有地之官、以待其人。掌凡國之骴禁. Chapter 37, ll. 21 *seq.*

1 新書.

2 賈誼.

3 文王晝臥、夢人登城而呼已曰、我東北陬之槁骨也、速以王禮葬我。文王曰、諾。覺、召吏視之、信有焉、文王曰、速以人君葬之。吏曰、此無主矣、請以五大夫禮。文王曰、吾夢中已許之矣、

Another work of the Han dynasty, entitled *Sin shu* [1] or »A New Series", which was written in the first century before our era by Liu Hiang, whom our readers have heard of on page 433, relates: »When king Wen of the family of Cheu built a terrace imbued »with spiritual influence, they found, while digging the pond, »some human bones. The officials informing the king of this, he »told them to bury them again, to which they objected, saying they »were without an owner. But Wen said: 'He who possesses the »world is owner of the world, and he who possesses the whole realm »is the owner of it; so I myself am incontestably the owner of »these bones, and why then need you look for their owner else»where?' Upon this he ordered them to clothe and coffin those »bones and to re-bury them. The nation being apprised of what he »had done, unanimously exclaimed: 'What an excellent man is »our king Wen! The blessings which he bestows extend even to »dry bones; how much the more shall they then extend to living »man!'" [2].

These and similar traditions, together with Wen's putative connection with the *Cheu li*, have doubtlessly had much influence in causing the burial of uncared-for corpses to be regarded through all dynasties as the business of Government. That the founder of the Han dynasty ordered the warriors, who had died in arms, to be coffined, carried home and buried at the expense of the Government, we have stated already on page 845. Of Ngan [3], an emperor of the same family, we read: »In the second year of the period Yuen »ch'u (A. D. 108) he commissioned his officers charged with the

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奈何其倍之也。士民聞之曰、我君不以夢之故不倍槁骨、況於生人乎。於是下信其上. Chapter 7.

[1] 新序.

[2] 周文王作靈臺、及爲池沼掘地得死人之骨。吏以聞於文王、文王曰、更葬之、吏曰、此無主矣。文王曰、有天下者天下之主也、有一國者一國之主也、寡人固其主、又安求主。遂令吏以衣棺更葬之。天下聞之皆曰、文王賢矣、澤及枯骨、又況於人乎. Chapter 5. According to a note in the Khienlung edition of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty (ch. 6, l. 18), this episode is recorded also in the Annuary of Lü Puh-wei, mentioned on page 685.

[3] 安.

» reception and entertainment of guests, to collect and bury the » remains of the strangers who had died in the Metropolis, and » further to present sacrifices to all those who had no kinsfolk, » or whose coffins or vaults were decayed. For those who had only » poor family relations, too poor to defray a decent burial, they » were to give five-thousand coins a head" [1]. It is also recorded that, when the emperor Chih [2] occupied the throne in A. D. 146, his consort gave orders for similar acts of charity, publishing a decree, to this effect: » In times of yore king Wen buried dry bones, » and the people entrusted themselves to his virtuous guidance. » Now I commission delegates, to act according to this precedent" [3].

Like master, like man. Several mandarins of their own free will have imitated the example of their imperial masters, stimulated, no doubt, also by the hope that blessings of every kind would be bestowed upon them by the poor forlorn souls benefitted by their charity. Concerning Ts'ao Pao [4], a high military commander at the end of the first century of our era, we read: » In more than a » hundred places there existed stored-up coffins, which had not » been committed to the grave. Pao visited these places in person » to inquire into the reasons, and the officials told him they were » for the greater part the remains of persons who had died since » the period Kien wu (A. D. 25—57) and could not be buried » because of their being entirely without offspring. This moved » Pao to such commiseration that he purchased a plot of vacant » ground and buried therein all those neglected corpses, setting » out sacrificial articles to present to them" [5]. Of Ch'en Ch'ung [6],

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1 元初二年遣中謁者收葬京師客死、無家屬及棺槨朽敗者皆爲設祭。其有家屬、尤貧、無以葬者賜錢人五千. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 5, l. 11.

2 質.

3 昔文王葬枯骨、人賴其德、今遣使者案行. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 18.

4 曹褒.

5 有停棺不葬者百餘所。褒親自履行問其意故、吏對曰、此等多是建武以來絶無後者不得埋掩。褒乃愴然、爲買空地、悉葬其無主者、設祭以祀之. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 65, l. 10.

6 陳寵.

in the first century of our era Governor of Kwang-han [1] in the present province of Szĕ-chʿwen, we read: »Ere now, whenever it »was cloudy or rainy, wailings resounded to the south of the city- »walls of Loh-hien, wailings so loud that they could be heard in »the magisterial mansion. This had been going on for several »tens of years. When the wailings reached the ears of Chʿung, he »pondered over the cause, and ordered some of his underlings to »go and find out what it was. They reported, on their return, »that during the troubles at the time when the dynasty was in a »state of decline, many people had met with their death there- »abouts, and their bones not having been buried, were still lying »on the spot. Upon this, Chʿung was moved with compassion. »He heaved a sigh of emotion, and forthwith ordered the magis- »trates of the district to collect those bones and to bury them. »From that time the wailings ceased" [2].

This passage is of peculiar interest, because it introduces us to a noteworthy conception which has, through all ages, been the main spring in the conduct of the Government with regard to unburied human bones. It teaches us that those souls wailed and lamented chiefly when the weather was rainy. This is very natural, as unsheltered human souls feel uncomfortable when the weather is bad, just the same as unsheltered living men. And, as naturally, this belief has engendered another, viz. that such souls try by all the means in their power to protect themselves from such misery by preventing the rain from falling, or by moving other invisible powers to disperse the clouds on their behalf. In other words: if people leave the dead unburied, drought ensues.

This is a superstition of very long standing. It is mentioned already in a work bearing the title of *Kwan-tszĕ* [3], »The Philosopher Kwan", which is believed to contain the writings of the statesman Kwan Chung referred to on page 660, who lived in the seventh

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[1] 廣漢.

[2] 先是洛縣城南每陰雨常有哭聲、聞於府中。積數十年。寵聞而疑其故、使吏案行。還言、世衰亂時此下多死亡者而骸骨不得葬儻在。於是寵愴然。矜歎、卽勑縣盡收斂葬之。自是哭聲遂絶.
Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 76, l. 9.

[3] 管子.

century before our era. »If during the vernal season dry bones and » putrid human remains are not cleared away" — so we read in this book — »and withered trees are not felled and removed, then the » drought of the summer will be excessive" [1]. In the *Li ki* (ch. 20, l. 43) occurs this rescript: »During the first month of spring dry bones must be covered up and rotten human remains be buried" [2].

Droughts being more dreaded in China than any other calamity, because they often entail bad harvests, dearth and famine, we cannot feel surprise at finding in the books many instances of dry bones being buried by the authorities with a view of putting a stop to the terrible scourge and conjuring down the rains. The Standard History of the Han dynasty makes mention of a certain »Cheu » Ch'ang, whose cognomen was Poh-ch'i, a man possessed of a very » humane and compassionate character. When he was Governor of » Honan, a drought prevailed in the summer of the second year of the » period Yung ch'u (A. D. 108). Prayers having been offered up » in vain for a long time, Ch'ang had the bones of over ten thou- » sand strangers, who had died outside the city-walls of Loh- » yang, picked up and buried, whereupon the rains came down in » quantities quite adequate to the needs of the season, so that the » crops were very abundant that year" [3]. In another work we read: »In the fifth year of the period T'ai hwo (A. D. 481), in the » fourth month, the emperor (Hiao Wen) issued a decree, running » as follows: 'The rains of the season do not trickle down, so that » the tender sprouts of spring hang heavily. Wherever human bones » lie, orders must be issued by the authorities to have them buried, » and none may be left uncovered, in order that the spirits may » become aware of such acts and the catastrophe be deprecated" [4].

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1 春不收枯骨朽脊伐枯木而去之、則夏旱至矣. Chapter 18, § 57.

2 孟春之月掩骼埋胔. Section 月令, I.

3 周暢、字伯持、性仁慈。爲河南尹永初二年夏旱。久禱無應、暢因收葬洛城傍客死骸骨凡萬餘人、應時澍雨、歲乃豐稔. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 111, l. 10.

4 太和五年四月[孝文]詔曰、時雨不霑、春苗萎悴。諸有骸骨之處皆敕埋藏、勿令露見、有神祇之所悉可禱祈. Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 7, part I, l. 17.

To quote a third instance, relating to Ho-lan Siang[1], in the sixth century governor of King-cheu[2], in the present province of Hupeh: »At that time, while very dry weather prevailed at the height of » the summer season, he made a personal tour of inspection through » the country under his jurisdiction, to see whether misrule any- » where prevailed, and found that some people who were unearthing » old graves had cruelly exposed the bones to the open air. 'Is » this a government by humane rulers!' he exclaimed to the pre- » fect, and ordered the men who were with him, to collect those » bones and bury them. The next day copious rains fell, and the » year yielded an abundant harvest. Up to that time people had » taken pleasure in digging up many old graves in the department; » but from that moment there was an end to such practices"[3].

During the T'ang dynasty it was indeed an established rescript of Government that bones should be buried when drought menaced the crops with destruction. »When drought prevailed in the first » month of summer, or later, then prayers for rain were offered » up in the Metropolis, justice was done to those who were kept » in custody unjustly, succour was given to the poor and distressed, » and human bones and putrid remains were interred"[4]. It is quite in keeping herewith to read that one of the principal monarchs of that dynasty, viz. »Huen Tsung, in the second year of the period »Khai yuen (A. D. 714) buried sun-burnt skeletons, because » drought prevailed inside the Mountain Passes"[5]. Of Hi Tsung[6] too it is recorded that »in the third year of the Khien fu period »(A. D. 876) he buried sun-burnt skeletons in the third month,

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[1] 賀蘭祥. [2] 荆州.

[3] 時盛夏亢陽、祥乃親巡境內、觀政得失、見有發掘古冢、暴露骸骨者。乃謂守令曰、此豈仁者之爲政耶、於是命所在收葬之。卽日澍雨、是歲大有年。州境先多古墓其俗好行發掘、至是遂息. Books of the Cheu Dynasty, chapter 20, ll. 4 and 5. Also the History of the Northern Part of the Realm, chapter 61, l. 18.

[4] 京師孟夏以後旱、則祈雨、審理寃獄、賑恤窮乏、掩骼埋胔. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 24, l. 3.

[5] 玄宗開元二年以關內旱、葬暴骸. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 5, l. 7.

[6] 僖宗.

» because of a prevailing drought" [1]. Still during the Ming dynasty emperors followed the same line of conduct in times of famine. So *e. g.* Shi Tsung [2], about whom we read: » In the thirty-second year » of the period Kia tsing (A. D. 1553), in the ninth month, he » asked Yen Sung: 'What are We to do, whereas so many of Our » subjects are in want of food?' The reply was: 'From the four » points of the compass starving people are pouring down upon the » Metropolis in search of food, so that in an hour's time the prices » of rice have risen considerably. I humbly propose that several » ten-thousand stones of rice may be sold out of the government » granaries at the usual price'. The emperor gave his consent, and » added: 'We suppose that some of Our people must have died » on the roads and that their remains, exposed as they are to the » burning heat, ought to be given a shelter somehow'. Giving his » adhesion to a proposal which Sung made to him to this effect, » he ordered that, in the streets within the Metropolis, the Cen- » sors for the five quarters should inquire whether such were the » case, and bury any such remains, and that the same should be » done outside the Metropolis by the provincial Governors and all » the officers invested with administrative power" [3].

In the foregoing pages only some few of the passages are given which we have found in Chinese books, concerning emperors and grandees who, since the rise of the Han dynasty, have ordered the burial of the neglected bones of soldiers who had perished on the battle-fields, or of victims of inundations, epidemics, famine, frost, or other scourges. Dozens of instances we have omitted for brevity's sake. Seeing that such official acts of charity were of very frequent occurrence during a long series of ages, it is not surprising that the present reigning dynasty, which, like all the families of sovereigns

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[1] 乾符三年以旱三月葬暴骸. The same work, ch. 9, l. 7.

[2] 世宗.

[3] 嘉靖三十二年九月上問嚴嵩、民多無食、何以。嵩曰、四方飢民來京求食、一時米價騰貴、請以太倉米數萬石平價發糶。上允之、復曰、我思必有斃諸途者、暴露骸骨宜有所處。嵩請、勅在京行五城御史、在外撫按各督有司查視掩埋. The General Account of the Ming period, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 人事, ch. 93.

that have preceded it on the throne, has faithfully modelled its institutions on those of the past, still makes it incumbent upon the staff of mandarins to provide within certain limits for the burial of individuals whose kinsfolk are too poor to fulfil their obligations in this respect. An official rescript, admitted among the Collective Statutes, runs thus: »When anywhere in the pro-»vinces dry bones owned by nobody are exposed to the inclemen-»cies of the weather, the local authorities shall establish a burial »ground for free use, and take such measures as shall lead to the »collection of the remains and their being buried therein; and »they shall inform the Board of Rites of these their proceedings" [1]. That the mandarins are, moreover, bound by an official rescript to encourage the people to undertake such works of charity, has been stated on page 866.

No doubt it is ascribable to such like duties being imposed upon the mandarinate, that, since many years, there exists in Amoy, under its control and patronage, an institution for providing the poor with coffins gratuitously. It is administered in a similar way to the private coffin distributing societies of which we have said a few words on pp. 863 *seq.* The chief management is intrusted by the local authorities to one or two so-called *táng-sū* [2] or »managers of the business", generally literary graduates, who have to present to them every year an account of the income and expenditure. The income is derived chiefly from the rent of houses owned by the institution, and further from interest on a small capital invested in a mortgage. A coffin shop, kept by a carpenter who has contracted with the managers for the delivery of coffins, is connected with the institution, and it is to this so-called »gratuitous store-house of the authorities for the distribution of coffins" [3] that the poor who cannot afford to buy receptacles for their dead, have to apply.

The Memoirs concerning Amoy contain the following particulars relating to the foundation and history of this institution: »In the »twenty-fifth year of the period Kia khing (1820) an epidemic »raged, which induced the Taotai I Siu, the Lieutenant Colonel »of the Central Marine Battalion of the Banner Forces Yang Ki-

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[1] 直省地方如有無主暴露枯骨、各該地方官建置義冢、立法收埋、仍咨報部. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 2, l. 16.

[2] 董事.

[3] 列憲施棺義廠.

» hiün, and the Maritime Sub-prefect of Amoy Hien Chʿing, to » raise by subscription a sum of 4175 foreign dollars, by means » of which they started without delay the work of distributing » coffins and burying the dead. In the ninth year of the period » Tao kwang (1829) they ordered the managers Ling Han and » Ling Yung-pʿing to establish in the Quaystreet the gratuitous store- » house in question, and succeeding provincial Military Commanders- » in-chief, Taotais and Maritime Sub-prefects have contributed money » to keep up the distribution. In the spring of the twelfth year of » the same period another terrible epidemic prevailed. Kwoh Kʿiüng, » a member of the gentry, gave eight hundred dollars which he » had inherited from his father Kwoh Kʿüen; his son Tsung-lien » also contributed two hundred silver coins and, thanks to their » initiative, 3236 dollars were put down on the subscription » list. Between the fourth month of the eleventh year and the » eighth month of the twelfth, 1056 coffins were given away to the » poor, leaving a surplus of 1907 dollars, of which 1741 dollars » were invested as capital in shops and houses, at an interest » of over 200 dollars annually" [1]. In 1890 we were informed by the then managers that about one hundred coffins were at that time given away annually, at an average cost of 1½ to 2 dollars a piece, and that the Taotai and the Maritime Sub-prefect both regularly supported the institution by making over to it a great part of the fines imposed in their tribunals.

Although we are unable to say whether such official charitable institutions, financially supported by the people, exist in other towns, there can hardly be a doubt that such is the case, as we have

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[1] 嘉慶二十五年因疫癘時行、巡道倪琇、水師中營叅將楊繼勳、厦防同知咸成勸捐洋銀四千一百七十五圓、隨時施棺葬埋。道光九年諭董事凌翰凌永屏於海岸街建蓋義廠、歷任提督道廳各有捐施。十二年春復大疫。紳士郭炯出其父郭權遺資八百圓、子宗濂捐銀二百金、爲倡、共捐銀三千二百三十六圓。施捨棺木一千零五十六具外、十一年四月至十二年八月止實存一千九百零七圓、內置店屋本銀一千七百四十一圓、每年息銀二百餘圓. Chapter 2, l. 57.

no reason to suppose that Amoy stands quite alone in this respect. Still less doubt is there that the authorities have in various parts of the Empire, especially in the neighbourhood of towns and cities, public cemeteries in which the poor are allowed to inter their dead without any payment for the grave, and in which neglected remains are buried by themselves in pious imitation of previous sovereigns and in obedience to the Ordinances of the present reigning dynasty. As to Amoy, the Memoirs [1] enumerate no less than six graveyards which have been laid out between 1797 and 1822 by the local magistrates, for the Formosan soldiers stored up in the Convent of the Seaclams and never claimed by their relations [2], and one for the victims of the epidemic of 1820, which, as stated above, gave rise to the official institution for distributing coffins. Moreover, the Memoirs give the names of thirty places where public burial grounds for the poor had been established by the authorities in still earlier times; but no particulars about them are recorded in that work, as its authors did not find any commemorative inscriptions in stone there. A description of such cemeteries will be given in Chapter XV.

Official Care of the Graves of Emperors and of famous Men of former Dynasties.

To provide the mortal remains of every individual, even of the lowest birth, with a suitable resting place under the earth, having been recognised in China, through all ages, as an important duty of Government, this duty has naturally entailed the obligation of bestowing official care on the graves of sovereigns of former dynasties, and on those of their princes and ministers. Seeing that care of neglected graves and bones is chiefly prompted by the hope that the forlorn souls, thereby benefitted, will become propitious to man and cease their revengeful resentment, it naturally follows that such care is bestowed in the first place on the graves and bones of persons who once wielded the highest power in the State and, in virtue thereof, are now occupying the highest positions in the world of spirits, consequently the most dangerous enemies of man, or his most powerful friends and protectors, according to circumstances. Such illustrious dead may become espe-

1 Chapter 2, ll. 55 and 56.

2 Compare page 846.

cially harmful or propitious to the reigning dynasty; for they naturally keep their eyes jealously fixed upon the throne, that most precious heirloom of which they themselves were once the happy possessors.

The first sovereign mentioned in the books as having given protection to the tombs of monarchs preceding him, was the founder of the Han dynasty. On page 447 we have quoted from the Standard History of his reign the statement, that he ordered families to be appointed to act as guardians of the mausolea of some half dozen potentates of former ages. Of the emperor Ming [1] of the Wei dynasty it is recorded that »in the second year of the period »King ch'u (A. D. 238) he ordained that ploughing, pasturing »cattle and collecting fire-wood within a distance of one hundred »pu on every side of the mausolea of Kao Tsu and Kwang Wu »(the founders respectively of the Early and the Later Han dynasty) »should no longer be allowed to the people" [2]. And Min [3] of the Tsin dynasty »ordained in the third year of his reign (A. D. 315) that »in Yung-cheu human bones and putrid remains should be com- »mitted to the earth, that the mausolea and tombs located there »should be repaired, and that people who violated them should »be put to death, together with their relatives unto the third »generation" [4].

When the Tsin dynasty had lost the throne, the first emperor of the House of Sung, which succeeded it, decreed in A. D. 420, less than three months after his accession, »that rules should be »laid down for the protection and defence of the mausolea of the »emperors, empresses and highest princes of the dethroned family; »further, that graves of famous worthies, deceased sages and »men who had excelled under the foregoing dynasty, either in »the display of virtue and purity of conduct, or in the quench- »ing of rebellions and the protection of the people, should, »if they were not very ancient, all be watered and swept, and

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1 明.

2 景初二年表高祖光武陵四面百步不得使民耕牧樵採. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms; Memoirs of Wei, chapter 3, l. 19.

3 愍.

4 三年勑雍州掩骼埋胔、脩復陵墓、有犯者誅及三族. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 5, l. 13.

» that the owners should draw up regulations on this head and » submit them to the Throne" [1]. The same mausolea also became objects of care to Ming [2], an emperor of the Ts'i dynasty, who, it is said, decreed in the second year of the period Kien wu (A. D. 495) » that the sepulchres of the emperors of the Tsin dynasty should all be repaired and their garrisons be re-inforced" [3].

During the Northern Wei dynasty, the emperor Hiao Wen [4], known also by the name of Kao Tsu [5], in 496 » decreed that it should not » be allowed to collect fuel from any of the imperial mausolea of » the dynasties of Han, Wei and Tsin within a forbidden circuit of » one hundred pu, nor even to set foot upon them" [6]. Twenty years later, his grandson Hiao Ming [7] » ordained that it should be for- » bidden to till the ground near any mausoleum of an ancient » emperor within a distance of fifty pu on every side" [8]. We read also that Shun-yü Liang [9], a high functionary under the Ch'en dynasty, was dismissed from his dignity of Imperial Chamberlain for having sold trees growing in the mausolea of the Liang dynasty, and that Siao Ki-khing [10], prince of Kiang-yin [11], was deprived of this high dignity because he had acted as an accomplice in the matter [12].

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1 詔曰晉世帝后及藩王諸陵守衛宜便置格、其名賢先哲見優前代或立德著節、或寧亂庇民、墳塋未遠、竝宜洒掃、主者具條以聞. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 3, l. 5.

2 明.

3 晉帝諸陵悉加修理、并增守衛. Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 6.

4 孝文.

5 高祖.

6 詔漢魏晉諸帝陵各禁方百步不得樵蘇踐蹋. Books of the Wei Dynasty, ch. 7, part II, l. 20.

7 孝明.

8 詔古帝諸陵四面各五十步勿聽耕稼. History of the Northern Part of the Realm, ch. 4, l. 12.

9 淳于量.

10 蕭季卿.

11 江陰王.

12 Books of the Ch'en Dynasty, ch. 11, l. 4.

Instances of emperors taking to heart the fate of former occupants of the throne by restoring their mausolea and enacting rescripts to provide against the violation of the same, are on record in the Histories of subsequent dynasties. But we cannot give translations of all these passages, which would only weary the reader by their endless repetition. Let us simply note that, apart from the cases which may have escaped our attention, such measures are stated to have been taken in A. D. 606 by Yang [1], the second monarch of the House of Sui [2]; in the year 630 by T'ai Tsung [3], the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty, who, moreover, ordained that official sacrifices should be offered in spring and autumn to all the sovereigns, statesmen and worthies whose tombs had been repaired [4]; by Hüen Tsung [5] of the same House, who issued an edict for that purpose in 745 [6]. But no monarch of any dynasty ever extended his solicitude over so many graves as did T'ai Tsu [7], the founder of the Sung dynasty. Already in the very same year in which he ascended the throne (A. D. 960), he decreed that such imperial mausolea or tombs of historical persons of bygone ages as had been left to the mercy of fuel gatherers and the inclemencies of wind and rain, should be placed by the authorities under the guardianship of families specially appointed for the purpose, and be repaired in case of damage. Three years afterwards, this provisory decree was followed by another, particularising what was to be done. It stipulated that the graves of Yao and Shun [8] and four other mythical potentates whom Chinese historians are accustomed to place at the head of their chronology, the sepulchres of Yü, T'ang, Wen and Wu [9], the mausolea of the founder of the Early Han dynasty and of the founder of the Later Han dynasty, and those of the two first emperors of the House of T'ang, should henceforth be guarded by five families each and a bullock should be sacrificed there every year in spring and autumn. The graves of four sovereigns of the Shang dynasty, two of that of Cheu and two of

1 煬.
2 Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 3, l. 8.
3 太宗.
4 Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 3, l. 2; and the New Books, ch. 2, l. 8.
5 玄宗.
6 *Jih chi luh*, ch. 15.
7 太祖.
8 About the alleged graves of these worthies, see page 418.
9 See page 666.

that of Han, with those of the first emperors respectively of the Houses of Wei, Tsin, Cheu and Sui, should be guarded by three families and a bullock be sacrificed there only once a year; the grave of Shi Hwang, four emperors of the Han dynasty, one of that of Wei, four of that of T'ang, etc. should be guarded by two families and be sacrificed at once every three years. Thirty-eight mausolea were to be kept in good condition by preventing the people from gathering fuel thereon, and in the department of Honan, people were entirely forbidden to till the adjacent soil. Seventy-seven imperial sepulchres in all were mentioned in this edict. In those which had been broken open, the magistrates were to place imperial robes and one suit of ordinary garments, which ceremony was to be followed on the next day by a sacrifice, presented by the chief local authority. On the proposal of his ministers, the emperor prescribed that similar measures should be taken in respect of the graves of a few dozens of statesmen and worthies of sundry dynasties [1]. In 966 these rescripts were revised and promulgated anew by the same monarch [2], and in 1004 by Chen Tsung [3], who added provisions to include the graves of »excellent notables, dutiful husbands and chaste wives" [4].

Neither did the Tatar family of Kin, who during the Sung dynasty bore sway over the northern provinces of the Empire for about one hundred and twenty years, show itself devoid of deference for the graves of monarchs of previous Houses. T'ai Tsung [5], the second emperor, »decreed in the second year of his reign (A. D. »1124) that those who should dig up mausolea of the Liao »dynasty with a thievish intent, would incur the penalty of death" [6], and five years afterwards, »he forbade by official edict any medi»cating exorcists to collect vegetable products in the mausolea of »the Liao dynasty, which were situate in the mountains of Lü" [7] (in Ch'ing-king province). We find it stated also that, when the

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1 History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 105, ll. 13 and 14.

2 *Op. cit.*, chapter 2, l. 4.

3 眞宗.

4 賢士義夫節婦. *Op. cit.*, ch. 105, l. 14.

5 太宗.

6 二年詔有盜發遼諸陵者罪死. History of the Kin Dynasty, ch. 3, l. 3.

7 詔禁醫巫閭山遼代山陵樵採. *Op. cit.*, ch. 3, l. 13.

Kin Tatars invaded the territory of Liao, » the orders issued effectively » prevented any of the mausolea of this family, which were for the » greater part located in the district of Lü-yang, from being violated" [1].

The Mongol Yuen dynasty adopted quite an opposite line of conduct. It is the only family among the many which have ruled over the Empire, that treated mausolea and tombs of former dynasties with perfect indifference. This, however, will not surprise those readers who remember that this dynasty did not even bury its own dead in gorgeous sepulchres (comp. pp. 437 and 438). In the Official Histories of its government we read that » one Yang-lah-leh- » chi, employed by Kublai as Comptroller General of the Buddhist » priesthood in Kiangnan, dug up the mausolea of the House of » Sung, the family of Chao, in so far as those monuments were » located in Ts'ien-t'ang and Shao-hing (in modern Chehkiang), as » also the sepulchres of the high ministers of that dynasty, to the » number of one hundred and one in all" [2]. This enormity was evidently not disapproved by his sovereign, for no mention is made of this favourite of the Throne having been punished or reprimanded.

The founder of the Ming dynasty imitated the good example set by so many of his predecessors on the throne. » In the fifteenth » year of his reign (1382), in summer, he commissioned some emis- » saries to examine into the condition of the sepulchres of former » potentates. Before that time, when His Majesty was studying the » History of the Sung Dynasty, he learned therefrom that T'ai » Tsu of that House had given orders for the repairing of the » mausolea of emperors and rulers of former dynasties. He heaved » a sigh of admiration and exclaimed: 'What an excellent measure » this was!' Then he sent the Han-lin Compiler Ts'ai Yuen and other » grandees to all the points of the compass, with orders to examine » those sepulchres. Moreover, he ordered all the officers invested » with administrative power in the provinces, conjointly to make en- » quiries about such tombs in the countries under their control, » and to draw up proposals and present them to the Throne if temple » sacrifices were instituted for those places. In this way thirty-six » mausolea were taken notice of. In the same year, the Emperor

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[1] 閭陽縣遼諸陵多在此、禁無所犯. *Op. cit.*, ch. 71, l. 6.

[2] 楊喇勒智者世祖用爲江南釋教總統、發掘故宋趙氏諸陵之在錢唐紹興者、及其大臣塚墓、凡一百一所. History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 202, l. 5.

» deputed certain officers to inspect those imperial and royal tombs; » he forbade the gathering of fuel or the pasturing of cattle thereon, » appointed two persons to act as warders of each mausoleum, and » ordained that, once in every three years, priests and incense-sacri- » ficers should be dispatched to visit the mausolea, and officers be » ordered to present sacrifices there" [1].

The emperors of the present reigning dynasty have not swerved from the path traced out by a long series of their predecessors, but in the same way they have taken measures for the preservation of the mausolea and graves of former generations. In the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* we read: »In regard to the mausolea of emperors and » kings of bygone times and the graves of sages, worthies, and » persons who have displayed loyalty and ardour, the Governors- » General and Governors of the provinces are to be instructed to » order the magistrates of the districts concerned to take them » under their protection and keep them in repair. At the end of » each year they shall report on the matter (to the Board of Works), » which, after having scrutinised the documents, shall submit pro- » posals to the Throne" [2]. Apart from this general rescript, many emperors have issued edicts to insure its proper execution. Shi Tsung in particular seems to have taken an interest in such works of restoration. In the seventh year of his reign (A. D. 1729) he issued a decree which ran as follows:

» From ancient times, the emperors and kings have all rendered » services to the nation. Hence, though the dynasties to which they » belonged existed long ago, the spirit of respectful worship and » exalted reverence may not be slackened and relaxed with regard

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[1] 十五年夏遣使訪帝王陵寢。先是上閱宋史、見宋太祖詔修歷代帝王陵寢、嘆曰、此美事也。遣翰林編修蔡玄等四方求之。仍命各行省之臣同諸所在審視、若有廟祀并具圖以聞。於是有凡三十六陵。是年遣官行視帝王陵寢、遂禁樵牧、設守陵戶陵二人、三歲一傳制遣道士奉香詣諸陵、令有司致祭. *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, chapter 133, l. 18 and 19.

[2] 凡古昔帝王聖賢忠烈陵墓令直省督撫飭所在州縣官防護修葺。歲終册報、由部覆覈以聞. Chapter 76, l. 6.

» to them. The spots where their mausolea are situated are the » resting places and the supports of their souls, and consequently » ought be guarded and protected with special devotion. And as to » the sages and worthies of bygone times, officers of repute and » men who have displayed loyalty and ardour: the sweet-smelling » examples set by them will serve as models for all times to come, » their true spirit will live for ever in the heavens and on this » earth. So, their sacrificial buildings and grave grounds must like- » wise be protected with respect and reverence, in order to expand » the spirit of looking up to them.

» The Governor-General or Governor of every province is here- » with instructed to order his subaltern officers to make energetic » tours of inspection to the ancient mausolea located within the » borders of their territory, and to the graves appointed to be sacri- » ficed at; they must take such places under their protection, exa- » mine their state and condition, and spare no efforts in having » them kept clean and neat with the strictest reverence, in order » that wide expansion be given to feelings of devotion. Should any » of these places need repair, the said Governors must take the » necessary steps to make use of the balance of the public funds » of their provinces for the purpose, and they must delegate officials » to execute the work.

» It has come to Our knowledge that the emperors and kings » of successive dynasties have all issued decrees for the protection » of the mausolea of bygone times; but We have also discovered » that those commands have never in point of fact been respectfully » attended to. An edict issued by Our favour in the first year of » the period Yung ching gave orders that, throughout the Empire, » the mausolea of the Rulers of former dynasties should be repaired. » But We also fear that there are officials who, following the » routine of their daily business, are likely to consider that edict » as a matter of ordinary importance. Hence, from this moment, » it is ordained that, at the end of each year, the local authorities » concerned shall be instructed to report to the Governor-General or » Governor of their province as to the assigned places that are to be » looked after; the said high authority shall then classify those » reports and send them up to the Board of Works, which will » submit proposals to the Throne in a methodical and regular » order. Should false reports be made, the Governor and the local » authorities concerned shall severally and individually be brought » to justice and punished, as soon as the fraud is discovered.

» The mausoleum of T'ai Tsu of the House of Ming, located in » Kiang-ning, was personally visited many times by Shing Tsu, » the Emperor Jen, on his journeys to the South, for the purpose » of offering sacrifices there. The ceremonial observed on these » occasions was grand and glorious. He instructed the Governor- » General of Kiang-nan to order his officials to take that mausoleum » seriously under their care and protection. And for the twelve » mausolea of the same Ming dynasty, which are situated in the » district of Ch'ang-p'ing, inspectors and mausoleum families were » appointed since the present dynasty had ascended the Throne; arable » fields were given them; they were ordered to strenuously keep » those places in good condition, to offer sacrifices there, and to » prevent people from gathering fuel and wood. During the reign » of Shing Tsu, the Emperor Jen, edicts were frequently promul- » gated, prescribing that those orders should be strictly carried out. » Now the Governor-General concerned is herewith instructed to » order the prefect of Ch'ang-p'ing and the Commander of the forces » garrisoned in that district, as also some special deputies, to un- » dertake tours of inspection to those mausolea from time to time; » he shall order that in the country under his rule those monu- » ments be kept clean and in a good condition; and should no » families have been assigned for those mausoleum grounds in suf- » ficient numbers, the said Governor-General is hereby directed to » appoint more of them, after proper deliberation and consideration. » With respect to those northern and southern mausolea of the Ming » dynasty, the provincial Governor-General or Governor concerned is » also hereby instructed to send a report about their condition at » the end of every year to the Board of Works, that this Board » may submit proposals with respect to them to the Throne in » regular order. Enacted by Imperial command" [1].

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[1] 自古帝王皆有功德於民，雖世代久遠而敬禮崇奉之心不當弛懈。其陵寢所在乃神所憑依，尤當加意防衛。至於往聖先賢名臣忠烈，芳型永作楷模，正氣長留天壤。其祠宇塋墓亦當恭敬守護以申仰止之忱。

著各省督撫轉飭各屬將境內所有古昔陵寢祠墓勤加巡視，防護稽察，務令嚴肅潔淨，以展

Kao Tsung [1], Shi Tsung's son and successor, issued sundry edicts to the same effect. They likewise extended to all the old graves of which vestiges remained, even to those of sovereigns of fabulous antiquity. In the first year of his reign (1736) he prescribed, for instance, the special restoration of the sepulchre of Yen [2] or Shen Nung [3], the »Divine Husbandman" ever famous among the Chinese as the inventor of agriculture, whose reign chronologists place in the 28th. century before our era [4], and of

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誠恪。若有應行修葺之處、著動用本省存公銀、委官辦理。

朕見歷代帝王皆有保護古昔陵寢之飭諭、而究無奉行之實。朕雍正元年恩詔內卽以修葺歷代帝王陵寢通行申飭。亦恐有司相沿積習視爲泛常。嗣後著於每年年底令該地方官將防護無誤之處結報督撫、造册轉報工部、彙齊奏聞。倘所報不實、一經發覺、定將該督撫及地方官分別議處。

明太祖陵在江寧昔我聖祖仁皇帝屢次南巡皆親臨祭奠。禮數加隆。著江南總督轉飭有司加意防護。其明代十二陵之在昌平州者自本朝定鼎以來卽設立內監陵戶、給以地畝、令其虔修禋祀、禁止樵採。聖祖仁皇帝時屢頒諭旨嚴行申飭。著該督轉飭昌平州知州昌平營叅將並差委人員時加巡視、務令地境之內清淨整齊、倘陵戶或有不敷、著該督酌議加增。此南北明陵二處亦著該督撫於每年歲底册報工部彙奏。欽此. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li* 大清會典則例, »Rules and Rescripts for a Proper Execution of the Collective Statutes of the Great Ts'ing Dynasty", an exhaustive collection of State papers and Imperial edicts, published in the 17th. and 18th. century by the Government: chapter 137, ll. 32 *seq.*

1 高宗.

2 炎.

3 神農.

4 This grave is situated in Hunan province, in the department of Ch'ang-sha 長沙府.

that of Shao Hao [1], who swayed the sceptre in the 26th. century [2]. Sixteen years afterwards, it was ordained by him that the temples and walls of the mausolea of the emperors T'ai Tsu [3] and She Tsung [4] of the Kin dynasty, situated in the mountains of the district of Fang-shan [5], southwest from Peking, should be rebuilt or restored [6]. Only down to 1751 are the decrees of this monarch published in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*; but many of the same tendency have, of course, been issued by succeeding Sons of Heaven, down to the present day. It is nevertheless doubtful whether all these edicts put together have effected anything more than simply the preservation of these numerous burial places from entire destruction. Many of them are, no doubt, worth seeing, and some present matter for interesting descriptions which add to our knowledge of the boundless domain of ancestor worship in this immense heathen kingdom.

That the Code of Laws of this dynasty contains severe provisos against the violation of such sacred, national sepulchral-monuments, our readers have seen on page 899. Besides the Code has the following article, copied almost verbally from the laws of the Ming dynasty [7]: »The mausolea of emperors and kings of former dynasties, and »the tombs of sages and worthies who lived in bygone times, and »of loyal ministers and fervent notables, shall be protected and »cared for by the local magistrates, who shall not suffer fuel or »brambles to be gathered upon the same, nor any ploughing or »sowing, nor pasturing of cows, sheep or other cattle. Eighty »blows with the long stick shall be administered to those who »disobey this rescript" [8].

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1 少昊. This grave is said to be located to the North East of the district city of Khüh-feu 曲阜 in the department of Yen-cheu 兗州府, in Shantung.

2 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, ll. 33 *seq.* See also the large collection of Imperial edicts issued during the present dynasty, entitled *Shing hiun* 聖訓, »Imperial Instructions"; section Edicts of Kao Tsung, ch. 245, l. 1.

3 太祖. 4 世宗. 5 房山縣.

6 Memoirs of the Department of Shun-t'ien, 順天府志, chapter 26, l. 36. See also the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 37.

7 See the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 129, l. 2.

8 凡歷代帝王陵寢及先聖先賢忠臣烈士墳墓所在有司當加護守、不許於上樵採耕種及牧放牛羊等畜。違者杖八十. Chapter 16, § 歷代帝王陵寢.

CHAPTER XII.

FUNG-SHUI.

1. Introductory Notice.

We have several times had to refer in this work to a custom of the Chinese of placing the graves in such a situation as they think will bring the occupants thereof happiness and comfort, and at the same time secure the prosperity of their ownselves, both in this world and in the world to come. In connection herewith we have mentioned certain theories, popularly styled Fung-shui[1] or Wind and Water. We will now consider this custom in detail, and try to answer the question: What is Fung-shui?

The answer is suggested by the word itself. Fung 風 means the wind, and shui 水 the water from the clouds which the wind distributes over the world; thus, the two words combined indicate the climate, regulated as it is in China, in the first instance, by the winds, which bring dry or rainy weather, according as they blow from the North in winter, or from the South or South-west in summer. Fung-shui consequently denotes the atmospherical influences, which bear absolute sway over the fate of man, as none of the principal requirements of life can be produced without favourable weather and rains. In a hyperbolical sense, however, Fung-shui means *a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and how to build graves, temples and dwellings, in order that the dead, the gods and the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under the auspicious influences of Nature.*

This system is by no means a creation of modern times. It originated in ancient ages, from the then prevailing conceptions, easily traceable in the books, that the inhabitants of this world all live under the absolute sway of the influences of heaven and earth, and that every one desirous of insuring his own felicity

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[1] 風水.

must live in perfect harmony with those influences. If — such was the reasoning — human acts disagree with the almighty Tao[1] or »Path", the unalterable Course of Nature, conflicts will ensue, in which man, being the weaker party, must inevitably give way and become the sufferer. This reverential awe of the mysterious influences of Nature is the fundamental principle of an ancient religious system usually styled by foreigners Tao-ism. Popular opinion in China, as well as the expounders of the Fung-shui theories, are unanimous in considering Fung-shui to be almost as ancient as China itself.

It follows from the above that building graves, houses, villages and towns in accordance with the Fung-shui theories is looked upon by the nation as an absolute necessity, as indispensable because it is impossible to withdraw one's self from the sway of the powers of Nature. No wonder then that Fung-shui holds the nation in its grip and reigns supreme in the Empire, through its whole length and breadth. It derives prestige and sanctity from antiquity, which gave birth to the principal dogmas and conceptions upon which it is based. The leading ideas being the same as those of Chinese philosophy in general, it commands the sympathy of every one as a system which embraces whatever combined human wisdom and sagacity have, during a long series of ages, suggested as practically useful. It is considered in China the greatest benefactor of mankind, though in reality, as we shall see anon, it is one of their greatest scourges.

The hiao, the pious reverence which every Chinaman accords to his deceased parents and nearest relations, naturally constrains him to place their graves in such a situation that they may find themselves under the same good influences of Nature which he would desire to concentrate upon his own dwelling. In this way he not only insures their rest and comfort, but also renders them well disposed towards himself, arousing in them feelings of gratitude which must necessarily bear fruits in the shape of various blessings to be showered down upon the offspring. Besides, the heavens are Nature's great source of life, for it is they who distribute warmth, light and rain; and life and vigour are naturally imparted to those souls which dwell in graves placed under the full influence of the heavens: then they are enabled to work vigorously as protectors of their offspring, and to distribute among them liberally

[1] 道.

that vitality which they themselves borrow from the heavens, thus promoting the birth of sons, the most coveted of all blessings in China. This conviction is confirmed by the consideration that it is not only the living who profit hereby, but also the souls themselves, a numerous progeny of sons ensuring to the dead sacrifices and worship for many generations to come and, moreover, high rank in the world of spirits, where those surrounded by a large clan will be the bearers of power and influence, just as in this world.

Thus, as Dr. Edkins has judiciously remarked [1], »filial piety which, in obedience to the lessons of ancient and modern mentors of the nation, takes good care of the graves of parents and grandparents, has a material reward; on the other hand, the want of it invites a retribution involving poverty, sickness, loss of descendants, degradation in the social scale". By Fung-shui the graves are turned into mighty instruments of blessing or punishment, the spirits of the ancestors, dwelling therein, being the divinities of the nation, with whose protection and goodwill all social happiness is intimately bound up. But souls do not dwell in graves only. They also reside in tablets exposed for worship on the domestic altars, and in temples specially erected to shelter them. There, too, precisely for the same reasons, they ought to be made to live under the favourable influences of Nature. Consequently, Fung-shui is firmly entwined with house-building and the construction of ancestral temples. It plays an important part even in the erection of altars and sanctuaries dedicated to gods and saints of whatever kind or description.

Thus being an essential part of the Chinese Religion in its broadest sense, Fung-shui demands a place among the subjects to be treated of in this work. In the present volume we must, however, confine ourselves to noting the part it plays in grave-building, and reserve for an other volume most of what we have to say on its influence in other branches of the Religious System.

Nature having never been studied in China in a scientific manner, Fung-shui is not based on any sound ideas acquired by an experimental and critical survey of the heavens and the earth. Starting with the hazy notion that Nature is a living organism, the breath of which pervades everything and produces the varied conditions of heaven and earth, and with some dogmatic formulae to be found in the ancient works and confided in as verdicts of the most profound human wisdom, Fung-shui is a mere chaos

1 The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, vol. IV, p. 275.

of childish absurdities and refined mysticism, cemented together, by sophistic reasonings, into a system, which is in reality a ridiculous caricature of science. But it is highly instructive from an ethnographical point of view. The aberrations into which the human mind may sink when, untutored by practical observation, it gropes after a reasoned knowledge of Nature, are more clearly expounded by it than by any other phenomenon in the life and history of nations. It fully shows the dense cloud of ignorance which hovers over the whole Chinese people; it exhibits in all its nakedness the low condition of their mental culture, the fact that natural philosophy in that part of the globe is a huge mount of learning without a single trace of true knowledge in it.

Embracing, as it does, the whole extent of Chinese natural philosophy, we have not space here to lay the Fung-shui system before our readers in detail. Such a work would require many years of painstaking study, and yet produce but meagre results; in fact, the cobwebs of absurd, puerile speculation, built up by the system, are hardly worthy of serious study. All we can give our readers here is a very brief outline, a rough sketch, chiefly drawn up from information received by us at Amoy from professional experts and supported by evidence gleaned from the native literature.

Besides, to thoroughly understand what Fung-shui is, it is quite unnecessary to scrutinize and unravel the farrago of absurdities which constitute its details. Some knowledge of the main principles upon which it is founded will suffice, if those principles be understood in the sense in which the people and the professors of the art understand and practically apply them. Fung-shui is, in point of fact, a practical art. Its theories, as expounded in the books, are seldom taken notice of, even by the most distinguished professors among the initiated. Being a quasi science, it is practised as a quasi science, that is to say, as charlatanism. Every member of the learned class considers himself an adept in it, on the sole ground of his having made some study of the Classics and of his understanding the leading principles of the national philosophy. The people even consider themselves morally obliged to possess some expertness in Fung-shui matters, and the current adage runs: »No son of man should be ignorant of matters relating to grounds and mountains, nor of medical art" [1]. Indeed, how can a filial son properly observe

[1] 爲人子不可不知山、不可不知醫.

the tender care he owes to his parents, unless he be able to control the professors who assign to them their graves, thus holding in their hands the weal and woe of their souls, and the quack physicians, who may harm, nay kill, his parents by administering wrong medicines to them? It is no wonder then that even the least educated among the people show an astounding amount of knowledge of Fung-shui. Women and children may be heard chattering and talking about it with great authority; and when there is an altercation about imaginary injuries done to the Fung-shui of a grave or a house, old matrons are generally loudest in expressing a decided opinion.

Every Chinaman being more or less initiated in the secrets of the system, a practical intercourse with the people is sufficient for a foreigner to gain a tolerably clear idea of what it is and of the part it plays in the several branches of religious life. Our exposition will be found to deviate but little from that which was given, twenty-two years ago, by Dr. Eitel, in a treatise entitled: Feng-shui, or the Rudiments of Natural Science in China. Insignificant differences which our readers may observe between the conclusions of this distinguished Sinologist and our own, are to be ascribed chiefly to the circumstance that his investigations were made in Canton or Hongkong, and ours in the south-eastern part of the province of Fuhkien.

2. Fung-shui as regulated by High Grounds and Watercourses.

In China, the people are not bound, either by law or custom, to bury the dead in grave-yards. Every one has full liberty to inter his dead wherever he chooses, provided he possesses the ground, or holds it by some title acquired from the legal owner. The question whether a spot be suitable for a burial ground is decided by the Fung-shui theories.

Fung-shui, or *Hong-súi* according to the local pronunciation at Amoy and in the surrounding districts, is denoted by some other names. The principal amongst these is Khan-yü [1], pronounced *Kham-ú* in the Amoy language, and specially used in literary style. Khan means the canopy of heaven, and yü a cart or chariot, or, metaphorically, the earth which contains and bears the human

[1] 堪輿.

race; the term Khan-yü may accordingly be translated by: »the system which occupies itself with heaven and earth". A third name is Ti li (Am. *Tē lí*)[1], »the natural influences that pervade the earth". The experts or professors of the art, who make a livelihood from searching out favourable spots for burying the dead and building houses and temples, are called sien sheng[2] (Am. *sien sing*) or shi[3] (Am. *su*), with the prefix Fung-shui, Khan-yü or Ti li. Sien sheng signifies »an earlier born man", and may be rendered by »an elder, a master, a professor"; shi means »a leader, a master"; and both words are terms of respect denoting men of learning, including teachers, soothsayers, quack-doctors, etc. Foreigners are in the habit of calling the Fung-shui experts geomancers, which is correct, provided the earth be also considered as a depository of influences continuously poured down upon it by the celestial sphere. Besides the six terms above, the professors are often styled Yin Yang sien sheng[4] (Am. *Im Iông sien sing*) or Yin Yang shi[5] (Am. *Im Iông su*), »Masters of the Yin and Yang", which two supreme powers of the Universe are respectively identified with Earth and Heaven, as our readers know.

The word Fung-shui indicates that the first thing to be attended to in selecting a spot for a grave, house, temple, village or town, is wind or air, fung. Noxious winds must as far as possible be prevented from striking a tomb or building at the back or flank. Hence, a mountain slope flanked by two ridges forking out from it, and affording a rather wide view in front, is deemed to be good ground for burying and building, especially if those ridges form a double fence, both visible from the grave or building. Their utility is not in the least reduced by distance. Even when so far off that they are hardly discernible, professors take them into account as elements of the highest importance, for theoretically they screen off the winds, and, in Fung-shui matters, theory and speculation are everything.

Pernicious and life-destroying influences of the winds or the air are denoted in the special Fung-shui nomenclature by the term fung shah[6] (Am. *hong soah*), »noxious effects of the winds". There exist various means to ward them off. Suppose it is feared they will burst forth from some break in the mountains, it is then

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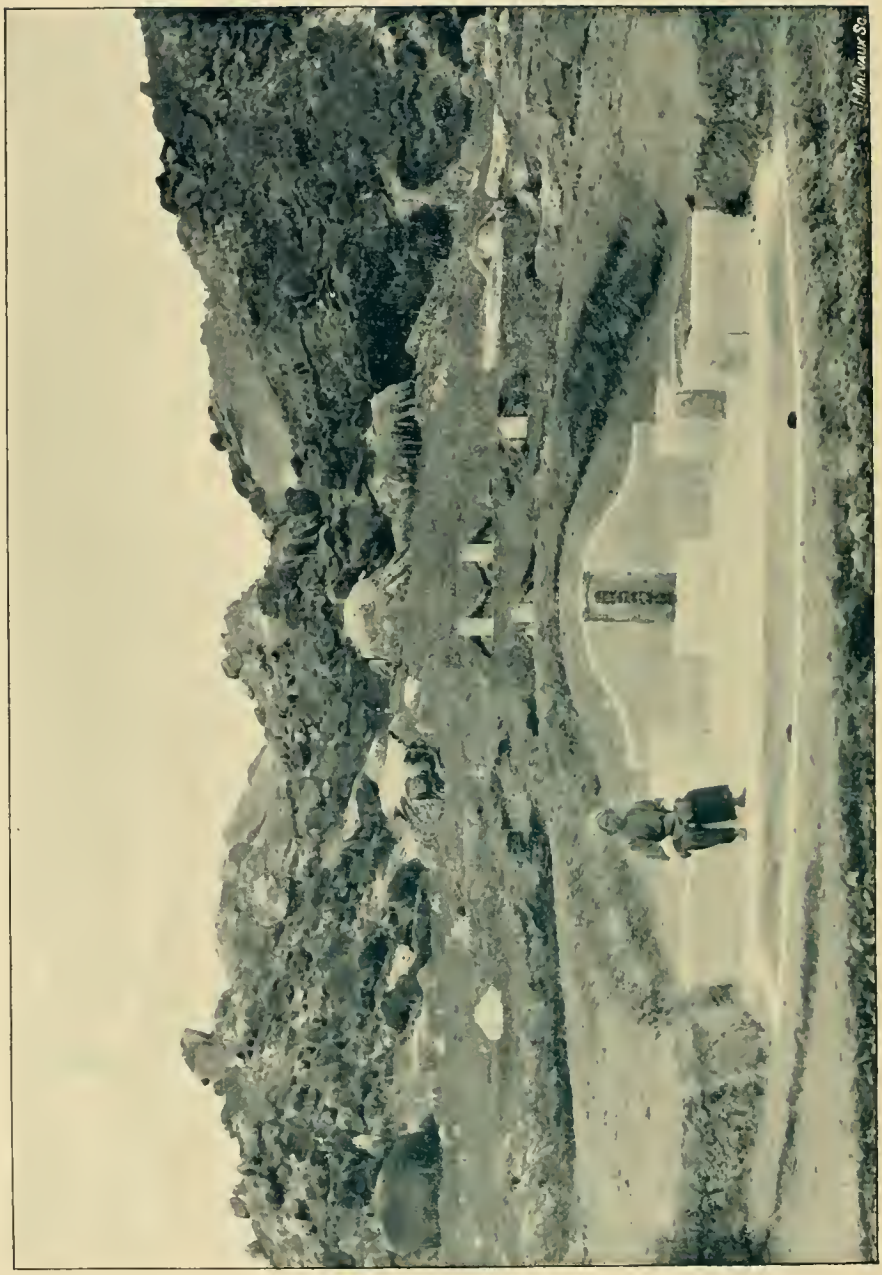
[1] 地理. [2] 先生. [3] 師.
[4] 陰陽先生. [5] 陰陽師. [6] 風煞.

Pl. XXIV.



Grave with a single Earthen Bank.

deemed necessary to build the grave in such a way that this opening cannot be seen from the spot where the corpse must lie, or so that it is hidden from view by some mountain boulder, house or other object. In many cases, the dangerous gap is artificially rendered invisible by means of stones piled up at a correct distance from the grave, in accordance with the indications given by Fung-shui professors. Such so-called Fung-shui t'ah[1] or »Fung-shui pagodas" are very numerous in the mountainous provinces of the South. As a rule they are so far from the spot they are supposed to protect, that in reality they do not screen it from the wind at all, thus proving the Fung-shui wisdom in evading dangers to be on a level with that of the ostrich.

Gaps or breaks in the mountains being harmless to a grave if they are invisible from the place where the corpse lies, it follows that the danger may be avoided by burying the corpse sufficiently deep. But this expedient is not very often resorted to, as, in most cases, it would cause the dead to lose the protecting ridges and brows of the mountains from view and thus annihilate their useful effects. For, as Fung-shui combines logic with wisdom, it cannot but conclude that, whereas unseen dangers are no dangers, unseen protection is no protection.

As a matter of course, a grave surrounded by mountains without either gaps or deficiencies is hardly obtainable. Nor is it easy to find a spot from which the person, who is buried there, can see a surrounding range of hills. These difficulties are ingeniously overcome by building around the tomb, at the back and the sides, a well finished artificial ridge. This is a low embankment of earth (see Plate XXIV), which at the same time serves to prevent the rain water, flowing down from the surrounding high ground, from washing away the tumulus. Our readers know that Chinese coffins are usually high, bulky, and, among the well-to-do, considerably broader at the head than at the foot (pp. 319 *sqq.*). When such a coffin is buried in the proper way, viz. with the head up against the slope, and in a shallow pit, lest the dead should lose the brow of the mountains out of sight, the tumulus thrown up over it naturally obtains an ellipsoidal shape, the broad side of which, like that of the coffin, lies highest. This tumulus again in its turn determines the shape of the embankment. The latter embracing the three larger sides, its form becomes necessarily that of a horse-shoe, or, oftener still, of

[1] 風水塔.

an Ω, the ends being bent outward, in order that the noxious influences of the winds, on striking against the embankment, may glide along it and be forced to roll away from the grave to the right and left. Many of these embankments are built of masonry, or of puddled clay mixed with lime, and plastered over with white mortar, forming low walls, one or two feet in height. Some few are of solid granite. Several graves have a double fence, the one of solid masonry or granite, and then a much broader one of earth, the latter being always on the outside of the first (see Plate XXV). Both are called at Amoy *bōng moa* [1], which may be rendered: »the piazza or side gallery of the grave", the term being an allusion to the verandahs on the right and left of mansions and temples.

A *bōng moa* never extends along the front. For, according to theory, there is no necessity whatever to ward off any fung shah from that side, as graves and buildings of every kind, though they may in fact face any point of the compass, are supposed to be turned towards the mild and blessed south, the cradle of warmth, light, life and productive summer rains. There are, furthermore, stringent reasons forbidding the presence of sight-obstructing objects in front of graves, which we shall pass in review on pp. 945 *seq.*

No attempt to attract the good influences of the winds unto graves, houses or temples is, as far as we know, ever made. Perhaps no expedients to effect this have been invented, as they are totally superfluous, because of the prevailing notion that good and beneficial influences naturally obtain their full scope wherever counteracting or neutralizing evil influences are sufficiently warded off.

The attempts of the Chinese to control the winds which strike the graves of the dead, the temples of the gods and the habitations of living men, are by no means simply intended as a protection of those beings from the inclemencies of the climate and its immediate consequences, such as sickness and indisposition of all kinds. The scope of the Fung-shui system extends much farther. The climate being ruled by the winds, the winds become the cause of all things, good or evil, which Nature showers down upon this earth. Hence, the grand art of controlling their influences is the art of regulating the fortunes and happiness of mankind. Winds blowing from the North and North East, as they generally do in

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[1] 墓庀 or 墓廡.

China from October till February or March, freeze up the northern provinces, and in the South scarcely send down a single drop of rain, thus destroying the vegetable kingdom and putting a stop to agricultural pursuits. The southern or south-western winds which prevail during the other half of the year, on the contrary, produce warmth and growth, blessing the Empire with copious rains and abundant crops. But, should these monsoons deviate from their regular course, or become disturbed, calamities are sure to ensue. Dry winds in summer entail poor crops and dearth, dooming the people to starvation. When typhoons rage, whole provinces in the South are deluged by rains, which cause the streams and rivers to overflow and destroy the crops in innumerable fields. No wonder, therefore, that the Chinese people are deeply conscious of their dependence on the winds, and feel the greatest reverence and sympathy for a system which promises everybody protection against their baneful influences, ever holding up before their eyes the irrefutable device: »When the winds (f u n g) blow harmoniously and the rains (s h u i) come down regularly, the Realm shall flourish and the people live in peace and comfort" [1]. This tenet occurs in a very old book, viz. the Historical Records, in the following words: »If the course (T a o) of the Universe »be such that cold and heat do not come in due season, diseases »will prevail; and if it be such that winds and rains do not come »at the proper time, there will be famine" [2].

Winds in the very first instance commanding the influences of Nature upon earth, Fung-shui professors are perfectly correct in considering them as the first and principal element of their system. They do not, however, go so far as to attribute constant beneficial influences to certain points of the compass, and pernicious influences to others. Even the cold and rigorous blasts from the North may be salutary, the mildest southern zephyrs extremely dangerous, according as they have been in contact with certain celestial or terrestrial influences. Every geomancer entertains private views on this subject, which it is scarcely possible, and certainly quite useless, to endeavour to unravel.

Nor do geomancers devote less of their attention to the chief results of the favourable operation of the winds, viz. to rains and water, indicated by the second syllable of the word Fung-shui. Water

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[1] 風調雨順國泰民安.

[2] 天地之道寒暑不時則疾、風雨不節則饑. *Shi ki*, ch. 24, l. 17.

being an element indispensable to life, and especially necessary for an agricultural people like the Chinese, neither living men in their dwellings, nor disembodied souls in their graves and temples, nor divinities in their sanctuaries, can ever be at ease or enjoy prosperity, unless its blessed influences be concentrated upon those spots. These influences are called shui shen[1] (Am. *tsúi sín*): »aquatic spiritual agencies".

Rivers and rivulets, brooks and gullets, lakes, tanks, ponds and seas, being the bearers of the waters showered down from the heavens, are all bearers of these shui shen. Even when perfectly dry, they are still regarded as such, Fung-shui philosophy contenting itself with theories. The sources of the water-courses which cross inhabited glens and valleys, and the mountains and mountain ranges in which they take their rise, are specially held to control human destiny, because they send down the precious fluid on which agriculture depends. Their position is carefully considered whenever a site for a grave, house or temple has to be selected.

Neither a wet nor a dry watercourse is allowed to run straight onwards to a grave, a human dwelling or a sanctuary. Otherwise, this building would become an obstacle in the way of the descending aquatic influences, nay, a rude declaration on the part of the living that they do not desire to have anything to do with these influences. Without a doubt the insulted element would avenge itself by accumulating evil on the spot, or, in any case, by flowing away to the right and left without benefiting the place in the least. A good Fung-shui may be obtained when the water flows down from the right or left, either in front of the spot in question or at the back of it, and then, passing along the front, finds its outlet in a lateral direction. It is all-important, however, that the water, in flowing away, should be invisible from the place where the corpse lies, or from the tabernacle in which the soul or the god is seated, as, otherwise, the soul or god would be able to see the beneficial aquatic influences flowing away and thus derive no advantage from them.

As no water may flow down straight in front, it follows that it is always dangerous if the prospect in front is screened by a mountain slope which may send down water in that direction. Besides, such a slope may obstruct in their free natural course the aquatic influences coming down from the opposite side and consequently, in the case of a grave, obstruct the free expansion

[1] 水神.

and development of the prosperity of the family to whom it belongs, not only rendering them poor and miserable, but even causing them to die out. Hence it is an established principle of geomancy that »Fung-shui which is cramped up too much" — *hong-súi khah pik*[1], as the Amoy Chinese say —, is bad Fung-shui. This does not mean that mountains in front are always harmful. They may even exercise a salutary influence, if they are located at a sufficient distance or answer to certain conditions; and it is the professors who decide this by their wise calculations.

Bad effects may likewise be exercised upon a grave by walls, houses or boulders obstructing the prospect in front. For this reason, the walls surrounding the gardens and grounds of European houses in some of the Treaty Ports have not seldom a spot of open-worked masonry, or a few small holes, made therein at the request of the owner of some grave behind, for the purpose of preserving both his prosperity and posterity from destruction. For the same reason, in the province of Fuhkien trees or shrubs are hardly ever allowed to grow in front of a grave. Every thing that happens to strike root there is ruthlessly destroyed, and geomancers, with the remarkable acuteness and wit which distinguish them, are constantly pointing out herbs and shrubs which are injurious. Trees growing at the back or the sides of a grave are, however, generally considered as beneficial, they having the same effect as a *bōng moa*. Yet, as grounds deemed suitable for burying are usually studded with graves, such trees are rare, owing to the fact that they might exert bad influences upon the graves of others. As a consequence, grave grounds in the mountainous South are generally dreary wastes, sparsely covered with grass and weeds and looking but little adapted to serve the dead as an agreeable resting place, especially in summer, when they are burnt and scorched by the tropical heat. But such considerations do not seem to occur to the minds of the Chinese when the question is asked: where shall we bury our dead.

This fact is also to be ascribed to the doctrine that Fung-shui may not be cramped in front of a grave, viz. that stone images of men and animals have seldom, if ever, been erected there in recent times. We have called attention to this point already on page 822. It proves that objects nowadays considered harmful to a grave, were not so regarded in former times, and it illustrates the powerful hold Fung-shui has upon the nation, since the highest classes have now given up

[1] 風水復逼.

in obedience thereto a time-hallowed privilege which, being conferred by the Sons of Heaven, shed the greatest lustre and distinction on the memory of their dead.

Just as the æolian influences, so those of the watery element can be artificially controlled. Should no natural water-course run past a grave, house or temple, this deficiency is often remedied by constructing a tank in front of it, to receive the water which flows down from all sides when it rains; this tank becomes a receptacle for aquatic influences, whence they extend themselves beneficially over the immediate surroundings. In the case of large mansions, palaces and temples, the tank is situated in the centre of the court-yard which was anciently painted partly or entirely red, and hence such tanks are generally styled t a n c h'i [1], »vermilion court-yards". As a rule, they are curved on one side; the opposite straight side runs parallel with the front line of the grave or building, and the curved side is turned away therefrom. Great temples and palaces have the largest and deepest, which are generally paved at the bottom, and lined on all sides with square blocks of granite, marble or dolomite. Those in front of graves are small, hardly ever deeper than one or two feet, and of plastered masonry, or of earth mixed with lime (comp. Pl. XXIV and XXV); in some few cases they are square, sometimes circular.

The Fung-shui doctrines prescribe that the greatest attention should be bestowed upon the opening through which the water leaves such a tank, for, as our readers will easily understand, it commands entirely the influences of the s h u i s h e n accumulated in this latter. It may neither be too small, nor too large, or, in other words, the water must not flow away either too slowly or too quickly; the situation of the opening is also calculated with the utmost nicety and must, at all events, be invisible from the site where the corpse lies or, in the case of a temple, from the tabernacle occupied by the ancestral tablets or the images of the gods. It makes no difference if such tanks stand dry. They do not lose their efficacy thereby, any more than the brooks or gullets do. Those in front of graves are often made without any intention of their being filled with water, the grave being thereby kept drier and less exposed to the attacks of termites.

Grave tanks and grave brooks certainly do not date from recent

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[1] 丹墀.

Pl. XXV.

Grave with a Bank of Masonry and one of Earth.

times. As stated on pp. 436 and 437, they are mentioned in Chinese literature in connection with the mausolea of Hoh Lü and his daughter, who lived in the fifth century before Christ, and also in certain accounts of the burial of Shi Hwang and the imperial mausolea of the Han dynasty. It may be surmised that the custom of this family to place each of their sepulchres in an excavated plot of ground (see page 405), is to be ascribed to a desire that water might flow towards it from many sides and be collected in a tank or brook dug in its immediate vicinity. Ponds and moats were also constructed near the grave of the magnate Chang Poh-nga, who lived under the Han dynasty (see page 446). It is a question whether their origin may not even be traced up to those misty ages of which we have spoken on page 376, when, as a consequence of the custom of burying the dead in the houses in which they had dwelled during their lifetime, burial grounds were actual villages occupied by the dead and, in imitation of real villages, were protected by walls and, on the chief or front side, by running water, — uncivilized man generally having chosen the banks of rivers for a dwelling place.

We may note here by the way that the curious custom, mentioned on page 101, of coffining the dead at flood tide or while some pails of sea water, taken at high tide, are standing in the same apartment, likewise belongs to those practices which purport the concentrating of aquatic influences in the graves. Nobody doubts but this water, drawn at *high* tide, will *fully* work upon the corpse while it is being encoffined, and its influences are thus, so to say, enclosed in the coffin and afterwards deposited in the tomb.

Doubtlessly it is with the same object of imbuing corpses with aquatic influences, that the Chinese of Amoy place them, while they are being conveyed to their last abode, under a cover embroidered with clouds and dragons, dragons having been in China, since very ancient times, the emblems of fertilizing rains (see p. 181). We may, furthermore, again refer to our statement made on page 213, that it is considered a very auspicious omen when rain falls whilst a grave pit is being filled up: indeed, Nature itself then showers down its most beneficial influences, which cannot but yield precious fruits of felicity to the offspring of the deceased man.

The foregoing pages sufficiently prove that mountains and hills, or, more correctly speaking, the configurations of the earth, are an all-important element in the Fung-shui system. Indeed, controlling, as they do, the influences of the winds, they regulate the principal

benefits of Nature, especially rain and water; besides it is from the mountains that water-courses take their rise and carry the beneficial influences of the principal element of Nature far away on all sides, through valleys and districts, even through entire provinces, kingdoms and empires.

The configurations of the ground are important also in another respect. They are bearers, depositories of the influences of the heavens, and as such can work most beneficiently upon the fate of man.

Our readers know already what these influences are, viz. the so-called t'ien khi [1] or »Celestial Breath", the energy of the Yang or highest power of the Universe, specially identified (comp. page 22) with Heaven, as it embraces Light and Warmth. It shares the supreme sway in Nature with the »Terrestrial Breath" ti khi [2], or the energy of the principle Yin which represents Darkness and Cold and is identified with Earth (page 22). By the co-operation of these two principles life is created; in other words: Yang and Yin alternately bearing sway in Nature and blending their influences together, are the causes of constant growth and decay, of life and death, of the annual rotation of production and destruction. Indeed, the *Li ki* (ch. 38, l. 11) explicitly states: »Everything which exists is engendered after Heaven and Earth »have joined together" [3], and (ch. 20, l. 37) »when in the first »month of the vernal season the Celestial Breath descends and »the Terrestrial Breath ascends, Heaven and Earth unite har»moniously and the vegetable kingdom is disclosed and set in »motion" [4]. The *Yih king* also declares that: »When Heaven and »Earth exert their influences, all things are transformed and vivi»fied" [5]. Lü Puh-wei in the third century before our era pronounced the same opinion: »The first causes of production", he wrote, »are Heaven and Earth" [6]. And Chu Hi, the authoritative philosopher

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1 天氣.

2 地氣.

3 天地合而後萬物興焉. Sect. 郊特牲, III.

4 孟春之月天氣下降、地氣上騰、天地和同、草木萌動. Sect. 月令, I.

5 天地感而萬物化生. Ch. 10, or sect. 彖下傳.

6 始生之者天地. *Lü-shi ch'un ts'iu*, chapter I, § 本生.

who lived in the twelfth century, formally subscribed to these ancient doctrines, declaring that »the Two Breaths by uniting and exciting each other produce and reproduce everything" [1].

As a matter of course, in every part of the ground, in every chain of mountains, in every bluff or rock, Nature has laid down a certain quantity of Yin or Terrestrial Breath. But, according to the above doctrines, it cannot exert any life-producing influences unless it be at the same time imbued with some Yang or Celestial Breath. Geomancers alone are capable of deciding whether this latter be represented in an adequate proportion, and whether the ground has any value for building purposes and grave making. They derive their conclusions from the outlines and forms of the surroundings. Starting from the fact that the celestial sphere has, since ancient times, been divided into four quarters, viz. the Azure Dragon, the Red Bird, the White Tiger and the Black Tortoise, identified respectively with the East, the South, the West and the North (comp. page 317), their wise predecessors have taught, during a long series of ages, that no part of the soil can be fully impregnated with the beneficial influences of Heaven unless those four quarters operate upon it conjointly, that is to say, unless it be surrounded by mountains, bluffs, boulders or buildings which can be identified with those symbolic animals. Graves and edifices being, in theory, turned to the South, they must have a Tiger on the right or theoretical western side, a Dragon on the left, a Tortoise at the back, and a Bird in front. All-important is the presence of a Tiger and a Dragon. For, these animals represent all that is expressed by the word Fung-shui, viz. both æolian and aquatic influences, Confucius being reputed to have said that »the winds follow the tiger" [2], and the Dragon having, since times immemorable, in Chinese cosmological mythology played the part of chief spirit of water and rain.

So, for instance, Amoy is unanimously declared by all the wise men of the town to be indebted for its prosperity to two knolls flanking the inner harbour, and vulgarly styled *Hó͘-t'aó soa*^{n} [3] or »Tiger-head Hill" and *Lîng-t'aó soa*^{n} [4] or »Dragon-head Hill".

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[1] 二氣交感化生萬物. »Illustrated Dissertation on the Great Ultimate Principle" 太極圖說, quoted in the Khanghi Dictionary, *in verbo* 氣.

[2] 風從虎. See the *Yih king*, chapt. 16, or sect. 文言傳.

[3] 虎頭山. [4] 龍頭山.

This latter, which is situated on the opposite shore, on the islet of Kulangsu, is crowned with huge boulders poised in a fantastic manner, upon which professors have had several blocks of granite arranged for the purpose of helping the imagination to discover the outlines of a dragon on the spot. The costs of these improvements were borne by some well-to-do citizens, anxious to promote their own prosperity and that of their fellow townsmen. Of the city of Canton »the favourable situation lies herein, that it is placed in » the very angle formed by two chains of hills running in gentle » curves towards the Bogue, where they almost meet, forming a » complete horse shoe. The chain of hills known as the White Clouds » represent the Dragon, whilst the undulating ground on the other » side of the river forms the White Tiger. The most favourable sites » in Canton are therefore on the ground near the North gates, » whence the Tiger and the Dragon run off to the right and left" [1].

Similarly, Peking is protected on the North-west by the Kin-shan [2] or Golden Hills, which represent the Tiger and ensure its prosperity, together with that of the whole Empire and the reigning dynasty. These hills contain the sources of a felicitous water-course called Yuh-ho [3] or »Jade river", which enters Peking on the North-west and flows through the grounds at the back of the Imperial Palace, then accumulates its beneficial influences in three large reservoirs or lakes dug on the west side, and finally flows past the entire front of the inner Palace, where it bears the name of The Golden Water (comp. page 635). Its course therefore perfectly accords with the principles which are valid for grave brooks and grave tanks (comp. page 944).

In thus making use of the configurations which render the relative position and extent of the influences of the four Celestial Animals favourable or unfavourable, there is room for countless combinations. Every mountain, rock, bluff, house or tower may form a good Animal, and at one spot serve for a Tiger and at the same time as a Dragon, Bird or Tortoise for another spot, the fancy and imaginative ingenuity of geomancers being allowed free scope in all cases. With endless manipulations of their compass, consisting of a small magnetic needle around which all the elements that enter in their calculations are inscribed in concentric circles, these men deliberately point out whether the Tiger

1 Eitel, Feng-shui, page 23.

2 金山, more generally called Wan-sheu shan 萬壽山.

3 玉河.

and Dragon unite harmoniously, or, as they call it, »lie in a bow-shaped line in mutual embrace" [1], or whether their forms are spoiled or done away with by other conjunctions, finally deciding with an air of profound wisdom and a flood of technical terms which overawe their clients, whether the site to be fixed upon for burial or building purposes forms »a perfect complex", ch'ing küh [2]. If so, the Fung-shui is good, provided it answers to certain other requirements which we must still pass in review. Every son of man who buries an ancestor in such a spot, or builds his house there, shall be rich, prosperous and blessed with a numerous offspring that shall not die out unto the last day. They shall rise high in the social scale and gain glorious positions in the civil and military service, for the Dragon symbolizes the Emperor and his beneficial civil government, and the Tiger martial power and intrepidity. Sad to say, however, the value of such predictions is generally somewhat detracted from by the diversity of opinions prevailing among geomancers, each of whom is imbued with professional jealousy and cherishes the rather arrogant conviction that his own wisdom is always necessary for the correction of the opinions pronounced by his colleagues.

Dragons and Tigers are by no means equally important in the Fung-shui system. Professors are wont to say: »Any spot is felicitous that has a Dragon and no Tiger; but a spot is not of a certainty unfelicitous if it has only a Tiger and no Dragon" [3]. This pre-eminence of the Dragon is due in the first place to its heading the list of the four Celestial Animals and to its being the emblem of spring (see p. 317), which is the first of the seasons, and further, to its identification with Water, the all-important element without which all Fung-shui is null and void. Practically, Fung-shui professors are accustomed to speak of a Dragon when referring in reality to a Dragon and Tiger; in short, the word Dragon comprises the high grounds in general, and the water-streams which have their sources therein or wind their way through them. Hence it is that books on Fung-shui commonly commence with a bulky set of dissertations, comprised under the heading: »Rules concerning the Dragon" [4], in reality dealing with the doctrines about the

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[1] 龍虎二山弓抱.
[2] 成局.
[3] 有龍無虎亦爲吉、有虎無龍未是凶.
[4] 龍法.

situation and contours of mountains and hills and the direction of water-courses. In these dissertations every imaginable combination of hills and peaks is amply discussed and illustrated by coarse woodcuts. Such combinations generally are indicated by special fancy names, mostly derived from objects they bear a likeness to. These names too are believed to exercise a mighty influence upon the destiny of those who live under the Fung-shui of such configurations, all of them being calculated to call up before the mind ideas associated with either felicity or mishap.

The doctrine that the configuration of the ground is a sure index to the presence of celestial influence, is better understood when we bear in mind that objects, such as soul tablets and images, which call up before the mind spirits or so-called s h e n, are generally believed by the Chinese to be inhabited by such spirits, and are consequently made for the dead and the gods in order that the latter may radiate their beneficial influences therefrom over mankind. Such s h e n being composed of Y a n g (comp. page 110) or Celestial Breath, the Chinese have every reason to believe that the s h e n of the four Animals or quarters of the sphere will settle in objects such as hills, mountains or other configurations, which by their shape and situation call them up before the mind.

The active operation produced in the earth by the Celestial and Terrestrial Breath properly intermixing, is denoted by the term s h a n l i n g [1], »effective operation of high grounds"; we might call it the living and active animus of a configuration. Each configuration is a complex of mere lifeless forms when the two Breaths, confined in it, are latent and inactive. Its Fung-shui in such cases is, as geomancers express it, dead.

Like a current of vital power, the s h a n l i n g flows in every direction through favourable sites, especially through ledges and edges of hills which geomancers cleverly identify with the limbs of Dragons, Tigers, Tortoises and Birds. Thanks to the wisdom and experience of these men, it is possible to learn which limbs are thoroughly imbued with s h a n l i n g and accordingly the most preferable for making graves or building houses on. Sloping ledges are generally considered to be favourable spots in this respect: indeed, even a child can understand that s h a n l i n g with a descending motion must develop great vigour and energy, particularly at the end of its downward course. Moreover, it accumulates wher-

[1] 山靈.

ever in its downward course it meets with some eminence sufficient to absorb and collect it, or to impede its course and prevent its flowing away. Such sites are called ling meh [1] or »(shan-) ling pulses", where the animus lives and throbs as does the vital power in the pulses of man. The ledges in question geomancers denote by the term ling tsih [2]: »back-bones of the (shan-) ling".

A body imbued with vitality is generally a breathing body. Geomancers, inverting this theorem, teach that formations of the ground possess no shan ling unless they contain what is styled ling khi [3], »(shan-) ling breath". Again it is the configuration which indicates the presence of the latter. It is found exclusively in undulating grounds; hollow, flat or straight-lined formations do not respire, and are therefore of little or no use for burying or building purposes. In making graves, attention should also be paid to the fact that hard, rocky soil is breathless; compact, reddish loam on the contrary is full of breath and life and consequently prevents a quick decay of the coffin and the corpse, rendering the bones hard, white, and suitable for binding the soul for a long time to the grave. Besides, white ants and other voracious insects do not harbour in such loamy soil, which fact geomancers ascribe to the influence of the breath. The breath can be active or latent, accumulated or expanded, powerful or weak, floating on the surface or hidden underneath, unalloyed or mixed with other substances, and the astuteness of the professors must detect all these qualities. By various circumstances, which they alone know how to trace, the breath may also partly or entirely vanish, which is a proof that the operation of the shan ling has been put a stop to and the Fung-shui of the spot is dying, or dead.

Even though a configuration be such as to leave no doubt as to the presence of an abundant quantity of Yang and Yin, it is not yet certain that these two Breaths produce shan ling and would thus co-operate beneficially on the grave. They may be inert and exercise no influence upon each other; however, this state of latency cannot last long. In the end they must awake from their torpor, as is the case in spring, when they fill the Universe with vital energy and re-vivify the vegetable kingdom. Not seldom, at burials, geomancers deem it necessary to arouse the two Breaths from their lethargy, in order that the family may forthwith begin to reap profit from the grave. To this end they proceed in the way

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[1] 靈脉. [2] 靈脊. [3] 靈氣.

described on page 209. It is plain enough to our readers that the object of the strange demeanour of the professor while standing on the *t'ien-tik hng* or »the spot in which the beneficial celestial influence or breath is concentrated", is to actuate it there; subsequently, when he rushes down in the direction of the grave, he rouses it also in the »pulse" which connects the *t'ien-tik hng* with the latter, thus bringing forth an energetic downward current and accumulating a large store of s h a n l i n g over and around the corpse.

Since time immemorial, the four heavenly quadrants or Animals have each been subdivided into seven constellations, called s i u [1]. These twenty-eight groups, about which we shall have more to say on pp. 971 *sqq.*, are irregularly distributed over the sphere as it is visible in China. Hills and mountain-ranges being the embodiment of the influences of the Four Animals, their several parts are deemed to stand each under the influence of a s i u. In this manner, geomancy is ingeniously combined with astrology and the field of speculation greatly widened. The s i u being important elements in astrological science, they contribute much to rendering Fung-shui a black art so mysterious that it can only be practised with success by the proficients who derive a livelihood from it.

Geomancers in their theories also give a place to other groups of stars which they believe to correspond with certain parts of the Earth and to determine the fate thereof. It is, in fact, constantly on their lips as an axiom of their system, that »the stars of the Heavens above, and the configurations of this Earth beneath correspond with each other" [2]. This dogma directly arises from the great fundamental principle of both ancient and modern astrology, viz. that every human affair has a star or asterism controlling it. Practically, however, the combination of astrology with geomancy plays a very inferior part; so we need not dive into its vagaries.

Hills and mountains are also very powerful in their influence upon the destiny of man if their outlines are such as to allow the imagination to see in them felicitous or infelicitous omens. For instance, if a hill bears on its top a boulder of large dimensions, weighing heavily upon it, the fortunes of the people around may be crushed down and poverty and misfortune for ever prevail among them. If people, however, consider they recognize in its outlines some animal portending good luck or misfortune, those who dwell under the shade of its Fung-shui will enjoy that luck or suffer

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[1] 宿.

[2] 天星地形上下相應.

from the misfortune. Thus the shape of a snake is calculated to make them rich, provided there be near its head a rock or stone which calls up before their minds the idea of its vomiting forth a pearl. If one dwells on a mountain on the top of which there are three small peaks side by side in a row, his sons and grandsons will gain literary laurels by study and scholarship and be promoted to high offices; indeed, students are accustomed to have upon their writing table an instrument of stone or wood, cut in the shape of such peaks, on which they rest the point of their writing brush to prevent the ink from blotting the table. As such association of ideas with the contours of mountains may be spun out endlessly, the field for imaginative ingenuity is again widened, and both experts and adepts of the geomantic art take good care to explore that field in every sense and direction. Some books of geomancy give long lists of objects which have disastrous or beneficial effects when detected in the outlines of hills and mountains.

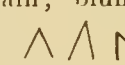
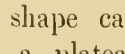
The Five Elements.

It may be supposed that in a system which purports to command the influences of Nature, a place of importance is also allotted to the elements out of which Nature is built up and which play a chief part in its organisation, viz. water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. No configuration is perfect unless these five elements work in it harmoniously.

In the *Shu king* the five elements form the first topic in a treatise entitled: »The Great Plan" [1], a curious scheme of government, intended as a guide to sovereigns in the discharge of their duties towards themselves and their subjects. This fact proves that already at the dawn of history the conviction prevailed that the happiness of the nation, and even the life of the people, entirely depend upon those elements and that mankind cannot exist without their beneficial influence. Being produced, like everything else in the Universe, by the Yang and Yin, they are the natural agents of this dual Breath, operating favourably or unfavourably upon the living and the dead. Is it not evident, for instance, that wherever fire or heat, which is an emanation from the Yang, predominates, disaster will ensue, unless it be properly counter-balanced by another element, such as water, which is produced by Yin, the opposite breath? Is it not evident also that, if the element earth is overruled

[1] 洪範.

by water, or suffers from want of water, there is no fecundation, no production of food and raiment? Crops are devastated in this case, nay, the entire element wood may be destroyed and mankind thus be decimated by famine. Woe therefore to those who disturb the harmony of the elements! It shall fare with him as with the father of the illustrious founder of the Hia dynasty, of whom the Great Plan states: »Formerly, Kwan, in damming up »the inundating waters, disarranged the five elements. The Em»peror (of Heaven), aroused to anger, did not give him the nine »divisions of the Great Plan, in consequence of which the sundry »relations of society were disturbed and he himself was kept im»prisoned till his death" [1].

No wonder then that the Chinese pay great attention to their geomancers who, selecting sites for every house and grave, restrain them from stupid acts *à la* Kwan, thus preserving them from the wrath of Heaven both in life and death. How carefully do these men inspect every rock and every stone, every inch of the surface of the ground, to detect the element which predominates in it! A stony ground, barren rocks, and boulders not cemented together by loam or clay in considerable quantities, embody the element fire, as the capricious outlines remind us of notched flames, and the dryness of the stones and rocks is a proof of plutonic propensities. A coffin, imbedded in such ground, would quickly moulder and not long afford a shelter to the corpse and the manes. Likewise, any mountain, bluff or knoll rising up like a peak or rather sharp pointed  , represents the element fire. If the top be gently rounded , metal predominates in it. If it rises up steep, bold and straight, running out into a rounded or flat point , it is declared to represent the element wood, probably because its shape calls to mind the trunk of a tree. Should the top form a plateau composed of soft clay or earth , the element earth predominates in that mount; but if the plateau has an irregular surface, its contours reminding us of a lake or river  , it passes for an embodiment of the watery element. Of course, any eminence may combine in itself two or more ot these fundamental forms, and thus represent just

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[1] 在昔鯀陻洪水、汨陳其五行。帝乃震怒、不畀洪範九疇、彝倫攸斁、鯀則殛死.

so many elements. In truth, one professor as a rule secs fire where another detects water or metal; but this is no drawback at all, as they can thus perpetually confute each other's statements in the interest of the public and of their own purse.

Now, with reference to any given locality it is all-important to determine whether the elements represented by the configurations of the ground form a harmonious conjunction. It would, for instance, be highly detrimental if hills or boulders representing both fire and wood were in close proximity to graves or houses, as this would certainly render those houses liable to frequent conflagration. Human settlements often suffer from murderous raids of robbers and rebels if they are situated at the foot of a big hill representing metal, or if the graves of the dead are laid out near such a spot. And so forth. On the other hand, there are numerous beneficial combinations of elements. Fire and water, for instance, when united in harmony and in adequate proportions, further fecundation, and may therefore render the fields productive and cause the inmates of a house, or the offspring of a buried corpse, to give birth to a numerous progeny.

Bad elements also may produce good ones and neutralize nefarious elements. This doctrine, which allows fancy and speculation even a wider play, is based upon the wisdom of antiquity. In the writings of Liu Ngan, who lived in the second century before our era, it is stated that »wood overpowers earth, earth »conquers water, water vanquishes fire, fire conquers metal, and »metal overpowers wood" [1]. Pan Ku, a celebrated scholar and historian of the second century, known especially as the compiler of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, wrote: »Wood (produces »fire, fire produces earth (*i. e.* ashes), earth produces metals, metals »produce water, and water produces wood (viz. vegetation). If »fire heats metal, the latter produces water (that is to say, it »liquifies); hence water, destroying fire, operates inimically »upon the very element which engenders it. Fire produces earth, »and earth impairs water; nobody can frustrate such phenomena, »for, the power which causes the five elements to impair each »other is the natural propensities of Heaven and Earth. A large »quantity prevails over a small quantity; hence water vanquishes »fire. Unsubstantiality prevails over substantiality; so fire con»quers metal. Hardness prevails over softness; hence metal con-

[1] 木勝土、土勝水、水勝火、火勝金、金勝木. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. IV, l. 8.

» quers wood. Density has the upper hand over incoherence; there-» fore wood overpowers earth. And solidity overrules insolidity; *ergo* » earth vanquishes water" [1].

That such vagaries are much older than the age in which Liu Ngan lived, is proved by the *Tso ch'wen*, in which we read that a certain oneiromancer, in explaining a dream, declared that »fire vanquishes metal" [2]. They have stood their ground as wisdom of the highest order down to the present day, and helped to swell numerous philosophical works — sources from which the Fung-shui professors of all ages have drawn at discretion. These men have also invented the art of regulating the operation of the elements by improving the natural configurations of the ground, and even carried this art to a high stage of perfection. Hence it is that clever geomancers at present find no difficulty in quenching, for instance, the evils emanating from a rock which represents fire, by having a grave tank made of proper dimensions and calculated to an inch. They can also cut off the point of a dangerous rock, and thus convert fire into wood, metal, or any element they please, or turn a brook in a favourable direction, in order to quench the fire of such a rock. Or, if a flat elevation disturbs the harmony of the configuration, they merely have to place a convex or pointed pile of stones on the top, as high and broad as they deem fit. With the object of thus correcting the Fung-shui of cities, towns and valleys, there have been erected towers or pagodas in large numbers throughout the Empire, at the cost of much money and labour. Thus may man's foresight and energy rule the influences of the Universe; and so he can turn his own destiny and fortunes, and those of his offspring, into any channel he pleases.

The above philosophical nonsense about the elements and their influences intimately connects the geomantic art with the celestial sphere. For a long series of centuries it has, for occult reasons,

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[1] 木生火、火生土、土生金、金生水、水生木。其火燋金、金生水、水滅火報其理。火生土、土則害水、莫能而禦、五行所以相害者天地之性。衆勝寡、故水勝火也。精勝堅、故火勝金。剛勝柔、故金勝木。專勝散、故木勝土。實勝虛、故土勝水也. *Poh hu t'ung i*, chapt. II, § 五行.

[2] 火勝金. Thirty-first Year of the Ruler Chao's Reign.

been customary among the Chinese to consider the five planets as embodiments of the influences of the five elements and to denote them by the names of these latter: Venus they call the Star of Metal [1], Jupiter that of Wood [2], Mercury that of Water [3], Mars the Star of Fire [4], and Saturn the Star of Earth [5]. Thus every part of the terrestrial surface, when identified with one or more elements on account of its shape, is under the influence of the corresponding planets, and also under that of the constellations through which those planets move.

The Geomancer's Compass.

To solve the problems relating to the construction of dwellings for the living, graves for the dead, temples for the ancestors and the gods, geomancers have invented a curious instrument, in which the principal matters and factors that play a part in their art are combined for handy use. It is a circular piece of wood, rounded down at the bottom like a tea-saucer; the upper surface has, in the centre, a round excavation containing a small magnetic needle, seldom longer than one inch, which moves freely upon a pivot and is kept in its place by a glass cover fixed in the rim of the excavation. A straight line at the bottom of this needle-house gives the direction from North to South. The surface of the instrument, which is generally painted yellow and varnished, is inscribed with several concentric circles, containing the sundry geomantic factors. Small compasses have a smaller number of circles, larger ones have a larger number, and these latter enable the geomancers to take more precise bearings. The average diameter is about two decimetres, but we have seen several both of a larger and a smaller size. In many cases, the reverse side is lackered black and bears a short table giving the contents of the circles, as also the name of the manufacturer of the instrument.

Such compasses are called lo king [6], or, in the Amoy dialect, *ló kiṅ*. This term, which signifies »reticular tissue", is probably an allusion to the circular lines on the surface, which, being intersected by other lines radiating from the centre, remind one of a net. The concentric circles are called ts'eng [7], »stories, or layers".

To convey a clear idea to our readers of the inscriptions of geo-

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1 金星. 2 木星. 3 水星. 4 火星.
5 土星. 6 羅經. 7 層.

mantic compasses and the relative position of the circles, we give in Plate XXVI an unreduced picture of one of average size. The centre in which the needle revolves is understood to represent the T'ai Kih [1] or »Great Ultimate Principle" which, according to ancient philosophy, is the genitor of the so-called Liang I [2] or »Two Regulating Powers", viz. the superior Breaths Yang and Yin which, as our readers know, create the phenomena of Nature by their co-operation. The first or inmost circle contains eight characters, which indicate Heaven and Earth or the two principal agents of the Universe, and six chief powers and elements which work in this latter; all these powers are produced by the Two Regulators, who, mutually extinguishing and giving way to each other, keep at work a ceaseless process of revolution which produces the phenomena of existence. They are:

Khien 乾, Heaven, the sky, the celestial sphere.
Tui 兌, watery exhalations, vapours, clouds, etc.
Li 離, fire, heat, the sun, light, lightning.
Chen 震, thunder.
Sun 巽, wind, and wood.
Khan 坎, water, rivers, lakes, seas, etc.
Ken 艮, mountains.
Khwun 坤, Earth, terrestrial matter.

This system of cosmogony and natural philosophy, represented by the compass, has been handed down from time immemorial. It is the basis of a system of divination laid down in the *Yih king* or Canon of Metamorphoses, and invented and expanded, according to tradition, by the royal founders of the Cheu dynasty. We read in the said Classic (chapter 14, ll. 16 and 17): »Hence »there is in the system of the metamorphoses of Nature the Great »Ultimate Principle, and this produces the two Regulating Powers. »These Powers produce the four Forms, which again produce the »eight Trigrams. These Trigrams determine good and evil, and »good and evil cause the great business of human life" [3].

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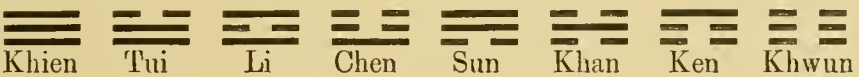
[1] 大極. [2] 兩儀.

[3] 是故易有大極、是生兩儀。兩儀生四象、四象生八卦。八卦定吉凶、吉凶生大業. Sect. 繫辭傳, I.

To entirely understand this passage, it is necessary to know that, in the *Yih king*, the principle Yang is represented by an unbroken line ——, and Yin by a line broken in two — —, and that from these lines are deduced four diagrams representing the four Forms, viz.

〓 called the Major Yang 太陽, representing the sun, heat.
〓 called the Major Yin 太陰, representing the moon, cold.
〓 the Minor Yang 少陽, or Yang *under* the Yin, corresponding to the stars, daylight, etc.
〓 the Minor Yin 少陰, or Yin kept under by the Yang, corresponding to the planets, night, etc.

Placing each of these lineal figures under an unbroken and a broken line, the eight trigrams are obtained, of which the above extract speaks. They are called kwa [1] by the *Yih king* and represent the eight aforesaid powers and elements, showing the relative quantities of Yang and Yin breath present in each of these:



The principal kwa are Khien and Khwun, or Heaven and Earth, entirely composed of Yang lines and Yin lines, and therefore styled »unalloyed Yang" [2] and »unalloyed Yin" [3].

Thus the geomantic compasses teach us that a prominent place is given in the Fung-shui doctrines to the *Yih king*, the same ancient book which the sages and learned men of all ages have held in high veneration as a clue to the mysteries of Nature and as an unfathomable lake of metaphysical wisdom explaining all the phenomena of the Universe. On many compasses, the lineal figures representing the kwa are inscribed around the needle, instead of the characters that denote them. Being combined by the *Yih king* with the seasons and the eight cardinal points, the kwa allow a wide play to the imaginative ingenuity of geomancers. »All things »endowed with life", that Classic says (chapter 17, l. 7), »have their »origin in Chen, as Chen corresponds to the East. They are »in harmonious existence in Sun, because Sun corresponds with »the East and the South. Li is brightness and renders all things

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[1] 卦. [2] 純陽. [3] 純陰.

» visible to one another, and it is its kwa which represents » the South. Khwun is the Earth, from which all things en- » dowed with life receive food. Tui corresponds to the middle of » autumn. Khien is the kwa of the North-west. Khan is » water and the kwa of the exact North and distress, unto » which everything endowed with life reverts. Ken is the kwa » of the North-east, in which living things terminate and also » originate" [1].

Little shrewdness is required to understand this extract in detail. The East is reasonably represented as the quarter in which is rooted the life of everything, the great genitor of life being born there every day. It is identified also quite correctly with the kwa Chen, which represents thunder (see page 960); indeed, the vernal season, identified with the East because it is, so to say, the morning of the year, is particularly characterized in China by heavy thunderstorms caused by the return of the southern monsoon. The *Li ki* (chapter 21, l. 11) says: »In the month of mid-spring, » when day and night are of equal length, thunder utters its voice » and it begins to lighten" [2]. For just as plausible reasons, the South, where the God of Light daily reaches the zenith of his glorious course, is identified with brightness; the North, which he never frequents, with death. Tui, declared to correspond to the middle of autumn or the evening of the year, naturally belongs to the West or the evening of the day, this corroborating the identification of the East with the middle of the spring and naturally implying an identification of the South with midsummer, of due North with mid-winter. Finally, in Ken, the kwa of the North-east, everything which has life is stated to terminate and to originate, the North being identified with death, and the East with life.

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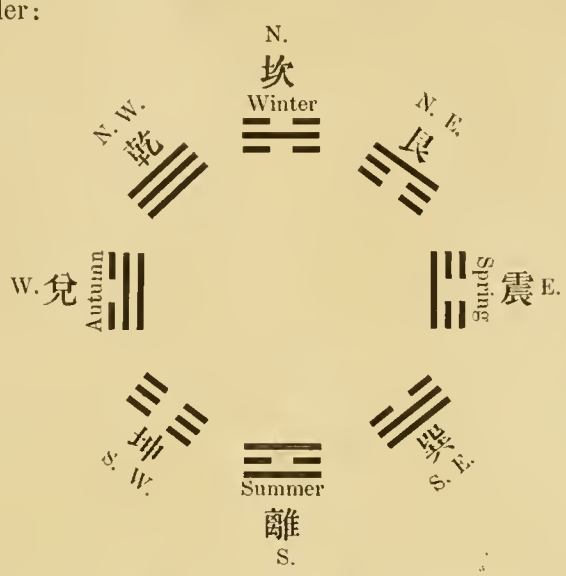
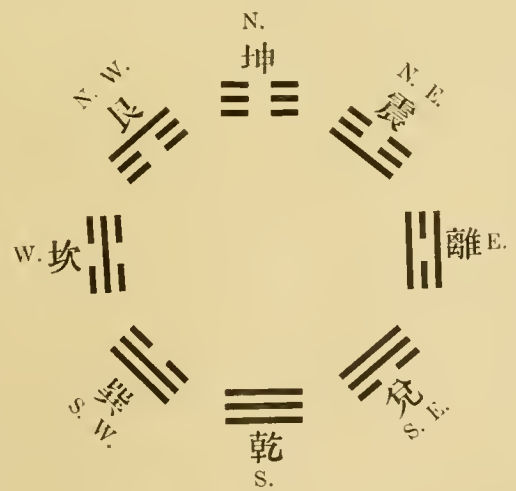
[1] 萬物出乎震、震東方也。齊乎巽、巽東南也。離也者明也、萬物皆相見、南方之卦也。坤也者地也、萬物皆致養焉。兌正秋也。乾西北之卦也。坎者水也、正北方之卦也、勞卦也、萬物之所歸也。艮東北之卦也、萬物之所成終而所成始也. Sect. 說卦傳.

[2] 仲春之月、日夜分、雷乃發聲、始電. Sect. 月令, II.

All these data may be placed, in imitation of the Chinese, in the following order:



This arrangement however is not used for Fung-shui purposes. All the geomantic compasses we have seen bore the following arrangement, said to be much older, having been devised by Fuh Hi[1], a fabulous sovereign from whose reign the Chinese commence their chronology. It is likewise based upon certain sayings of the *Yih king*:



In this plan, Khien, which represents Heaven or the unalloyed Yang, is logically placed at the South, this being the chief seat

[1] 伏羲.

of warmth and light and, therefore, the region in which Yang is in the zenith of its power and influence. So, also, Khwun, the unalloyed Yin, is placed at the North, where Yin reigns supreme. Li, or fire and heat, is identified with the East, the region where the sun rises; Khan with the West, because it represents water and is thus the opposite of fire; and so forth.

Not only do the eight kwa answer to the eight points of the compass and the seasons of the year, but they symbolize also the virtues and properties attributed to those points and the seasons. Moreover, to each of them the *Yih king*[1] ascribes a series of qualities, such as the following:

Khien 乾 corresponds to immobility and strength. It represents a horse, the head, the heavenly sphere, a father, a prince, roundness, jade, metal, cold, ice, red colours, a good horse, an old horse, a thin horse, a piebald horse, fruit of trees, etc.

Khwun 坤 represents docility and, consequently, bovine cattle; further, the belly, Mother-Earth, cloth, caldrons, parsimony, a heifer, large carts, figures, a multitude, a handle, black colours, etc.

Chen 震 indicates motion. It represents a dragon, *i. e.* the animal identified (see page 317) with the spring or the East of which, according to the posterior arrangement, Chen is the kwa. It also indicates the feet, an eldest son, thunder, dark-yellow colours, development, high roads, decision and vehemence, bamboo, rushes, the best neighers among horses, etc.

Sun 巽 means penetration and indicates a fowl, the thighs, an eldest daughter, wood, wind, whiteness, length, height, a forward motion, a backward motion, baldheadedness, a broad forehead, three hundred per cent. gain in the market; and so forth.

Khan 坎 signifies peril, a pig, the ears, a son who is neither the eldest, nor the youngest, water, channels and streams, hidden things, alternate straightness and crookedness, a bow, a wheel, anxiety, distress of mind, pain in the ears, a blood-red colour; a horse with an elegant spine, high spirits, drooping head, thin hoofs or a shambling step; finally it means the moon, this planet being identified with the West, as the sun is with the East (comp. the next kwa); thieves, strong trees, etc.

Li 離 means beauty and brightness. It represents a pheasant, *i. e.* the bird identified with the South (see p. 949), of which region Li is

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1 In ch. 17, ll. 11 *sqq.*, being the section 說卦傳.

the k w a according to the posterior arrangement. Further it means the eyes, a daughter who is neither the eldest nor the youngest, the sun, lightning, cuirasses and helmets, spears and swords, a large-bellied man, dryness, turtles, crabs, spiral univalves, mussels, tortoises, etc.
Ken 艮 indicates stoppage, a dog, the hands, a youngest son, paths and roads, small rocks, gates, fruits and cucumbers, porters or eunuchs, finger rings, rats, birds with large bills, etc.
Tui 兌 means pleasure, a sheep, the mouth, a youngest daughter, spiritual mediums between men and the gods, the tongue, a concubine, and so forth.

Like the whole contents of the *Yih king*, the above speculations about the k w a and their attributes have, throughout all ages, been looked upon by the wise men of the nation as the outcome of the profoundest classical wisdom, and as such have been greatly enlarged and dilated upon by authors of renown. They consequently afford ample means to the Fung-shui professors to define minutely the proprieties of all the spots situated near any given place, and to derive therefrom sage conclusions as to the desirability of constructing dwellings, temples or graves there. We must now have recourse to the other circles of the compass, to penetrate somewhat deeper into the computations of those men.

The third circle divides the compass in twenty-four points. S. E., S. W., N. W. and N. E. are designated respectively by the k w a Sun 巽, Khwun 坤, Khien 乾 and Ken 艮, which correspond to these cardinal points according to the posterior plan of arrangement; the twenty remaining points are indicated by the characters of the two cycles known as the Ten k a n[1] and the Twelve Branches, with which the reader was made acquainted on page 103:

Kiah 甲 ..... is E. N. E. by E.
Mao 卯 is East.
Yih 乙 ..... is E. S. E. by E.
Ch'en 辰 is E. S. E. by S.
Sun 巽 ..... is S. E.
Sze 巳 is S. S. E. by E.
Ping 丙 ..... is S. S. E. by S.
Wu 午 is South.

[1] 十干.

Ting 丁 ..... is S. S. W. by S.
Wei 未 is S. S. W. by W.
Khwun 坤 ..... is S. W.
Shen 申 is W. S. W. by S.
Wu 戊 ..... } are the Centre.
Ki 已 ..... }
Keng 庚 ..... is W. S. W. by W.
Yiu 酉 is West.
Sin 辛 ..... is W. N. W. by W.
Suh 戌 is W. N. W. by N.
Khien 乾 ..... is N. W.
Hai 亥 is N. N. W. by W.
Jen 壬 ..... is N. N. W. by N.
Tszĕ 子 is North.
Kwei 癸 ..... is N. N. E. by N.
Ch'eu 丑 is N. N. E. by E.
Ken 艮 ..... is N. E.
Yin 寅 is E. N. E. by N.

Wu 戊 and Ki 已 do not designate points proper of the compass, but the centre, which corresponds to the element earth. The *Li ki* says (ch. 23, ll. 14 and 15): »The centre is earth, and its days are Wu and Ki" [1].

The above method of representing twenty points of the compass by characters derived from the denary and the duodenary cycles, is very old, as Liu Ngan uses it in enumerating the twenty directions in which the tail of the Great Bear points during its apparent yearly revolution round the pole [2]. It is used also in the Historical Records, in the twenty-fifth chapter, which is devoted to natural science for divining purposes, and which denotes the cycles as »the Ten Mothers" [3] and »the Twelve Children" [4].

The second circle of the compass likewise contains characters

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1 中央土、其日戊已. Sect. 月令, IV.
2 *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. III, ll. 7 *seq.*
3 十母. 4 十二子.

drawn from those cycles, arranged in an order the leading idea of which we cannot grasp. Some characters appear in it two or three times. The fourth circle gives the characters of the denary cycle in alternate succession, in twelve combinations of five; between every two combinations a blank is left, two characters being skipped over. With this circle the tenth corresponds, but the inscriptions on it are shifted slightly to the right.

The fifth circle gives the five elements twelve times, in varied permutations. It combines the influences of the elements or planets with the points of the compass inscribed on the third and fourth circles.

The sixth and the eighth circles are identical with the third. They do not, however, like this latter, indicate the centre of each of the twenty-four points of the compass, but their extreme limits, thus insuring accuracy in taking bearings. For some occult reason, each character in these circles is combined, through the next cycle, with the characters 丁 辛 or 丙 庚, borrowed from the denary cycle.

The eighth circle contains, moreover, the twenty-four subdivisions of the year, and is therefore a calendar indicating the season during which a house, temple or tomb, for which a favourable locality is assigned by the compass, ought to be built. According to the national philosophy, these seasons are wrought by Yang and Yin, the two »breaths" which through the course of every year blend together in constantly varying proportions, Yang having the upper hand in the hottest weather, and Yin in the coldest. Hence they are logically called tsieh khi [1], »breaths of the divisions (of the year)", or simply khi [2], »breaths".

They are arranged on the circle in such a way that mid-spring corresponds to due East, midsummer to due South, mid-autumn to due West, and mid-winter to due North, this being, as stated on page 962, in perfect accordance with the speculative philosophy of the ancients. Also in the writings of the philosopher Kwan I-wu, who lived in the seventh century before our era (see page 660), it is stated that »the seasons appertaining respectively to the East, »South, West and North are the spring, the summer, the autumn »and the winter" [3].

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[1] 節氣. [2] 氣.

[3] 東方…其時曰春、南方…其時曰夏、西方…其時曰秋、北方…其時曰冬. *Kwan-tszĕ* 管子, ch. 14, § 40, 四時.

On a great many compasses the twenty-four seasons occupy a separate circle. They bear the following names:

Spring.		Autumn.	
立春	Beginning of Spring.	立秋	Beginning of Autumn.
雨水	Rain Water.	處暑	Limit of Heat.
驚蟄	Resurrection of hibernating Insects.	白露	White Dew.
春分	Vernal Equinox.	秋分	Autumnal Equinox.
清明	Pure Brightness.	寒露	Cold Dew.
穀雨	Rains over the Grain.	霜降	Descent of Hoar Frost.

Summer.		Winter.	
立夏	Beginning of Summer.	立冬	Beginning of Winter.
小滿	Grain filling a little.	小雪	Little Snow.
芒種	Grain in Ear.	大雪	Heavy Snow.
夏至	Summer Solstice.	冬至	Winter Solstice.
小暑	Slight Heat.	小寒	Little Cold.
大暑	Great Heat.	大寒	Severe Cold.

The division of the year into the above seasons dates from early times. A calendar of the Hia dynasty, still extant under the title of *Hia siao ching*[1], mentions the Resurrection of hibernating Insects under the name Emergence of hibernating Insects[2], and also the Winter solstice. In the writings of Kwan I-wu[3] the appellations Pure Brightness, Great Heat and Slight Heat are employed to denote certain periods of the year; and the *Kwoh yü*[4] or »Discussions about the States", a narrative of events in several feudal kingdoms during the Cheu dynasty, said to have been composed by the author of the *Tso ch'wen*, mentions the appellation Limit of Heat as having been used by one Fan Wu-yü[5], who lived in the sixth century before our era[6]. The section of the *Li ki* known as the Monthly Precepts

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1 夏小正. 2 啟蟄.

3 *Kwan-tszĕ*, ch. III, § 8.

4 國語. 5 范無宇.

6 Chapter 17, being the first part of the »Narratives of Ch'u" 楚語.

contains the expressions Beginning of Spring, of Summer, Autumn, and Winter; it also speaks of »Rain Water beginning to fall in »the month of mid-spring, and of the insects in their burrows »then all coming into motion" [1], and further says: »Slight Heat »comes in the month of midsummer [2], White Dew descends in »the first month of autumn [3], and Hoar Frost begins to fall in »the last month of this season" [4]. All the above facts merely serve to prove that many of the twenty-four appellations of the seasons were in vogue before the Han dynasty, but they do not give us any certainty that they formed in those times a series like the one in present use. Slight evidence that this series really was used during the reign of the House of Cheu, we have in the fact that it is given entire by the »Books of the Cheu dynasty obtained from the tomb in Kih" (see p. 416), in the section entitled: »Explanation of the Doctrines about the Seasons" [5]. But it is far from certain whether this work is the product of the time expressed in the title, and it may probably contain spurious references to matters of posterior date. It indicates the seasons by the same word khi by which they are at present known. Liu Ngan, summing up the principal phenomena proper to the successive periods of fifteen days, which he calls tsieh, gives these twenty-four seasons in nearly the same sequence in which they are placed nowadays [6]. They are enumerated also in the section on chronology contained in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty [7], and have probably had an official status in China ever since, down to this day.

Returning to the geomantic compass after this historical digression, we see that the eleventh circle is divided into one hundred and twenty compartments and consists of two lines of characters of little interest. The inner line contains the same characters as the seventh and the ninth circles, but they are shifted a little into a different position, and the open spaces between them are filled up with other characters of the denary cycle; — the outer

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1 仲春之月始雨水、蟄蟲咸動. Ch. 21, ll. 3 and 11.
2 仲夏之月小暑至. Ch. 22, l. 23.
3 孟秋之月白露降. Ch. 23, l. 30.
4 季秋之月霜始降. Ch. 24, l. 30.
5 時訓解. Chapter 6, § 52.
6 *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. III, ll. 7 *seq.*
7 Chapter 21, II, ll. 14 and 15.

line divides the compass into twelve points, indicating these by the characters of the duodenary cycle, each repeated four times (compare this with the third circle). The next circle, the twelfth, is more important. It is divided into sixty portions of unequal sizes, inscribed with the names of the five elements in varied sequence, so that each element recurs twelve times. This useful circle enables the geomancer to judge by which element or planet any spot whatsoever is influenced, and whether the adjoining places be dominated by elements which might work either productively or destructively upon it. Suppose, for instance, a certain spot indicated by the compass as representing water, is shown by this instrument to have the element earth at its side, its useful effects may be greatly reduced, nay, rendered null and void, because earth neutralizes water (see page 957). Should, however, metal lie close by, the aquatic effects will be greatly invigorated, since metal produces water. Thus clever geomancers are competent continually to discover favourable and unfavourable conjunctions of all kinds and descriptions, without torturing their brains about the question as to whether a leading idea underlies the arrangement of the elements on this circle, or whether these latter are merely distributed arbitrarily upon it.

The same circle is also very useful in another respect. Enabling, as it does, geomancers to discover in the surroundings of a place the elements by which they are influenced, it reveals to them at the same time certain of the idiosyncrasies of those surroundings, viz. those which the books on philosophy, and the venerable *Shu king* in particular, attribute to the elements themselves. This Classic contains the following profoundly wise remarks: »Water »may be described as moistening and descending, fire as blazing »and ascending, wood as being crooked or straight, metal as flexible »and changeable, while the virtue of earth is seen in sowing and »reaping. That which moistens and descends produces a salt taste, »that which is crooked or straight produces sourness, that which »is flexible and changeable an acrid taste, and sowing and reaping »produces sweetness" [1].

The next two circles represent the division of the globe into 360

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[1] 水曰潤下、火曰炎上、木曰曲直、金曰從革、土爰稼穡。潤下作鹹、炎上作苦、曲直作酸、從革作辛、稼穡作甘. The Great Plan, 洪範.

degrees. Some of these, indicated by a red spot, are lucky; others, indicated by a black cross, are unlucky; the rest, which are either marked black or not marked at all, may be both, or neutral. Odd numbers mark the degrees of each of the twenty-eight s i u mentioned on page 954, of which the names are inscribed on the last or outermost circle of the compass. This circle thus serves to determine under the influence of which of these constellations any spot pointed out by the compass is placed. To the right of the name of each s i u there is a cipher, indicating how many degrees it embraces.

The part the twenty-eight constellations play in geomancy has been already touched upon at page 954. The following is a list of their names, indicating the season and the celestial quadrant or Animal, to which each group of seven corresponds.

The Blue Dragon or Eastern Quadrant, corresponding to the Spring.

1 Kioh 角, consisting of Spica and some other stars of Virgo.
2 Khang 亢, certain stars of Virgo.
3 Ti 氐, α, β, γ and ι Libræ.
4 Fang 房, some stars of Scorpio.
5 Sin 心, Antares, and a couple of stars of Scorpio.
6 Wei 尾, some stars of Scorpio.
7 Ki 箕, four stars in the hand of Sagittarius.

The Red Bird or Southern Quadrant, corresponding to the Summer.

8 Teu 斗, the principal stars of Ursa Major, and some of Sagittarius.
9 Niu 牛, stars of Capricorn and Sagittarius.
10 Nü 女, part of the sign Aquarius.
11 Hü 虛, β Aquarii and α of Equleus.
12 Wei 危, α Aquarii, and some stars of Pegasus.
13 Shih 室, α and β Pegasi.
14 Pih 壁, γ Pegasi and α Andromedæ.

The White Tiger or Western Quadrant, corresponding to the Autumn.

15 Khwei 奎, stars of Andromeda and Pisces.
16 Leu 婁, the stars of the head of Aries.

17 Wei 胃, part of Musca Borealis.
18 Mao 昴, the Pleiades.
19 Pih 畢, the Hyades, and some stars of Taurus.
20 Tszĕ 觜, stars of the head of Orion.
21 Ts'an 參, Betelgeux, Rigel, and the other principal stars of Orion.

The Black Tortoise, or the Northern Quadrant, corresponding to the Winter.

22 Tsing 井, stars in the knees and feet of Gemini.
23 Kwei 鬼, some stars in Cancer.
24 Liu 柳, certain stars in Hydra.
25 Sing 星, stars in the heart of Hydra.
26 Chang 張, the stars of the second coil of Hydra.
27 Yih 翼, a couple of dozen stars in Crater and the third coil of Hydra.
28 Chen 軫, certain stars in Corvus [1].

These constellations very likely represent the most ancient division of the Chinese sphere. Their origin lies hidden in the mist of ages. Hü (11) and Mao (18) are named already in the very first section of the *Shu king*, the so-called Canon of Yao, in connection with some orders given by Yao, whose reign chronologists place in the 24th. century before our era, to his officers with regard to certain astronomical observations to be made. Fang (4) is mentioned in the same Classic [2] as the place in which an eclipse of the sun took place in the 22nd. century B. C. The *Hia siao ching* mentions Teu (8) and Ts'an (21), the latter also in its remarks about the third and fifth months of the year, and Mao (18) in speaking of the fourth month. In the *Shi king* the appellations of

1 The stars corresponding to the above siu are only given approximately. It would be idle to try to identify the latter precisely, for Chinese authors draw them in a very slipshod way and, moreover, differently. This explains why the identifications given by some authors, such as Mr. Reeves, for instance, in Morrison's Dictionary of the Chinese Language (part. II, vol. I, pp. 1065 *sqq.*), Schlegel in his »Uranographie Chinoise" and Mayers in his Chinese Reader's Manual (page 356), differ on many points.

2 In the section 肩征.

nearly one fourth of the whole series occur, viz. Ki (7), Teu (8), Niu (9), Mao (18), Pih (19) and Ts'an (21) [1]. The *Cheu li* refers to the series a couple of times, stating that »the Observers have to »attend to the duodenary cycle of years, months and hours, the »denary cycle of days and the position of the twenty-eight aster»isms" [2], and that »the Destroyer of the Nests, who is charged to »upset the nests of birds of bad omen, must write upon a board the »ten appellations of the days, the twelve appellations of the hours, »months and years [3], and the twenty-eight names of the constel»lations; then he must suspend this board over the nests and remove »the latter" [4]. In the section of the *Li ki* entitled the Monthly Precepts [5], which is a record of the proceedings of the government in every month of the year, nearly all the constellations are mentioned, it being there stated for each month in which of them the sun is, and which of them then culminates at dusk and at dawn; two of them, however, are passed over in silence and two others are denoted by other names. In quite the same way they are enumerated in the *Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu*, in twelve paragraphs which respectively open the first twelve chapters and bear a striking resemblance to the aforesaid Monthly Precepts; they are mentioned again in the thirteenth chapter of that work. The Historical Records call them by the name of shé, which term Szĕ-ma Kwang explains as follows: »Shé has the meaning of 'to reside or stop some»where' and siu means an abode; and both words express the »idea of the sun, the moon and the five planets in their revolutions

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1 Ki, Teu, Niu and Pih are mentioned in the section 小旻, ode IX, and Ki, moreover, in ode VI. Pih also occurs a second time, viz. in the section 都人士, ode VIII. Ts'an and Mao are spoken of in the sect. 召南, ode X.

2 馮相氏掌十有二歲、十有二月、十有二辰、十日、二十有八星之位. Chapter 26, l. 13.

3 These two extracts show that, during the Cheu dynasty, the years, months and hours were counted with the aid of the Branches, and the days with that of the kan.

4 瞽蔟氏掌覆夭鳥之巢、以方書十日之號、十有二辰之號、十有二月之號、十有二歲之號、二十有八星之號、縣其巢上、則去之. Chapt. 37, ll. 39 *seq.*

5 月令.

» residing alternately in the divisions of the sphere indicated as » twenty-eight abodes" [1].

The use of the magnetic needle for geomantic observations suggests that the Chinese are perfectly aware that an oblong piece of iron, freely suspended, naturally points north and south. There is, however, not the slightest indication that they possess any knowledge of the variation of the compass, or that they are able to make a distinction between the magnetic North and the exact North.

The chief use of the geomantic compass is to find the line in which, according to the almanac, a grave ought to be made, or a house or temple built. Indeed, as has been stated on page 106, in this most useful of all books it is every year decided between which two points of the compass the lucky line for that year lies, and which point is absolutely inauspicious. This circumstance not only entails a postponement of many burials, seeing it is not always possible to find a grave, answering to all the geomantic requirements, in the lucky line of the year; but it regularly compels the owners of houses and temples to postpone repairs or the rebuilding of the same until a year in which the line wherein their properties are situate is declared to be lucky. Many buildings for this reason alone are allowed to fall to ruin for years, and it is no rare thing to see whole streets simultaneously demolished and

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[1] 舍止也、宿次也、言日月五星運行或舍於二十八次之分也. See chapter 25, l. 4.

It is a well known fact that the Hindus, Parsis and Arabs also are in possession of a similar system of division of the heavens into twenty-eight parts. The Hindu divisions are styled *nakshâtra*, »stars or asterisms", the Arab divisions *manâzil al-kamar*, »lunar mansions, stations of the moon", which term bears a marked resemblance to the Chinese appellations s i u and s h é according to the above explanation of Szĕ-ma Kwang. Elaborate dissertations on the coincidence between the Hindu and Arab systems have been written by Sir William Jones in the Asiatic Researches for 1790, and by Colebrooke in the Asiatic Researches for 1807, vol. IX (see also his Essays, vol. II, page 321); but the identity of the Chinese system with the Hindu and the Arab was first demonstrated and established by M. J. B. Biot, assisted by his son, the translator of the *Cheu li* (see p. 19), in a series of articles published in the Journal des Savants for 1840. The conclusions arrived at by this eminent scholar were, that this system of celestial division was invented by the Chinese and borrowed from them by the Hindus and Arabs for purely astrological purposes. To this day no considerations of importance have cancelled these views, and though they have been vigorously combated by Weber, Max Müller and other authorities of renown, yet it seems that most investigators of oriental astronomy silently subscribe to them.

rebuilt in years auspicious to the direction in which they are placed.

Chinese books make no mention of the inventor of the compass. Without doubt, such combinations as we find on the compasses at present, were used for geomantic purposes at an early date, the chief of them being, indeed, simple representations of the pre-Christian doctrines respecting the eight kwa and their relation to the seasons and the points of the compass. It is very probable that, prior to the invention of better writing material, those combinations were written upon small boards, which, being improved, in course of time have become the well-finished compasses of the present day.

Taking into consideration that the geomancer's compass comprises all the principles of Chinese physical science, and that the characters and cycles inscribed on it are supposed to exercise to a great extent the same influences as do the powers they represent, we cannot wonder at its being regarded by the people with reverential awe. Geomantic professors themselves are fully conscious that, in manipulating it, they concentrate the benefits of those powers upon any spot which they select for a grave or building, viz., to recapitulate, those of the two great Breaths of the Universe and the elements and agencies represented by the kwa, those of the four, eight, twelve and twenty-four points of the compass, the elements or planets, the seasons and days of the year, the 360 degrees of the globe, the twenty-eight stellar-divisions, etc.; all which renders the compass to every Chinaman an invaluable compound of supernatural wisdom and one of the most useful instruments ever contrived by the human brain. It borrows an odour of sanctity from antiquity, the characters inscribed on it, their arrangement in cycles and the peculiar position of the circles with regard to each another dating, as we have shown, according to tradition, from the holy founders of the Chen dynasty, nay, even from the age of the mythic Fuh Hi. To the uninitiated, who know all the terms and cycles by name, but comprehend next to nothing of the numerous bewildering conjunctions that can be computed therefrom for any spot in particular, the compass becomes, in the hands of the professors, a powerful magic box containing an inexhaustible source of predictions which, promising money and bliss to every one, are sold at high price, forming thus a steady source of revenue to the professors. Even the most learned among the people, nay, the sceptics who have not much faith in the system, generally receive the prophecies of those experts with the same superstitious dread with which they

regard Nature herself, notwithstanding the fact that those prophecies are much more often disproved than realized by actual events.

Thus far the chief principles of the Fung-shui system only have been passed in review. No useful purpose can be served by trying to penetrate farther into its vagaries and the mechanical play of idle abstractions; but of numerous other matters which play a part of more or less importance in the practical application of its doctrines and theories we must still mention a few. In making a grave, much importance is attached by the professors to the characters forming the horoscope of the person who is to be buried therein. It has been stated already on page 103 how the twelve Branches are combined with the denary cycle of k a n into a cycle of sixty binominal terms, which are used for counting, in a perpetual rotation, the years, months, days and hours, thus furnishing for every individual a horoscope of seven or eight characters which indicate the year, month, day and hour of his birth. These characters being firmly believed to determine his fate for ever, no burial place can answer to the geomantic requirements if the cyclical characters expressing the year of the birth of the occupant stand in the compass on the lower end of the line which the almanac has decreed as auspicious for the current year and in which, of course, the coffin is to be placed. Suppose, for instance, this line runs from south to north, so that the longitudinal axis of the grave should fall within the segment defined on the compass by the limits of the point 子 or the North, as indicated on the circles VI and VIII. If then the dead man has been born in a year denoted by a binomium in which the character 子 occurs, his horoscope is deemed to collide with the good influences that flow from south to north and to neutralize their benefits, and no blessings can ever be expected from his grave if it is placed in this direction. Hence its axis must be shifted a little to the right or left, without, however, going beyond the northern quadrant; and if it is feared that the beneficial influences of the auspicious line will in this way be lost, the burial must be postponed. The month, day and hour of the birth of the deceased may cause similar collisions, though they are of a less dangerous nature, such dates forming the less important parts of his horoscope. Conjunctions may be found, in fact, which neutralize such dangers. But if it is not possible to discover them, the family is constrained to adjourn the burial until the almanac assigns another direction as peculiarly auspicious.

Another geomantic law of importance is, that no road, no row of trees, nor any water-course may run in a straight line towards a tomb. Straight lines, geomancers say, are like dangerous darts which, striking a grave in its core, may inflict a deadly wound. They also show the way to the noxious influences which the peculiar Fung-shui nomenclature denotes by the word s h a h (comp. page 940), and besides, as has been stated on page 953, they indicate that the surrounding configurations are devoid of breath and vitality. It is, indeed, not uncommon to hear people who make a pretence to some knowledge of Fung-shui matters, declare a grave to be of no benefit to the descendants of the man or woman buried therein, because it is, as they express it, »violated by the s h a h of a path or a road" [1], in other words, because a path has been accidentally formed in the front or at the side by the feet of passers-by. It is to be ascribed to this superstition, that the avenue to the mausoleum of the founder of the Ming dynasty near Nanking, and that which leads to the sepulchres north from Peking in which his successors are buried, describe a curve in the part which is lined by stone images of men and animals.

In respect of towns, cities and villages, their own shape is deemed a factor of great significance, a factor indeed which has as much to do with their destiny as the contours and configurations of the environs. Professors of geomancy in Ts'üen-cheu-fu are quite in earnest when they relate that, in times of yore, this city, the contours of which strongly remind one of a carp, frequently fell a prey to the depredations of the people of the neighbouring town of Yung-ch'un [2], because this is shaped like a fishing-net. Fortunately, the ancestors of the present population about a thousand years ago neutralized the evil by erecting in the centre of the town two pagodas, which tower above it to the present day, thus preventing the imaginary fishing apparatus of their unfriendly neighbours from being hauled over their heads. There are many towns in China which have come to grief because of their ominous shape. It is related, for instance, in the *Khi leh p'ien* [3], a small work written in the twelfth century by Chwang Ki-yü [4], that »the people of Ch'u abstain from speaking of the head of »a black tortoise, pretending that, when the capital of that depart-

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[1] 犯路煞. [2] 永春州.
[3] 雞肋編. [4] 莊季裕.

» ment, which was built in the shape of a tortoise, was once » upon a time attacked, some expert of the occult arts taught the » assailers to bind the head of the animal, in consequence of which » the town was taken. Hence its people avoid that expression" [1].

A natural outgrowth of the chief geomantic axiom that auspicious influences concentrated upon a grave produce blessings which the offspring reap, is the dogma, already put forward on page 57, that things of good omen, when placed in a tomb, will cause the blessings they express or symbolize, to fall to the share of the descendants of the deceased. It is therefore a settled funeral custom to place at the bottom of coffins and graves sundry things which express a numerous progeny and abundance of food and wealth, such as iron nails, hemp, peas, wheat, millet, paddy and coins (see pp. 189 and 209), nay, even good wishes are sown therein with the same object. So, also, the clothes and body ornaments of the dead are deemed to work auspiciously on the fate of their offspring if they symbolize blessings, and for this reason they generally do so, as shown in our chapter on Grave Clothes. This same dogma explains why the people are so partial to dressing their dead in » longevity garments" and the robes of a mandarin, a long life and official dignities being the things most coveted by the Chinese. Again, this dogma accounts for the belief, mentioned on page 65, that five suits of grave clothes, or any odd number thereof, may work disastrously upon the principal family members of the dead man who is sent to his last resting place so oddly embaled.

On the same line with these curious outgrowths of geomantic illusion may be placed the ancient custom, mentioned on pp. 813 and 819 *sqq.*, of adorning the graves of emperors with stone images of unicorns. As these animals portend the birth of excellent sovereigns (see page 824), their images may, through the graves upon which they stand, work beneficiently upon the fortunes of the nation, and, moreover, preserve the imperial line from dying out, thus securing to the dynasty an everlasting possession of the Throne.

Symbols being placed in and upon tombs in order to create the realities which they call up before the mind, it is very natural

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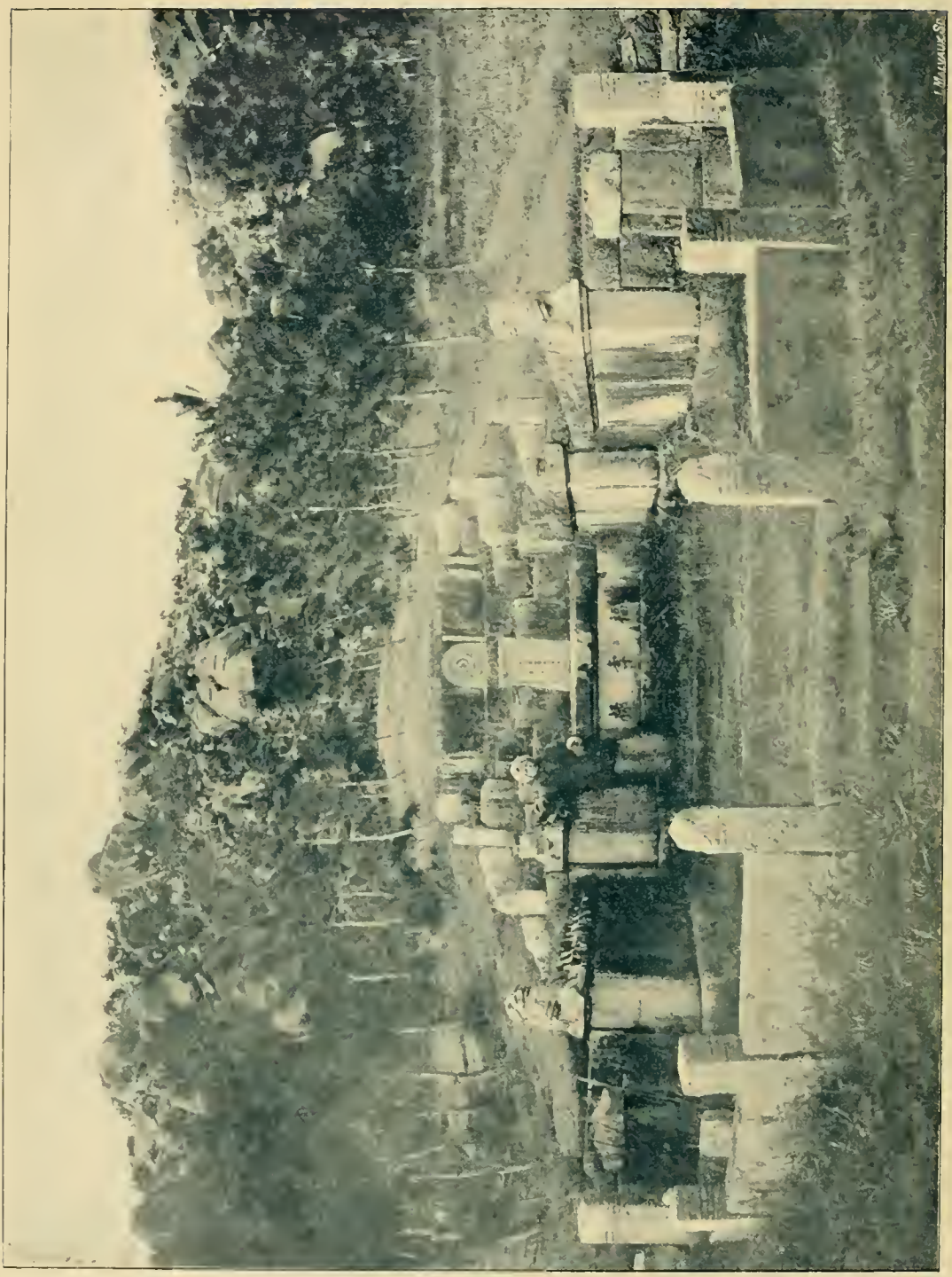
[1] 楚人諱烏龜頭、云郡城象龜形、嘗被攻、有術者教以繫其首、而破。故諱之. See the *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, ch. 38, l. 23.



A Tomb of the Sixteenth Century.

that many tombs bear inscriptions expressing felicity, such as the characters 福 »happiness and prosperity", 祿 »an official position with a large income", and 壽 »a long life" (see Plate XXVII), that is to say the same blessings which, as our readers know, are sown inside the graves by means of the clothes in which the deceased are dressed. Often also, animals symbolizing the same good things, such as bats, stags and cranes (comp. pp. 53 and 55—57), and even unicorns, are carved on slabs of granite forming part of the tomb. Many graves bear also the eight kwa, evidently in order that the influences of Nature, which they represent, may be concentrated upon the spot; in Plate XXVII they are placed in a circle above the tombstone. Probably for a similar reason, over two thousand years ago, the sepulchre of the mighty potentate of Ts'in was, as Szĕ-ma Ts'ien tells us (see p. 400), adorned with stars and constellations and with the configurations of the earth. We read also that the grave of Li Szĕ-chao [1], a certain prince of imperial blood, »when »broken open by robbers in the year ki-szĕ of the Ching t'ung »period (A. D. 1449), was found to contain a sepulchral chamber »of chiseled stone and, moreover, representations of the sun, the »moon, the stars and the Great Bear" [2]. For the same purpose of attracting the beneficial influence of the Universe unto the grave, coffins were, during the Han dynasty and in subsequent ages, painted with a sun, a moon, constellations, and with the four Celestial Animals; and the board representing the seven stars of the Great Bear, with which coffins have been furnished since many centuries, is probably used for the same reason (see pp. 316 *sqq.*).

The Fung-shui doctrines being a mere web of speculative dreams and idle abstractions, the product of a credulous faith in absurd vagaries, we are not surprized to find that, in deciding whether a spot will be a lucky burial place, much value is set on prognostics of all kind. So, for instance, as we have stated on page 213, if rain happens to fall while a coffin is being placed in the grave, this is deemed a proof that the Fung-shui of that grave will work beneficiently, Nature herself showing in this way that the influences of an element which holds a place of the highest signi-

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[1] 李嗣昭.

[2] 正統已巳盜發嗣昭墓、內鑿石爲壙、有日月星斗象. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 134.

ficance in the system, operate upon the spot with vigor. The books contain many legends illustrating this curious feature of the system. Some of these are of rather ancient date. The Official Histories of the sixth century, for instance, relate:

»Wu Ming-ch'eh was a native of the district of Ts'in. His »father, who bore the name of Shu, was a general in the right »division of the armies of the Liang dynasty. Ming-ch'eh was still »a lad when he lost him, and yet he proved himself possessed »of filial devotion of the highest order. When an auspicious hour »had been fixed for the burial, a person of the surname I, who »was a proficient in the art of discovering good burial sites by »means of divination, said to Ming-ch'eh's elder brother: 'On the »day on which you commit the corpse to the earth a man will »pass by the burial place, riding a white steed and hunting a »stag; this portends a high and influential position for a filial »youngest son'. There was indeed such a prognostic when the »hour of burial arrived; and Ming-ch'eh was Shu's youngest son"[1]. It is unnecessary to say he attained to the highest dignities of the State.

»In the period Siang fu (A. D. 1008—1017), a native of Lien- »cheu (province of Kwangtung), called Liang Shi, while divining »about a plot of ground in which to bury one of his parents, »beheld on a certain mountain a man who was settled there, and »who told him that, ten days before, several tens of tortoises »had carried thither a big tortoise on their backs and buried it »in the mountain. Being of opinion that tortoises are animals of »a spiritual nature, Liang surmised that the place where they »had buried that beast might be a felicitous place, and therefore »he climbed that mount with some of his people, in order to »look for it. Perceiving something resembling a tumulus, they dug »it up, and discovered a dead tortoise. After having taken it to »another spot and buried it there, Liang interred his parent in

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[1] 吳明徹秦郡人也。父樹梁右軍將軍。明徹幼孤、性至孝。葬用時、有伊氏者善占墓、謂其兄曰、君葬之日必有乘白馬逐鹿者來經墳所、此是最小孝子大貴之徵。至時果有此應、明徹卽樹之最小子也. Books of the Ch'en Dynasty, ch. 9, l. 8; also the History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 66, l. 22.

» the pit dug by the tortoises, and afterwards three sons were born » unto him, named Lih-i, Lih-tseh, and Lih-hien. The two last- » named took the degree of tsin-shi"[1].... and the three brothers were all promoted to high official dignities.

According to various legends, lucky grave grounds have, moreover, often been pointed out by unknown or mysterious individuals to persons destined to become men of wealth and rank. We quote a couple of instances thereof from the Standard Histories:

» When T'ao Khan (a grandee of the highest ranks who lived A. D. » 259—334) was still an obscure individual, he had to mourn for » one of his parents. The time for burying the corpse drew near, when » some member of his family suddenly missed a cow; and ere they » had discovered its whereabouts, T'ao Khan met with an old » man, who said to him: 'Near the knoll there, in front of you, » I have seen a cow couched down in the mire; if that spot be » used for a sepulchre, it will produce a man invested with the » highest official dignities'. And then pointing to another mountain, » the old man said: 'This is one degree inferior in quality; it » will produce for some generations a dignity to which an official » income of two thousand stones of rice appertains'. Having » spoken thus, he vanished out of sight. Khan now went in » search of the cow, and having discovered it, he buried his » parent on the spot. The other mountain pointed out to him he » ceded to (Cheu) Fang, who, when his father died, buried him » there and actually became governor of a province. After him,

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[1] 祥符中廉州人梁士卜地葬其親、至一山中見居人、說旬日前有數十龜負一大龜、葬於此山中。梁以爲龜神物、其葬處或是福地、與其人登山觀之。乃見有丘墓之象、試發之、果得一死龜。梁乃遷葬他所、以龜之所穴葬其親、其後梁生三子、立儀、立則、立賢。立則立賢皆以進士登科. *Pu pih t'an* 補筆談, »Additions to the Pencil Gossip", being a supplement to a collection of miscellanies in 26 chapters, written by Ch'en Kwah 沈括 in the eleventh century and entitled *Mung khi pih t'an* 夢溪筆談, »Pencil Gossip of the Brook of my Dreams". This was a rivulet somewhere in the south of the province of Kiangsu, on the borders of which the author spent the latter period of his life.

» three generations of his descendants ruled over Yih-cheu for more » than forty-one years, as had been prophesied by that man" [1].

— »In the first year of the period Ying lih (A. D. 951), » Nü Li, finding himself in the environs of the Ya-poh mountains » on the day after his mother's decease, beheld a giant. Frightened » to death, he took to his heels, but the giant stopped him, saying: » 'Do not be afraid, for I am the spirit of the ground. Bury your » mother here in this spot, and you will soon appear at Court » and become a man of high position'. Nü Li followed this advice, » and was many times invested with the dignity of Chamberlain » of the Stud" [2].

3. The History of Fung-shui.

Our exposition of the Fung-shui system has shown that its leading principles have their origin in remote antiquity. Its first embryo, indeed, grew out of the worship of the dead, which already in the mist of ages was the religion proper of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors were then their principal patron divinities, who influenced the fate and fortunes of their descendants in every way. Every one propitiated them systematically, and from this worship a tendency gradually arose of placing the dead in such subterranean abodes as would afford rest, comfort and felicity to their manes. And the answer to the question: which grounds are best suited for burial places? was naturally sought in the forms and characteristics of the surroundings.

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[1] 初陶侃微時、丁艱。將葬家中忽失牛、而不知所在、遇一老父、謂曰、前崗見一牛眠山汙中、其地若葬位極人臣矣。又指一山云、此亦其次、當世出二千石。言訖不見。侃尋牛、得之、因葬其處。以所指別山與(周)訪、訪父死葬焉、果爲刺史。自訪以下三世爲益州四十一年如其所言云. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 58, l. 18.

[2] 女里應歷初以母憂去一日至雅伯山、見一巨人。惶懼走、巨人止之曰、勿懼、我地祇也、葬爾母於斯、當速詣闕必貴。女里從之、累遷馬羣侍中. History of the Liao Dynasty, ch. 79, l. 3.

That the elementary principles of the Fung-shui system were practically applied already under the dynasty of Cheu, cannot reasonably be doubted, since we find that already in the fifth century before our era grave-sites were improved by the hand of man by means of artificial brooks and tanks. Instances of this are given in the excerpts descriptive of the mausolea of king Hoh Lü and his daughter, translations of which have been inserted on pp. 396 and 419 of this work.

Another great step which the ancients took in the direction of Fung-shui, was to connect the qualities of a grave with the influences supposed to be exerted upon it by the celestial canopy and the cardinal points thereof. This custom, too, can be traced back to the time of Hoh Lü. On page 396 our readers will have noted that the sepulchre of this potentate was called the Tiger's Hill, a white tiger having settled on the summit on the third day after it was finished. Doubtless this statement is an allusion to the White Tiger of the sphere, the western quadrant, the influences of which were supposed to have commenced operating upon the royal remains soon after their entombment.

This view is supported by the author of the Records of the country of Wu (see page 296), who says that, »according to the »Annals of Wu and Yueh [1], three days after the burial of the king »the essence of the element metal assumed the shape of a white »tiger and crouched down on the top of the grave" [2]. Now, in the pre-Christian era, metal was identified by Chinese philosophers with the West. Kwan-tszĕ wrote: »The breath of the East is wind, »and wind creates wood. The breath of the South is Yang, »which creates fire. The Centre is earth. The breath of the West »is Yin, which gives birth to metal; and that of the North is »cold, by which water is produced" [3]. Liu Ngan also stated that »the East appertains to wood, the South to fire, the West to »metal, and the North to water" [4]. These theories are easily ex-

1 We have not, however, been able to discover this statement in any of the copies we possess of this work.

2 吳越春秋云、葬經三日金精化爲白虎、蹲其上. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 140.

3 東方其氣曰風、風生木。南方其氣曰陽、陽生火。中央曰土。西方其氣曰陰、陰生金。北方其氣曰寒、寒生水. *Kwan-tszĕ*, chapt. 14, § 40.

4 東方木也、南方火也、西方金也、北方水也. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 3, l. 3.

plained. The vegetable kingdom, *i. e.* wood, revives in spring, the season identified with the East; fire naturally appertains to the South or the region of heat, and water, its opposite element, to the opposite cardinal point; metal had thus to be assigned to the West, no other place being left for it.

Distinct traces of attempts to place the dead in their graves under proper influences of Nature, are also to be found in the *Li ki*. This Classic states (ch. 12, l. 34): »To bury the dead on the »north and with their heads turned to the north was a custom »generally observed during the three first dynasties" [1]. In another section it says (chapter 30, l. 20): »Thus the dead are placed with »their heads to the north, but the living turn their faces to the »south; all this is done in imitation of primeval usage" [2]. According to the Historical Records, the last sovereign of the Yin dynasty was buried in the north of his capital (see page 283); and the *Tso ch'wen* likewise proves that we are not here dealing with a mere theoretical practice: it mentions, for instance, that the ruler Chwang was buried twice in the northern suburbs (page 841).

From these and other passages the Chinese generally draw the conclusion that the houses of the living, as well as the graves of the dead, in those ancient times used to face the south. This peculiar method of building has been touched upon already on page 16. As stated on page 942, it is still maintained at the present day, though, in by far the most cases, only theoretically. Of course it is not probable that this rule anciently extended to buildings of minor importance and to the dwellings of the common people. Perhaps it was then chiefly in force for palaces of rulers, and mansions of grandees who assisted them in the administration of the realm, it being noted in one of the appendices of the *Yih king* (ch. 17, l. 7): »The trigram Li represents light and renders »all things visible to each other; it is also the trigram of the »South. Sage rulers face the south when they give audience »to all under the sky, and they turn themselves to that region »of light in administering government" [3]. This rescript has always been observed to the letter by the emperors of succeeding dynasties,

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[1] 葬於北方北首三代之達禮也. Sect. 檀弓, II, 1.

[2] 故死者北首、生者南鄉、皆從其初. Sect. 禮運, I.

[3] 離也者明也、萬物皆相見、南方之卦也。聖人南面而聽天下、嚮明而治. Sect. 說卦傳.

including the now reigning House. Hence the Imperial Palace, and all the principal buildings within its walls which serve for audiences or other government business, face due south; and this is also the case with the Metropolis, in the centre of which the Palace stands, its walls and gates exactly facing the four cardinal points.

From the fact that the ancient Chinese considered the South to be the principal seat of the blessings of the Universe, their country being regularly visited every year by the deadening influences of the rigorous North, and that they made the influences of the South to bear upon the position and construction of princely residences with the object of accumulating blessings upon the rulers and their subjects, we must conclude that they had made considerable advance in the direction of Fung-shui. We shall find this inference confirmed, if we may place any trust in the Annals of the States of Wu and Yueh; but this work is interspersed with too many anecdotes and romantic tales to be worthy of unreserved credit, and, moreover, it was not composed before the first century of the Christian era. We read therein that »Hoh Lü said (to his minister »Wu Tszĕ-sü, see page 349): 'In what does the art of ensuring »peace to princes and good rule to their people consist?' The an»swer was: 'He who wishes to ensure peace to the prince, to have »the people ruled in a proper way, to make strong government »prevail, and to cause perfect rulers to bear sway from close by »over those who live far off, he certainly ought to start by erecting »city walls and moats, by appointing military chiefs, by filling »the granaries and stores, and by properly attending to the arsen»als: in this the art in question consists'. 'This is all very well »and good', retorted Hoh Lü; 'but, though in building fortifi»cations, store-houses and arsenals we really take notice of what »ought to be taken notice of with regard to the terrestrial influ»ences, still there must exist in the domain of the Celestial Breath »some factors of which we may avail ourselves to keep neigh»bouring kingdoms in fear and awe; is it not so?' — 'Yes', was »the reply. 'I charge you to put those factors into practice', said »Hoh Lü.

»Tszĕ-sü now gave orders for the investigation of the ground and »the examination of the water-courses, and, imitating the confi»gurations of Heaven and Earth, he built a large city, forty-seven »miles in circumference. It had eight land-gates in imitation of »the eight winds of Heaven, and just as many water-gates corres-

» ponding to the eight good qualities of the Earth. He also built » a smaller city (inside the other), ten miles in circumference. It » had three land-gates; but that on the east (where light is born) » was not opened, in order that the lustre and glory of the (ini- » mical) realm of Yueh might be exterminated. The Gate of Effu- » gent Sunlight was built as a representator of the gate of the heavens, » and to admit the winds of the Gates that are shut upon the » Effulgent Sunlight; and they made also a Serpent Gate in imita- » tion of the door of Earth. Desiring westward to defeat the king- » dom of Ch'u, which was situate north-west from his, Hoh Lü » had the Gate of Effulgent Sunlight built, to admit the Breath » of the heavens; therefore they called it also the Gate to defeat Ch'u. » And as he desired to pacify eastward the kingdom of Yueh, » which was situated to the south-east, he erected the Serpent » Gate, in order to subdue this hostile country.

» Wu (Hoh Lü's realm) being situate in Ch'en, which point of » the compass corresponds to the Dragon, a pair of i-yao fishes with » reversed fins were placed over the southern gate of the small city, » to represent the horns of the Dragon. And Yueh being situate in » Szĕ, a point of the compass corresponding to the Serpent, there » was over the great south gate a wooden snake, stretched towards » the north and pushing its head into the gate, thus indicating » that Yueh belonged to Wu" [1].

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[1] 闔閭曰、安君治民其術奈何。子胥曰、凡欲安君、治民、興霸、成王從近制遠者、必先立城郭、設守備、實倉廩、治兵庫、斯則其術也。闔閭曰、善、夫築城郭立倉庫因地制宜、豈有天氣之數以威隣國者乎。子胥曰、有。闔閭曰、寡人委討於子。

子胥乃使相土嘗水、象天法地造築大城、周廻四十七里。陸門八以象天八風、水門八以法地八聰。築小城、周十里。陸門三、不開東面者、欲以絶越明也。立閶門者以象天門、通閶闔風也、立蛇門者以象地戶也。闔閭欲西破楚、楚在西北、故立閶門以通天氣、因復名之破楚門。欲東并大越、越在東南、故立蛇門以制敵國。

吳在辰、其位龍也、故小城南門上反羽爲兩

This long extract requires explanation. The duodenary cycle of Branches, indicating the twelve points of the compass and used to denote the years, months, days and hours, is combined for divining purposes with the Twelve Animals mentioned on page 44, in the following way:

Tszĕ	子	appertains to	鼠	the Rat.
Ch'eu	丑	»	牛	the Cow.
Yin	寅	»	虎	the Tiger.
Mao	卯	»	兎	the Hare.
Ch'en	辰	»	龍	the Dragon.
Szĕ	巳	»	蛇	the Serpent.
Wu	午	»	馬	the Horse.
Wei	未	»	羊	the Goat.
Shen	申	»	猴	the Monkey.
Yiu	酉	»	雞	the Fowl.
Suh	戌	»	犬	the Dog.
Hai	亥	»	猪	the Pig.

Accordingly, the Annals of Wu and Yueh lead us to believe that this combination of the Branches and Animals was in vogue in the sixth century before Christ, the book mentioning the Dragon in connection with Ch'en, and the Serpent in connection with the branch Szĕ *i. e.* the South-east (see page 965). But, as stated above, the work was written in the first century of our era, and the whole episode may owe its existence to the imagination of the author. Yet, at any rate, the conclusion is allowable that the Branches and Animals used to be combined for geomantic and necromantic purposes when its author lived. This is confirmed by the fact that in a contemporaneous work, entitled *Lun heng*[1] or »Discussions and Criticisms", the following odd passage occurs: »The

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鯢鱷以象龍角。越在巳地、其位蛇也、故南大門上有木蛇、北向、首內、示越屬於吳也. Chapter II, ll. 1 and 2.

1 論衡. This work doubtless is one of the most interesting products of the Han dynasty. Its author, Wang T'ung 王統, with great boldness criticises the superstitions of his time and even attacks Confucius and Mencius; the work thus forms a valuable source of knowledge of the ideas and customs prevalent at the beginning of our era.

» influences of the Five Elements attack and impair each other, » and sanguiferous animals conquer and overpower each other; how » is this phenomenon to be explained? The answer is: The branch » Yin corresponds to the element wood, and its animal is the tiger; » Suh appertains to earth, and its animal is the dog; Ch'eu and » Wei likewise appertain to earth, and their animals are the cow and » the goat. Now, as wood overpowers earth, it follows that dogs, cows » and sheep are subdued by the tiger. Hai appertains to water, and its » animal is the pig, Szĕ corresponds to fire, and its animal is the » serpent; Tszĕ is identical with water, and its animal is the rat; » and Wu appertains to fire, and its animal is the horse. Hence, » whereas water conquers fire, pigs devour snakes; and because fire is » impaired by water, horses that devour a rat get a swelled belly on » voiding excrements" [1]. This idle play with the Cycles and Elements will be partly explained when we notice what has been brought forward on page 957 concerning the influences exerted by the Elements upon each other, and when we take into account that the Branches, denoting the cardinal points (see pp. 965 *seq.*), appertain to the Elements because these are likewise identified with the cardinal points (see p. 983). Thus the following combinations are obtained:

Yin 寅 Mao 卯 Ch'en 辰	}	appertain to the East and Wood.
Szĕ 巳 Wu 午 Wei 未	}	appertain to the South and Fire.
Shen 申 Yiu 酉 Suh 戌	}	appertain to the West and Metal.

[1] 五行之氣相賊害、含血之蟲相勝服、其驗何在。曰、寅木也、其禽虎也、戌土也、其禽犬也、丑未亦土也、丑禽牛、未禽羊也。木勝土、故犬與牛羊爲虎所服也。亥水也、其禽豕也、巳火也、其禽蛇也、子亦水也、其禽鼠也、午亦火也、其禽馬也。水勝火、故豕食蛇、火爲水所害、故馬食鼠屎而腹脹. Chapter III, § 物勢.

Hai 亥 | Tszĕ 子 | Ch'eu 丑 | appertain to the North and Water.

That the combination of the Branches with the Animals was in vogue in the beginning of the Christian era, is also proved by the *Shwoh wen*, the famous dictionary which dates from the first century, for it says that »the character Szĕ represents the shape of a serpent" [1]. The native books show that the Twelve Animals have, since the Han dynasty, played an important part in Chinese life as factors in soothsaying and divination, as they were believed to exercise an influence, according to the attributes ascribed to each, over the years, days and hours denoted by the Branches to which they respectively appertain. But this subject, which has been mentioned on page 44, must not occupy any further space here.

The cycle of Animals is generally styled »the Twelve Animals" [2] and the combination of the two cycles: »the Dozens which appertain to each other" [3]. The origin of the cycle of Animals is shrouded in mystery and is a puzzle for Chinese authors, no trace of it being found in the Classics. Some have ascribed its use in China to the influence of intercourse with other nations, because it is in vogue among the Mongols, Coreans, Japanese, Siamese and other Asiatic peoples. Schlegel has tried to demonstrate on astronomical grounds that it must be of pure Chinese origin [4].

Returning now to our extract from the Annals of Wu and Yueh, we must give our readers some information about the eight Celestial Winds and the winds emitted by the mystic Gates shut upon the Effulgent Sunlight, in order that a better insight may be obtained into Fung-shui in its earliest stages. Those eight winds are mentioned by Liu Ngan in the following words: »The Directing Wind » comes forty-five days after the winter solstice (that is to say, about » the beginning of spring); forty-five days afterwards (at mid-spring) » the Wind of the Illumination of all Beings blows, and again just » as many days later (in the beginning of summer) the Winds of » Pure Brightness come, to be replaced by the Winds of Bright » Sunlight after a like number of days (*i. e.* at midsummer). Again

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1 巳爲蛇象形.

2 十二禽. 3 十二相屬.

4 Uranographie Chinoise, pp. 565 *sqq.*

» forty-five days afterwards (in the beginning of autumn) comes the » Cool Breeze, and after another forty-five days (at mid-autumn) » the Wind of the Gates that are shut upon the Effulgent Sun- » light. The Wind of Imperfection then arrives after forty-five days » (in the beginning of winter), and again so many days having » elapsed (at mid-winter), the Wind of Devoidness of Extensive » Power begins to blow" [1]. From this excerpt we see that those winds simply denote the influences of Nature which operate during the eight seasons respectively, regulating the weather and the temperature. As the seasons were connected with the points of the compass (see pp. 962 *seq.*), the winds too were theoretically identified therewith. We read in the Historical Records, in a chapter specially devoted to natural science:

» The Wind of Imperfection occupies the North-west, thus » presiding at the killing of life. The Wind of Devoidness of Ex- » tensive Power occupies the North. 'Devoidness of extensive power' » means that (in the North) the Yang has sunk away, without the » Yin having so extensive and great an influence as to stand on a par » with that of the Yang. The Directing Wind occupies the North- » east and consequently has the upper hand in the first production » of everything endowed with life. 'Directing' means to manage » all living beings in such a wise that they are produced, and » therefore this wind bears this appellation. The Wind of the Illu- » mination of all Beings is settled in the East, and its name refers » to the illumination of living nature which is entirely produced » (when it blows). The Wind of Pure Brightness has its seat » in the South-east, and it dominates over all living nature over » which the winds blow. The Wind of Bright Sunlight abides in » the South; this word 'bright' expresses the condition of the » breath of the Yang at the zenith of its (annual) revolution. » The Cool Breeze occupies the South-west. And the Wind of the » Gates that are shut upon the Effulgent Sunlight is stationed » in the West. The word 'effulgent' refers to the brightness and

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[1] 冬至四十五日倏風至、倏風至四十五日明庶風至、明庶風至四十五日清明風至、清明風至四十五日景風至、景風至四十五日凉風至、凉風至四十五日閶闔風至、閶闔風至四十五日不周風至、不周風至四十五日廣莫風至. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. III.

» glory (of the sun); 'to shut the gates' means to conceal; and » the name of this wind alludes to the shutting up in the earth » of living nature produced by the operation of the Yang"[1].

Hoh Lü's attempt to establish his supremacy over the surrounding kingdoms by building his city in such a wise that the influences of the heavens and the earth were represented by it and consequently operated upon it, affords proof of the correctness of our statement made on page 936, that the rise of Fung-shui coincides with that of Taoism, the philosophical-religious system which taught people that man, living, as he does, under the absolute sway of Nature, best ensures his felicity by adapting and conforming himself to the influences of the Universe. The ancients even went so far as to suffer the heavens themselves to decide about the location of the graves and dwellings they intended to build. For this purpose they availed themselves of the stalks of a certain plant, called shi[2], which they believed to be imbued with an extraordinary supply of vital force or so-called shen, composed of Yang substance (comp. p. 110), and therefore more capable than anything else of divulging the will and intentions of the heavens, the great embodiment of the Yang. Those stalks were so manipulated as to give the lineal figures or kwa, and these figures were subsequently interpreted by the aid of sentences contained in the *Yih king* and other books of a similar character.

In its section on the funeral ceremonies for ordinary officers and their nearest relatives, the *I li* contains a very lucid account of the way in which this peculiar method of consulting Nature took place when a grave had to be made. It literally runs as follows:

» Consultation of the divining stalks about an abode for a defunct. » The Officer for the Grave Mounds having measured out a spot for

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[1] 不周風居西北、主殺生。廣莫風居北方、廣莫者言陽氣在下、陰莫陽廣大也。條風居東北、主出萬物、條之言條治萬物而出之、故曰條風。明庶風居東方、明庶者明衆物盡出也。清明風居東南、維主風吹萬物。景風居南方、景者言陽氣道竟。涼風居西南。閶闔風居西方、閶者倡也、闔者藏也、言陽氣道萬物闔黃泉也. Chapter 25.

[2] 蓍.

» the purpose (in obedience to the rescripts relating to his office, » which are reproduced on page 421), a hole is dug at each of the » four corners and the earth placed outside the spot; a hole is dug » also in the middle, and the earth put down on the southern side. » The principal mourners having finished their wailing for the defunct » in the morning, resort thither, and range themselves on the south » side of that spot assigned by a tortoise-shell, with their faces to » the north, without the mourning bands around their heads.

» A person who is to order the stalks to be consulted, stands » on the right of the principal mourners. The diviner turns his face » to the east, pulls off the upper part of the case which contains » the stalks, and, holding both the case and stalks in his hands and » turning his face to the south, receives (by mouth of the afore- » said person) the order to begin the work, which order runs as » follows: 'The distressed sons So-and-So for the sake of their father » So-and-So wish to consult the stalks about his grave, lest the site » for his dark abode, which has been duly assigned by the figures » of a tortoise shell, should entail troubles on any of them in » future'. The diviner answers that he will obey the order, but he » does not repeat the same.

» Now turning round to the right, so that he stands with his » face to the north, he stretches out his finger to the centre of the » grave and manipulates the stalks. A man for the k w a stands on » his left side. When the divination is finished, (this man writes » out the k w a, and) the diviner takes it, to show it to the person » who has ordered him to consult the stalks. This man receives » the k w a, inspects it and gives it back to the diviner, who, » turning his face eastward, examines it with the aid of his » assistants; then he comes forward, to say to the man who has » ordered him to divine, and to the chief mourners: 'We have » examined it, and it portends that the project may be executed'. » The chief mourners now put on their headbands and wail, but » without stamping their feet. If the stalks declare that the plan » must not be executed, they are consulted, with observance of the » above rules, about some other spot which has been selected" [1].

[1] 筮宅。冢人營之、掘四隅、外其壤、掘中、南其壤。既朝哭主人皆往、兆南北面、免絰。

命筮者在主人之右。筮者東面、抽上韇、兼執之、南面受命、命曰、哀子某爲其父某甫筮宅、

This excerpt teaches us that the first indications about favourable burial sites used to be obtained by the consultation of tortoise shells. Tortoises, like the divining plant, being considered to be pervaded throughout with s h e n substance, their shells were scorched with hot instruments, for the purpose of deducing predictions from the lines and spots thus rendered visible. The details of this curious divining method we shall give in our Second Book. The *Cheu li* says: »On the decease of the sovereign, the Sub-Intend-» ant of Religious Worship finds out by means of a tortoise-shell » the place where the sepulchre is to be made, and this he repeats » when they begin to dig the pit" [1]. Such of our readers as understand the written language of the Chinese will see that, in this passage, the place assigned by a tortoise-shell as fit for a grave is denoted by the same character which the *I li* uses in the above extract to express the same thing, viz. 兆, which Chinese etymologists say is a hieroglyphic representation of the lines and marks found on a tortoise-shell. So, also, in the description of the functions of the Officer for the Grave Mounds (see page 421) the *Cheu li* denotes burial sites by the term 兆域, which means: »places (域) appointed by the lines and spots on a tortoise-shell". In many other works of antiquity reference to what they generally style p u h t s a n g 卜葬, »drawing prognostics about burial places from tortoise-shells", is often enough made to justify the conclusion that this practice was then most commonly prevalent.

This method of the ancients of suffering the heavens themselves to assign their graves through the medium of tortoises and s h i stalks, has been adopted by subsequent dynasties and incorporated into their ceremonial institutions. The K h a i y u e n Ritual contains rescripts on this head which, in the main, are the same as those of the *I li*; but they declare that only for officers of the five highest degrees a tortoise-shell may be consulted, viz. at the same time as the stalks are being used. Moreover, they state that this double augura-

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度茲幽宅兆基無有後艱。筮人許諾、不述命。

右還、北面、指中封而筮。卦者在左。卒筮、執卦以示命筮者。命筮者受視、反之、東面旅占、卒進、告于命筮者與主人、占之、曰從。主人經、哭不踊。若不從、筮擇如初儀. Chapt. 28, ll. 50 *sqq.*

[1] 小宗伯王崩卜葬兆、甫竁亦如. Chapter 19, l. 23.

tion shall be followed by a sacrifice to the God of Earth, and they give detailed rules for this ceremony. That the dynasty which enacted those rescripts also practised them at the demise of emperors, may be seen from the description of the ritual which was instituted for the burial of Tai Tsung in A. D. 780 [1]. The funeral rites prescribed by the Ming dynasty for the use of the official classes and laid down in the *Ta Ming hwui tien* [2], do not, however, make any reference to the ancient method of selecting graves.

The devotees of geomancy themselves are fully convinced that their art has been practised from the earliest times on record in literature. If asked for proofs in support of this belief, they unanimously appeal to a certain passage occurring in one of the Appendices of the *Yih king* (chapter 13, l. 12), which says: »By » looking up, in order to contemplate the heavenly bodies, and by » looking down to examine into the natural influences of the earth, » man may acquire a knowledge of the causes of darkness and » light" [3]. Yet this passage in itself is valueless for ascertaining the antiquity of the system, even apart from the fact that the Appendix containing it bears internal evidence of having been written after the time of Confucius, though native scholars pretend that it is a product of the sage's pen. Nor is the fact that the kwa, cycles, constellations etc., which play a prominent part in the system, have been used for chronologic, astrologic and horoscopic purposes since very early times, any argument for the antiquity of Fung-shui, the established opinion of its adepts and professors notwithstanding.

The early traces of geomantic superstition assume sharper outlines during the dynasties of Ts'in and Han. It has been already remarked that grave brooks and grave tanks were then indispensable appurtenances of royal sepulchres (p. 947); that Shi Hwang's mausoleum was adorned with stars, constellations and the configurations of the Earth; that coffins used to be painted with heavenly luminaries and figures of the four Celestial Animals (page 979), all which practices

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1 Compare the »Record of the Ceremonies for the Yuen Mausoleum" 元陵儀注, inserted in the *T'ung tien* of Tu Yiu, and reproduced in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, chapter 56.

2 Chapter 92, l. 7.

3 仰以觀於天文、俯以察於地理、是故知幽明之故. Section 繫辭傳, I.

had decidedly no other object than that of concentrating the influences of the Universe around the dead. Besides, many other data which mark the progress achieved by Fung shui during the Han dynasty, are supplied by the books. They teach us that already in the second century before our era China possessed a class of proficients in geomancy. The Historical Records [1] mention such a category of persons under the name of Khan-yü kia [2], »the Khan-yü Class" (comp. page 940), among sundry species of diviners whom the emperor Hiao Wu [3], who reigned from the year 140 to 86 B. C., one day consulted upon the question whether a certain date was suitable for consummating marriage, and from whom he received entirely different answers. The books show furthermore that, during the Han dynasty, there existed a Fung-shui literature. The »Memoir on Skilful Writings" [4] in the Official History of that epoch mentions, under the heading: »Authors on the Five Elements" [5], thirty-one titles of works of divination, one of which, entitled: The Golden Khan-yü Thesaurus, in fourteen Chapters [6], leaves no room to doubt that it was devoted to geomancy. The same Memoir sums up also six works of »Authors on the Rules »concerning Forms, who treated on a wide scale of the configur- »ations in the nine subdivisions of the Empire and derived there- »from the shape of cities and dwellings; they also treated of »the dimensions and numbers in the osseous system of man and »the six domestic animals, and of the forms and capacity of »vessels and implements, thus fixing of everything the respective »sound and breath, the value or non-value, the auspicious or in- »auspicious operation" [7]. Among these six works one was probably more specially devoted to geomancy than the others, being entitled: On the Configurations of Grounds for Mansions and Houses, in twenty Chapters [8].

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1 In an appendix to chapter 127, written by Ch'u Siao-sun 褚少孫 in the first century B. C.

2 堪輿家.

3 孝武.

4 藝文志, the 30th. chapter of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty.

5 五行家.

6 堪輿金匱十四卷.

7 形法者大舉九州之執、以立城郭室舍形、人及六畜骨法之度數、器物之形容、以求其聲氣貴賤吉凶. Books of the Early Han Dynasty. ch. 30, ll. 49.

8 宮宅地形二十卷.

That treatises on geomancy and divination were numerous during the Early Han dynasty, is evinced by the following passage relating to Wang King [1], a high official of great renown for his learning and attainments in hydraulics. »From the very first it had » been his conviction that, although the six Classics all contain » references to divination by means of tortoise-shells and stalks, so » that every undertaking or proceeding was decided upon by the » divining plant and the tortoise, yet all the books extant con- » tained erroneous and confused statements on this head, and the » notions about the auspicious or inauspicious character of augu- » ries subverted each other. Hence he compared and collocated the » existing treatises of every author on the art of making calcula- » tions, as also the notions about the matters that were disallowed » and to be avoided at grave-making and house-building, the factors » of geomancy, horoscopy etc.; and he compiled everything, for so » far as it was of any practical use, into a work entitled: The » fifty Original Groundstones" [2].

Under, or perhaps shortly after the Han dynasty, there existed a work, called: The Canon of Dwellings [3], which is generally considered to be the oldest exponent of Fung-shui extant, as still practised at the present day. Its origin was ascribed to Hwang Ti [4], »the Yellow Emperor", a mythical sovereign of the 27th. century before our era, for ever famous as the father of civilisation and the art of government. We can scarcely suppose this ascription to have been an idle attempt to give the book a saintly odour of antiquity. We think it must be taken simply as an indication that the doctrines laid down in the book were based upon the pure, unalloyed orthodox conceptions which had been in vogue from the dawn of civilisation about the Universe and its influence upon the fate of man. A small treatise under the same name still exists; but it is far from certain whether it is not a production of more recent date [5].

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[1] 王景.

[2] 初景以爲六經所載皆有卜筮、作事舉止質於蓍龜、而衆書錯糅、吉凶相反。乃參紀衆家數術文書、冢宅禁忌、堪輿、日相之屬、適於事用者集爲大衍玄基云. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 106, l. 8.

[3] 宅經. [4] 黃帝.

5 A reprint of it is inserted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 藝術, ch. 651.

It gives a great extension to geomantic speculation by distinguishing between buildings in which either the Yang or the Yin has the upper hand, and contains directions for planning out both categories in such a wise that they insure a maximum of glory and honour, wealth, prosperity and official dignities to the inhabitants and their still unborn offspring for many generations. It also dilates elaborately upon the laying out of graves, and gives many useful hints as to the restoration and rebuilding of dwellings of the living and the dead. It is said that from the Han dynasty dates also a so-called Canon of Burials [1], the authorship of which is ascribed to a certain Master Blue Raven [2], whose real name, if it were ever known, has fallen into oblivion. A few poor fragments only have escaped the destroying hand of time and are re-printed in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing* [3]; they may be consulted with advantage by those who can afford to waste more time and labour upon a study of the development and growth of the Fung-shui vagaries than we can.

The development of Fung-shui and its literature during the Han dynasty naturally coincided with the revival of the studies of antiquity, which marked that epoch. Under imperial auspices, every written relic which had escaped the incendiary caprice of Shi Hwang, was eagerly collected, studied and expounded; the Classics were cast in their present shape; and during the revival of a general interest in literature, philosophers arose, who indulged in wild speculations on Nature and its Tao or unalterable course, speculations for which they found ample material in the Classics. Thus a literature was created, abounding in cosmogonic vagaries, astrology and alchemy, and ever supplying food for new speculation of the same kind, which, being only guided by the traditional notions borrowed from the ancients, was gradually consolidated into the Fung-shui system in force at the present day, a system destined, it would seem, to crush China under its weight during the existence of its petrified culture. As the fundamental ideas and practices of the system can be traced back to very ancient times, and their development is intimately bound up with the enlargement of the scope of early speculations on Nature, the history of Fung-shui becomes the history of Chinese philosophy in general.

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1 葬書.

2 青烏先生. Comp. page 1016, note 2.

3 Section 藝術, chapt. 655.

The part which Fung-shui superstition played in grave-building during the Han dynasty is elucidated by the two following episodes, said to have occurred respectively in the first and the second century of our era. »When Yuen Ngan's father had died, his » mother ordered him to seek for a place to bury him. On the » road he met with three literary men, who asked him where he » was going. He informed them of his purpose, whereupon they » pointed out to him a certain spot, saying: 'Bury him there; » that place must produce to some generations of your family the » highest office in the state'. At the same moment they vanished. » Ngan felt interested in the prediction, and forthwith he buried » his father on the spot those men had discovered by augury. Sub- » sequently his offspring were overloaded with fame and glory for » several generations" [1].

» When Wu Hiung was a lad, his family was so poor that, on » the death of his mother, he cast his eyes upon a plot of ground » in which nobody made graves, and there he selected a place » to bury her. The burial he performed with so much haste, » without inquiring whether the hour or day were favourable, » that the medicating spiritist mediums unanimously prophesied » that it must entail the extermination of his clan. But Hiung took » no notice of their talk, and three generations of his family, viz. » himself, his son Yin and his grandson Kung, became Comman- » ders of the Palace Guard, and signalized themselves as famous » writers on legislation" [2].

From these episodes we learn that, in those times, geomancy sharpened its wits more especially in the discovery of graves which would insure to the offspring of the occupants promotion to high state-offices. This cannot surprise us, since investment with official dignities has always signified in China the same thing as wealth, power,

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[1] 初袁安父沒、母使安訪求葬地。道逢三書生、問安何之。安爲言其故、生乃指一處、云、葬此地、當世爲上公。須臾不見。安異之、於是遂葬其所占之地、故累世隆盛焉. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 75, l. 5.

[2] 吳雄少時家貧、喪母營人所不封土者擇葬其中。喪事趣辦、不問時日、醫巫皆言當族滅。而雄不顧、及子訢孫恭三世廷尉、爲法名家. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 76, l. 3.

honour and glory in this world and the next, in short, the perfect realisation of every Chinaman's favourite dream. We lay stress on this main feature of early geomancy, because it has characterized Fung-shui throughout all ages, and is at this day its principal feature still.

That graves could produce the highest offices to the descendants of the persons buried therein, nay, even the imperial dignity, was during the Han dynasty an orthodox article of faith, even among the most learned. Liu Hiang himself, whom we have introduced to our readers on pp. 56, 433 and 745, though one of the most celebrated authors the Middle Kingdom has produced, a man, moreover, who occupied a foremost place among the scholars employed in the task of elucidating and expounding the ancient texts and who held the highest offices of trust during several years — this man believed in it as firmly as the most superstitious child of his nation. This is evinced by a memorial he presented to the Throne with the object of breaking the power and influence of »a family Wang, twenty-three members of which drove about in »decorated cars with vermilion wheels; a family counting its mem»bers wearing blue or red sable fur by numbers like unto swarms »of locusts, and standing arrayed around the Throne within the »imperial mansion like scales around a fish" [1]. Insinuating that many of them, in spite of their high dignities, indulged in bad behaviour and nefarious acts, he wrote:

»Under the Emperor Hiao Chao, a stone rose up of its own »power on the hill Kwan on mount T'ai, and the same thing »occurred in Shang-lin with a willow that had fallen to the ground »— and thereupon the throne was occupied by the emperor Hiao »Süen [2]. At present, a post of Rottlera wood on the ancestral »tombs of the family Wang located in the Ts'i-nan country, produces »branches and leaves; the foliage it bears spreads out over the »houses, and its roots extend underneath the ground. Nothing »whatever, not even the stone and the willow that rose of them-

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[1] 王氏一姓乘朱輪華轂者二十三人、青紫貂蟬克盈、幄內魚鱗左右. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 36, l. 29.

2 According to Chapter 75 of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, these miracles, and a few more into the bargain, occurred in B. C. 78, and were interpreted by wise men as portending the enthronement of an emperor of another branch of the reigning family. Indeed, the next emperor, Hiao Süen, was not a descendant of Hiao Chao, but his uncle's grandson.

» selves, has ever given a clearer warning. But the significance of » the two cases is by no means equally great. Indeed, the family » Wang is not of so high a position as the family Liu (to which » Your Majesty belongs); moreover, the miracle with respect to the » last-named family merely predicted, through mount T'ai, a paci- » fication, while that (which has now occurred on the tombs) of the » first named portends a lurking danger resembling a pile of eggs" [1]. The tendency of this warning was clear enough: the zealous minister insinuated that the wonderful graves were preparing the descendants of the occupants for the imperial dignity. However, we do not find it recorded whether the emperor turned a willing ear to this hint to exterminate the whole family.

The third century of our era, signalized by the downfall of the Han dynasty, is marked in the history of Fung-shui as having given birth to the first prophet of geomancy who has ever remained famous for his high attainments in this art, viz. Kwan Loh [2], one of the greatest astrologers, soothsayers and fortune-tellers Far Cathay has ever produced. The marvellous acuteness this man possessed is clearly instanced by the following event, recorded in his biography in the Standard History of the dynasty under which he lived. » While » travelling to the west with a division of the army, he passed » by the foot of the sepulchre of Wu Khiu-kien. Reclining against » a tree, he began to hum a verse in a wailing tone of voice, » quite out of spirits. Being asked what the matter was, he said: » 'The copse and trees here grow luxuriantly, but those configura- » tions necessary to secure a long existence to the offspring of the » buried man are wanting. There will be no descendants to guard » the eulogy engraven on the epitaph-stone, however flattering it is. » The Black Warrior (*i. e.* the Black Tortoise) conceals his head, » the Azure Dragon has no feet, the White Tiger holds the corpse » in its jaws, and the Vermilion Bird is wailing piteously; the » grave being placed under the protection of four imminent dangers,

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[1] 孝昭帝時冠石立於泰山、仆柳起於上林、而孝宣帝卽位。今王氏先祖墳墓在濟南者其梓柱生枝葉、扶疏上出屋、根垂地中。雖立石起柳無以過此之明也。事執不兩大。王氏與劉氏亦且不並立、如下有泰山之安、則上有累卵之危. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 30.

[2] 管輅.

» it must surely entail the extermination of the clan, and this » will happen within two years'. This prophecy was literally ful- » filled" [1].

Kwan Loh's fame, great though it is, is almost entirely eclipsed by the halo surrounding the name of Kwoh Poh [2]. This man, who lived from 276—324 A. D., was a scholar of high attainments, and his name as such is inseparably connected with some works of antiquity which he annotated and commented upon. Not only is he ranked among the highest authorities on antiquarian subjects, but all the proficients, professors and adapts of Fung-shui look up to him as the great patriarch of their art, nay even as their patron divinity. He was at the same time a first-rate soothsayer, the art of fortune-telling being, as our readers know, intimately connected with geomancy and practised with the aid of much the same factors and cycles. His biography in the Standard History of the dynasty under which he lived recounts that » there lodged in Ho-tung (his » native place) a gentleman of the same surname as his own, who was » very clever in drawing prognostics from tortoise shells and divining » stalks; he followed that person, learned from him the secrets of » the art, and having received from him a 'Book on the Contents » of the Blue Bag', in nine chapters, he thoroughly understood » the arts relating to the Five Elements, Astrology and Divination, » knowing how to expel calamities, how to avert disasters, and how » to bring complete succour in hopeless cases. Even King Fang [3] » and Kwan Loh did not excel him" [4].

His geomantic skill savours of witchcraft, and the records repre-

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[1] 輅隨軍西行、過毋丘儉墓下。倚樹哀吟、精神不樂。人問其故、輅曰、林木雖茂、無形可久。碑誄雖美、無後可守。玄武藏頭、蒼龍無足、白虎銜尸、朱雀悲哭、四危以備、法當滅族、不過二載其應至矣。卒如其言. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms; Memoirs of Wei, ch. 29, l. 24.

[2] 郭璞.

[3] A famous man of letters in the first century B. C.

[4] 有郭公者客居河東、精於卜筮、璞從之、受業。公以青囊中書九卷與之、由是遂洞五行、天文、卜筮之術、攘災、轉禍、通致無方。雖京房管輅不能過也. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 72, l. 1.

sent him in fact as a cunning magician. »Having lost his mother, » he resigned his office, and with a tortoise shell sought out a » burial place for her in Ki-yang. The spot being not farther from » the borders of the water than some hundred paces, there was much » gossip abroad about its being too near; but Poh declared that » the water would soon become dry ground. Afterwards sand was » flooded up over an area of several tens of miles from the grave, » and entirely converted into orchards and fields" [1].

» When Poh had made a grave for a certain man, the emperor » disguised himself and went out to see it. 'Why have you buried » the corpse in the horn of the Dragon?' he asked the owner » of the grave; 'this must cause the destruction of your clan'. » 'Kwoh Poh has declared', the owner answered, 'that, whereas » at this grave the ears of the Dragon are not visible, it must » cause a Son of Heaven to come here before three years have » elapsed'. 'Shall it produce a Son of Heaven?' asked the emperor. » 'It possesses the faculty of causing a Son of Heaven to come » hither to ask questions', was the reply. The emperor stood struck » with amazement" [2]. The *finesse* of this geomantic *tour de force* consists in this, that the Dragon is the emblem of the emperor, so that, if it has no ears, the emperor hears nothing, and is obliged to come out and ask for information.

» When Ch'ing, the great-grandfather of (Chang) Yü, had to » bury his father, Kwoh Poh drew prognostics about some spots, » and said: 'If you bury him in this place, you will live to be over » a hundred years of age and attain one of the three highest official » dignities, but you will then not have a numerous offspring. And » if you inter him in that spot, your lifetime will only be half as » long and your official career will be cut off on having attained » the dignity of Director of a Court, but your issue be honoured » and illustrious for a series of generations'. Ch'ing performed the

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[1] 璞以母憂去職、卜葬地於暨陽。去水百步許、人以近水爲言、璞曰、當卽爲陸矣。其後沙漲去墓數十里、皆爲桑田. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 11.

[2] 璞嘗爲人葬、帝微服往觀之。因問主人、何以葬龍角、此法當滅族。主人曰、郭璞云、此葬龍耳不出、三年當致天子也。帝曰、出天子邪。答曰、能致天子間耳。帝甚異之. *Op. et loc. cit.*

» burial in the weaker spot, and thus he became Director of the » Court of Imperial Entertainment and died at the age of sixty- » four; but his children and grandchildren had a glorious career" [1].

It might be expected that a man of Kwoh Poh's skill would first of all have selected for himself a grave so perfect as to raise his offspring to the highest earthly glory. It is stated that »he » never omitted to cut off and bury his nails and hair wherever » he found an auspicious spot, in consequence of which graves of » Kwoh Poh are to be found everywhere" [2]; and yet his biographer only makes mention of one of his sons who was called to an official dignity, viz. that of prefect of Lin-ho [3], in the present province of Kwangsi. It does not, however, appear that this plain fact has ever, to the present day, shaken the national belief in the efficacy of Fung-shui.

The biographer of Kwoh Poh relates that »his disciple Chao Tsai » stole the Book of the Blue Bag, and that it fell a prey to the flames » before he could commence the study of it" [4]. It must not therefore be confounded with the work ascribed to Kwoh Poh, which is current at this day under the title of »Canon of the Blue Bag and the Corners of the Seas, revealed by the mysterious Virgins of the nine Celestial Spheres" [5]. This title designates a treatise on the heavens, which are indeed a sort of blue bag comprising everything, and dealing, moreover, with the earth, girt at the four points of the compass by oceans; it is, in short, a book on natural philosophy, based upon revelations given in the good old time by certain mystic beings about the evolution of the Universe

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[1] 初[張]裕曾祖澄當葬父、郭璞爲占墓地、曰、葬某處、年過百歲、位至三司、而子孫不蕃。某處、年幾減半、位裁卿校、而累世貴顯。澄乃葬其劣處、位光祿、年六十四而亡、其子孫遂昌云. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 31, l. 2.

[2] 凡遇吉地必剪爪髮葬之、故郭璞墓所在有之. *Tan yuen tsung luh*, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤 輿, ch. 140.

[3] 臨賀.

[4] 璞門人趙載嘗竊青囊書、未及讀而爲火所焚. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 72, l. 1.

[5] 九天玄女青囊海角經. These Virgins have been mentioned already on page 105.

from chaos or primary nothingness. Starting from the origin of the Cosmos, it dilates upon the numerical proportions supposed to lie at the basis of the laws of Nature and to be expressed by the characters and cycles with which our readers are now acquainted. It places these formulæ in concentric circles, and combines these circles together in sundry ways, as is still done by geomancers nowadays. It expatiates largely upon the k w a, upon the influences which the twenty-eight stellar mansions exert on this earth, and upon all the other factors which we have passed in review, connecting the influences of the five Elements or planets with the outward forms of hills and mountains in the manner set forth by us on page 956.

Kwoh Poh is also the reputed author of a treatise which, under the title of The Book on Burial [1], takes rank among the products of Fung-shui literature as a standard work. There are, however, good reasons for doubting whether it really is from his hand. No work of that name is mentioned in his biography in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, although it gives the titles of three other works he wrote, and of half a dozen books he commented upon and annotated. Nor does the Catalogue of classical and other works, contained in the Books of the Sui Dynasty [2], mention a Book on Burial; nor is it certain that the treatise occurring in the Catalogue in the two Official Histories of the House of T'ang [3] under the title of »Book on Burial and Canon on the Pulses of the Earth, in one Chapter" [4] is from Kwoh Poh's hand, as no author's name is appended to it. For the first time the work in question appears in the Catalogue of books in the History of the Sung Dynasty, under the explicit title: »Kwoh Poh's Book on Burial, in one Chapter" [5]. Probably this is the same treatise which is reprinted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, under the title of »Kwoh Poh's Canon of Burial, based on Antiquity" [6].

Without doubt we may consider the age in which Kwoh Poh lived as the golden era of Fung-shui, as the epoch in which the ascendency of its power reached its apogee and its vagaries struck

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1 葬書. 2 Chapters 32—35.

3 Old Books, ch. 47, l. 16, and New Books, ch. 59, l. 28.

4 葬書地脈經一卷.

5 郭璞葬書一卷. Ch. 206, l. 22.

6 郭璞古本葬經. Sect. 藝術, chapt. 665.

ineradicable roots in all classes of society, involving them for good and all in its intricate net of error and delusion. In point of fact the Books of the Tsin Dynasty refer to Fung-shui matters far oftener than the Annals of earlier times, and certainly just as often as those of subsequent dynasties. The belief that even emperors and princes could be produced by the selection of proper graves, then waxed strong. We read, for instance, of the military grandee Yang Hu [1], who lived in the second half of the third century: »The » site of his grandfather's tomb was declared by a man who » was clever in observing the properties of graves, to possess a » breath which could produce emperors and kings, but the occu- » pant would remain without issue if it were hacked into. Hu there- » fore hacked into it, whereupon the other, on perceiving what he » had done, said it would now still produce a Minister of State » with a broken arm. Finally Hu fell from his horse and broke his » arm; and he became a minister, but begot no sons" [2].

From nothing does it appear that, since those times, the belief in the efficacy of Fung-shui has ever been seriously shaken in China. It has borne undisputed sway over the nation down to the present day. Nevertheless there have existed some minds which, though not disbelieving in the system, were far from placing implicit confidence in all that the proficients and experts dished up for the public as genuine geomancy. Yen Chi-t'ui, for instance, wrote in the sixth century: »The art of utilizing the two Breaths of Nature » having sprung up with Heaven and Earth themselves, confidence » must be placed in the indications of that art with respect to good » luck and ill, weal and woe. But a long time has elapsed since the » ancients lived. Therefore the writings on that art, transmitted from » one generation to another, are altogether the product of unsettled » popular notions, and contain gossip of a vulgar and superficial » kind; little therein is trustworthy, much is pure nonsense. » Yet, by contravening the art in question, by deviating from it, » or by refusing to utilize it, calamity might finally be incurred. » Infelicitous results cannot be always eluded by attending to it

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[1] 羊祜.

[2] 有善相墓者言、祜祖墓所有帝王氣、若鑿之則無後。祜遂鑿之、相者見曰、猶出折臂三公。而祜竟墮馬折臂、位至公、而無子. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 34, l. 12.

» with anxious carefulness or by entirely relying upon it; but ad- » vantage is just as little to be secured by sticking to it with very » great anxiety" [1].

In the seventh century, the emperor T'ai Tsung [2] of the T'ang dynasty appointed a commission of more than ten scholars, with orders to sift, under the presidency of Lü Ts'ai [3], a famous man of letters, the existing literature on divination and geomancy, and to glean from it everything orthodox and of real practical value. The result of their labours was a work in one hundred chapters, which was published by order of the emperor. They passed a sweeping sentence on the then existing literature on the subjects in question, flatly condemning all such selection of auspicious graves and lucky times for burial as is not sanctioned by antecedents from antiquity. An ample account of the way in which those scholars acquited themselves of their task is given in the two Standard Histories of the T'ang dynasty [4].

This imperial effort to check the boundless expansion of unauthentic geomantic theory and superstition was entirely without effect, and the literature on the subject has continued to swell from age to age. The Catalogue of literature in the Books of the Sui Dynasty gives only some dozen titles of works and treatises; the Catalogue in the Books of the T'ang Dynasty contains a much larger number [5], and in that of the History of the House of Sung we count over a hundred [6]. It is unnecessary to say that under every dynasty the books contain numerous names of geomancers of renown, and sundry stories illustrating their capacities and marvellous attainments.

These authors and experts generally based their theories upon the so-called hing shi [7], »influence or power of forms and outlines", that is to say, the influence and power of the Elements

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[1] 凡陰陽之術與天地俱生、其吉凶德刑不可不信。但去聖既遠。世傳術書皆出流俗、言辭鄙淺、驗少、妄多。至如反支不行、竟以遇害。歸忌寄宿不免凶終、拘而多忌亦無益也. Domestic Instructions, § 19.

[2] 太宗. [3] 呂才.

4 Old Books, ch. 79, ll. 12 *sqq.*; New Books, ch. 107, ll. 4 *sqq.*

5 Old Books, ch. 47, and New Books, ch. 59.

6 Chapter 206. [7] 形勢.

or planets indicated by the shapes of mountains and hills. In the latter half of the ninth century, the most prominent figure in this School of Forms was Yang Yun-sung [1], a native of Teu-cheu [2], which is a part of the department of Yuh-lin [3], in Kwangsi. He is frequently mentioned by his other name Shuh-meu [4], and commonly known as »the Master who saved mankind from poverty" [5], probably for the reason of his high attainments in finding graves that never failed to render the offspring of the occupants wealthy and fortunate. Under the reign of Hi Tsung [6] (874—888) he held the office of Imperial Geomancer, and was even invested with the high dignity of Director of the Court of Imperial Entertainment [7]. The latter period of his life he spent as a geomancer in Kiangsi province, in the department of Kan-cheu [8], at that time called Khien-cheu [9]. Both from his wide-spread fame and the works he wrote, he has always been regarded as the great patriarch of the School of Forms, since denoted the »Kan-cheu Method" [10]. By him particularly stress was laid upon the shape of mountains and the direction of water-courses, or, in other words, upon the influences of the Dragon, (comp. p. 951), which imaginary animal plays a part in his system under various names and aspects. Hence the titles of three of his writings are: »Canon on the Means to set Dragons in Motion" [11], »Book of thirty-six Dragons" [12], »Canon for the Approximation of Dragons" [13]. His treatise entitled: »Method of the twelve Lines" [14] still holds the rank of a standard work for tracing out favourable spots in connection with the contours and configurations of high grounds and mountains.

Yang Yun-sung had many disciples, most of whom wrote geomantic works and treatises. The corypheus among them was Tseng Wen-ch'wen [15], who composed a »Treatise on the art of searching for Dragons" [16], »Queries and Answers about the two Breaths of Nature" [17], etc. [18]

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1 楊筠松. 2 竇州. 3 鬱林州.
4 叔茂. 5 救貧先生. 6 僖宗.
7 光祿大夫. 8 贛州府. 9 虔州.
10 贛州法. 11 撼龍經.
12 三十六龍書. 13 疑龍經. 14 十二杖法.
15 曾文遄. 16 尋龍記. 17 陰陽問答.

18 The above information is gleaned from the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 藝術, ch. 679.

Under the influence of the metaphysical speculations by which, during the Sung dynasty, a notorious school, of which Chu Hi was the principal leader, sought to elucidate on a broader scale than had ever been done before the principles of creation and re-production, and to expound the influence which the heavens are supposed to exercise upon terrestrial affairs, a second school of geomancy arose, which more particularly laid stress upon the kwa, the Branches and kan, the Constellations, etc., assigning a place of minor importance to the configurations of the earth. It is generally called the »Method of Man (*i. e.* Fuhkien)" [1], the first chief representative of it being Wang Kih [2], also named Chao-khing [3] or Khung-chang [4], a native of Kan-cheu, who spent the latter period of his life in the north of Fuhkien, viz. in Sung-yuen [5], now called Sung-khi [6]. His »Canon of the Core or Centre" [7] and his »Disquisitions on the Queries and Answers" [8] were published by his pupil Yeh Shuh-liang [9]. The Fuhkien School is frequently styled »the Houses-and-Dwellings Method" [10]. It is more attached to the use of the compass than the Kan-cheu School, this latter using that instrument only as a secondary aid, viz. to sound the influences of the country around after its forms and contours have been pronounced to be favourable.

These two schools have shared the predominance in the Fung-shui system down to the present day. So far as we know, no other school of significance has risen up beside. It is hardly feasible to define the present status and relative position of each, together with their influence in the various parts of the Empire. Professors of geomancy unanimously assert that there still exists a distinct line of demarcation between the two schools, but that they are in so far fused together that no good expert in either ever neglects to practise the methods of the other school as well as his own. In the mountainous southern provinces, the School of Forms obviously predominates. Even in Fuhkien no geomancers are so highly esteemed as those who pretend to exercise their vocation in strict accordance with the Kiangsi method, and in every town of that province there are houses with sign-boards to decoy patrons

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1 閩之法. 2 王伋. 3 肇卿.
4 孔彰. 5 松源. 6 松溪.
7 心經. 8 問答語錄.
9 葉叔亮. 10 屋宅之法.

by stating that the inmate is an adept of that school, or has improved his talents by the teaching of a genuine Kan-cheu professor. Many such accomplished experts are accustomed to introduce and recommend themselves to the public by means of placards stuck up in squares and at street-corners.

The Fung-shui literature is at present as rich as ever. Popular expositions of the theory and its practical application are on sale in every bookshop, mostly of considerable bulk, and illustrated with woodcuts. In general such products are subdivided into three main sections. The first deals with the »Rules concerning the Dragon" [1], that is to say (see page 951) the situation and configurations of mountains and the direction of water-courses. This section often commences with a dissertation on the doctrine, set forth by eminent expositors of the system, that the whole Empire has a Dragon which rules the fortunes of all its inhabitants, to wit, the immeasurable Kwun-lun [2], a range of mountains in the north-west, between Tartary and Tibet, the »progenitor of all the mountains of the world [3] and the centre of the Earth" [4], in which the great rivers that carry the beneficial influences of the Dragon to the south and south-east, take their rise. Often also this section contains dissertations, illustrated with maps, on the Fung-shui of every province as a whole, such as the »Authors on the Rules concerning Forms" had already written two thousand years ago (see page 995); further it generally gives astronomical maps elucidating the relations between certain parts of the canopy of heaven and their counterparts on earth (comp. page 954).

The second section dilates on the five Elements or Planets, and the art of discovering their presence or influence in the forms of hills, mountains and terrestrial objects. The third section is practically the most important, being devoted to a technical application of the doctrines expounded in the first and second sections; that is to say, it gives directions as to how a hüeh [5], *i. e.* a favourable site for a grave or building amidst good and bad surroundings of every sort and description, is to be found at any given place. Generally it is profusely illustrated, and gives illustrated instances of graves of great renown for their good Fung-shui; besides, it contains systematic enumerations of things that are detrimental or dangerous, and wise rules

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1 龍法. 2 崑崙. 3 天下諸山之祖.
4 地之中. 5 穴.

established by professors and proficients of high repute. In many books this section is subdivided into two parts, entitled »Rules concerning Gravel or Sand (*i. e.* the ground)" [1], and »Rules concerning Water" [2], respectively teaching how to utilize for purposes of all sorts every part of the configurations of mountains or hills and lakes or water-courses.

It now remains for us to give some information about the Fung-shui professors and the way in which they work among the people, which will convey to our readers some idea as to the extent ot the influence geomancy possesses over social life in China.

4. The Professors of Fung-shui. The Influence of Fung-shui on Practical Life.

As stated on pp. 938 *seq.*, every member of the educated class who, by learning to read and write, has picked up a smattering ot knowledge of the classical works and the principles of philosophy, is in China, to some extent, a geomancer; nay, even men and women with no literary education at all pretend to know much, if not all, about Fung-shui. But the true professor of this art, who earns his living by it, is distinguished from those dilettanti by many characteristics.

He assumes all the airs of the literati and the gentry, dresses, as they do, in a long gown, wears a pair of large spectacles, though not short-sighted, and awes his patrons into admiration and respect by scarcely ever opening his mouth, except to utter a few wise words, or a classic phrase borrowed from the books. Others on the contrary establish and keep up their reputation by loquaciousness, overawing everybody by speaking a mystifying, learned jargon, and by apocalyptic utterances of which the ordinary Chinaman understand next to nothing. Many professors are very dignified in their habits, wear a grave and haughty look, and strut about like peacocks among the ignoble fowl around them. About all their movements there is an air of classic decorum; and it is no wonder, therefore, that the masses regard the geomancers as fountains of wisdom, marvels of learning, capable of fathoming all the mysteries of heaven and earth.

Yet, truth to say, scarcely any of them have acquired their skill

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[1] 砂法. [2] 水法.

by profound and serious studies of the books written by the sages and philosophers of the nation. A geomancer has, as a rule, learnt to read and to write at school; but, for the rest, he has picked up almost all his wisdom by strolling about in the open country for a few years at the heels of some professor who had adopted him as his disciple, catching from his lips a large supply of empty phrases about dragons, tigers, branches and other mysteries of the compass. Though he has the name and outward appearance of a literary man, yet he is, like Chinese scholars in general, quite ignorant of his national history and literature, nor does he possess the slightest knowledge of the history and literature of the art of which he calls himself an expert. At best he may have consulted one or two handbooks badly printed; but he seldom looks into these products a second time, finding it easier to rely upon his own inventiveness and eloquence, which both he himself and others are readily enough inclined to regard as wisdom and innate genius. But his ignorance casts no shadow upon his reputation. For, after all, he knows more about the art than the bulk of the people; moreover, he is extremely smart in bewildering his employers by bullying them, whenever he thinks fit, with a flood of technical expressions and hazy utterances about tigers and dragons, branches and k w a, elements, and spiritual influences of all sorts and descriptions.

Clever Fung-shui professors are accustomed to resort to other devices, in order to keep up the reputation of their calling and that of their own persons. The names of the ancient sages and sovereigns, revered by the whole nation as the holiest and most perfect of creatures the Universe ever produced, are constantly on their lips, especially those of the reputed inventors of the k w a and the authors of the *Yih king*, viz. king Wen, and the Prince of Cheu, his son (see p. 691); frequently also they appeal to the illustrious Chu Hi, the father of modern philosophy and an ardent votary of good, orthodox Fung-shui. Thus they ably contrive to get themselves associated by the people with great and famous names in history. They further enhance the general admiration of their wisdom by concluding each flow of words from their lips with this refrain: »Yet many other arguments could I adduce, were they not too numerous to be summed up".

The people are perfectly aware that geomancers are not only useful, but also dangerous. Indeed, these men can supply them with graves and dwellings which establish the prosperity of whole families;

but they have also the power of plunging families into woe and misery by undoing graves and houses of good Fung-shui by their cunning artifices. The professors themselves take good care to keep up this double reputation by steadily spreading tales and anecdotes which illustrate their twofold power, and by which the people are constantly reminded how advisible it is to cultivate their friendship and to propitiate their good will in all circumstances of life. They frequently relate that, once upon a time, there lived a family, which was rendered very rich and prosperous by the influence of a grave sought out for it by a geomancer of great renown. He, on discovering this priceless spot, had become aware that it would cost him his eyesight if anybody were buried in it; and yet he had not hesitated to assign it to that family, on condition they should lodge, clothe and feed him to the end of his days, and give him a decent burial after his death. So he lived with them, quite blind, but happy, and free from worldly care, leading an enviable life of leisure and idleness. One fine day it came to pass that a kid belonging to the family fell into an open privy and was suffocated. The Chinese are a thrifty people, and even the wealthy classes are averse to throwing useful things away. Hence the family, as none of them chose to eat of the kid, resolved to cook it for the professor, who, being blind and not aware of the circumstance, would certainly enjoy the savoury food. This was done; but, unfortunately, a loquacious matron of the family told him in secret how ignomiously the others had abused his helpless condition. Our readers can guess the end of the story: — the professor without mercy destroyed the good Fung-shui of the grave by giving wrong advice regarding it, and so he brought the family back to the same dire poverty from which he had extricated it. We are not, however, told whether he recovered from his blindness, after having thus avenged himself.

In spite of such professional tales, and numerous accounts about graves that have rendered their owners prosperous for many generations in succession, accounts which, whether or not illustrated by woodcut figures, are appended to many handbooks; — in spite, also, of the fact that many a geomancer is so sharp and clever as to be able to make out at a glance from the moss or weather-beaten spots on a grave stone whether the Fung-shui of the grave is good or bad — yet there are many persons bold enough to refuse implicit trust in all they say. Such sceptics are, perhaps, more numerous now than they were in times gone by. To none

among them does it ever occur to doubt the perfectness of the principles of the system, these forming the chief corner stone of natural philosophy as expounded by the holiest and wisest men. But the bare fact that many who, in the hopes of buying a grave that must render them rich and prosperous, pour half their wealth into the lap of the professors, and yet become poor, while others, not wealthy enough to employ a professor, rise to wealth and distinction, acts as a great check upon the credulity of the public. Among the educated classes it is an open secret that the predictions of geomancers are all guess-work, and that all they have to dispose of is a little experience collected in the course of their practice. It is no wonder then that, in Amoy, people often make fun of their geomancers, and deride them in the following quatrain:

Tē-lí sien-sing koàn soat hong,
Tsí lâm, tsí pok, tsí se tong;
San tiong dziók iú ông hō̤ tē,
Hó put sím lâi tsōng nái ong[1].

» Professors of geomancy are accustomed to telling nonsense,
» They point to the south, north, west and east;
» But, if they can really find places in the mountains which pro-
» duce princely dignities,
» Why then do not they immediately bury their own elders there?"

A Fung-shui professor would be a nonentity among his colleagues if he had not an amount of wise sophistry in store wherewith to counteract the popular prejudice. We, geomancers, thus he argues, can in reality thoroughly fathom, by profound study, the secrets of the Ti li or natural influences pervading the earth (see page 940), and thus we can discover means to lead human happiness into any desired channel. But these influences are in every respect dominated by those of the heavens, viz. the T'ien li[2], the earth being swayed by the supreme celestial powers embracing it. Hence it is that our calculations must necessarily fail, unless backed by two direct emanations from the heavens, which human power cannot control, viz. the happy destiny of the individual who invokes our

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1 地理先生慣說謊、
指南指北指西東、
山中若有王侯地、
何不尋來葬乃翁.

2 天理.

services, and, secondly, the factor which, through the hand of heaven, bestows such a destiny upon him, to wit, a virtuous character, manifesting itself by meritorious deeds. Is it not set forth as a golden principle by all the authors of geomancy: »Nobody should neglect to cultivate secret virtues, the accumulation of virtuous deeds being the only firm base for all searching after felicitous grounds"?[1] Should a man without virtue acquire the most propitious graves for his dead, and the best possible dwellings for himself, their Fung-shui can profit him nothing, seeing it is doomed to impotence and inactivity because of the refusal of the T'ien li to co-operate in making him happy. From which we see that Fung-shui is not a *creator* of happiness, but merely the indispensable medium through which a happy fate, held in store by the heavens, is forwarded to its destination.

Of course it seldom occurs to anybody to investigate his own merits and inner qualifications before squandering away his possessions in search of spots for building or grave making. What man in this world ever entertains the least doubt of his own excellence? Who would presume to anticipate, even by a humble investigation of his own demerits and unworthiness, the decrees of the high heavens in respect to his destiny? Not until the working of a grave or dwelling has been watched for some time can it be decided whether the virtues, required to make it yield profit, are present or absent in the persons concerned. These theories, the logic of which no Chinaman ever contradicts, has the advantage of discharging the professor from all blame in case places selected by him bring no blessings. He can, moreover, make use of them to explain the fact that children sometimes rise to wealth and distinction who have buried their parents, for want of money to pay a professor, in a site decried as valueless from a geomantic point of view, or even in a bad spot from which others, by the advice of clever experts, have removed their dead. In such a case it is the T'ien li who, moved by the virtues of the persons in question, virtues which they themselves were probably unconscious of possessing, have compelled the Ti li to set to work in their favour with all their energy. Even the doctrine of the transmigration of souls is here brought to bear, as events such as the above are often declared to be rewards for deeds performed in some previous incarnation. But most generally they are ascribed to long forgotten merits of some an-

[1] 不可不修陰德、積德求地之本也.

cestor, it being a settled doctrine that good acts are not seldom requited in the offspring of the individual who performed them, just as his crimes and sins must be atoned for by them.

From the above our readers will perceive that the Fung-shui doctrines, when handled with dexterity and eloquence, can explain all the phenomena of human life and fate. Thanks to the sage and useful theory of the supremacy exerted by the T'ien li over the Ti li, no smart professor can ever be brought to bay. When asked why he did not bury his own relations in the excellent graves he boasts of having found for others, he is humble enough to confess that they would be of no avail to him, his virtues being so few and insignificant, his natural fate consequently so bad, and his chance of prosperity in this world so small; neither have his ancestors laid up a store of merits large enough to enable him to reap the profits of his geomantic attainments himself. This shows that geomancers can also assume the airs of humility, when it serves their turn. Again, when asked how it is that former generations have not used up all the good grounds, they having produced so many myriads of perfect and virtuous men, the answer is: »The T'ien li do not nowadays reward the virtuous any less than they did in bygone times. As in days of yore, they imbue on their behalf sundry parts of the earth with benignant influences, thus continuously creating anew favourable sites for building and burying purposes. It often occurs that entire valleys, quite devoid of good geomantic influence, are converted into inexhaustible mines of Fung-shui by the T'ien li, when an alteration in the windings of a waterstream is made by a shower of rain, or by a small earth-slip, or the downfall of a rock through the action of the wind and rain. How then can there ever be a question of the exhaustion of the supply of burial sites?" — In the neighbourhood of every village and every town there are in fact numerous unknown spots, the favourite dreams of the inhabitants, which promise an income of ten thousand gold coins, and promotion to the very highest literary degree into the bargain, to whomsoever buries his father or mother there. But no professor, even were he the incarnation of Kwan Loh or Kwoh Poh, can detect those grounds, unless set to work by such men of virtue as are appointed by the T'ien li for the enjoyment of so much bliss. Is it then to be wondered at that every man with common sense on the death of his parents applies to the best professor his purse can afford, in the hope that he may be among the number of the elect?

By so much verisimilar reasoning the popular scepticism in regard to Fung-shui and its professors is not lulled to sleep. It is encouraged by many of the best authors, and even by the government. Hardly a sixty years ago, Wu Yung-kwang, the high statesman introduced to our readers on page 753, wrote: »Its poison (viz. of »Kwoh Poh's Book of the Blue Bag, see p. 1003) subsequently »deluged the whole Empire. T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty »ordered Lü Ts'ai to publish a treatise in which geomancy was »subjected to profound criticism (comp. page 1006), but even this »measnre could not check its influence. Sons and grandsons, »misled by the talk about felicity and mishap, invited the grave »professors to search after propitious grounds, and these men »then set themselves to work, hacking and hewing into the pulses »of the earth, reasoning about forefronts and backs, and selecting »auspicious years, months, days and hours. The poor could not »afford to select any grounds at all; the rich selected them with »too much precision; and the result was that grandfathers and »fathers were cruelly left body and soul unburied under the open »sky. There were men who performed no burial during their whole »lives; nay, some people even neglected interring their dead for »many generations in succession" [1].

In the »Memoirs concerning Amoy" we read:

»The poor among the inhabitants of Amoy Island are accustomed »to bury their dead after ten or fourteen days, because their »dwellings are narrow and small. The well-to-do class, however, »have frequently an open ear for the adepts of the Blue-Raven »School [2], and all of them, the wise as well as the stupid, are

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[1] 其毒遂橫流於天下。唐太宗命呂才著論以深闢之、竟不能止。爲人子若孫者怵於禍福之說、延葬師求吉壤、剖析地脈、斟酌向背、諏選年月日時。貧者不能擇地、富者擇之太詳、於是祖父之體魄暴露中野。有終身不葬累世不葬者. *Wu hioh luh*, ch. 19, ll. 8 *seq.*

2 According to tradition, there lived under the Ts'in dynasty and in the beginning of the reign of the House of Han, a sage whose name is unknown, but who is generally styled: The Philosopher Blue Raven 青烏子. He is the reputed author of a geomantic treatise, entitled: The Blue Raven Canon 青烏經; and as he is the oldest known author on Fung-shui matters, geomancy is sometimes called: The School of the Blue Raven 青烏家. Perhaps he is a mythical

» deluded and led astray by these latter, placing full confidence » in whatever they say. These men are vulgarly called Geomancers. » The greatest confidence is placed in their indications and selec- » tions, and, moreover, much importance is attached to auspicious » years, months, days and hours; and as sundry branches of a » family usually live in discord, and each puts its trust in its » own professor, the one professor always vindicating whatever » the other rejects, it frequently comes to pass that encoffined » corpses are stored away and remain unburied. Though beginning » with a mere desire to acquire auspicious burial sites, the end » is that the interment is for many days postponed, during which » the family is gradually ruined" [1].

Likewise by reason of its constantly preventing timely burial, a very severe judgment is pronounced on Fung-shui and its professors by the present Code of Laws. Our readers may see this in two extracts given on page 133. That the high authorities for the same reason sometimes caution their subjects officially against the cobwebs of delusion, is shown by the proclamation reproduced on page 134, wherewith the Tao T'ai at Amoy in 1882 interdicted any further postponement of burials within his jurisdiction.

In spite of popular suspicion and official denunciation, parties of men, headed by a geomancer, may be seen every day in the open country, strolling about in search of favourable sites for burying the dead. The geomancer is scarcely ever allowed to do this work alone. For, as our readers know, every right principled man is pretty familiar with Fung-shui matters, as filial duty prescribes that for the sake of his parents he should be able to control the professor in his choice (see pp. 938 *seq.*). If the family be wealthy, such strolls are made several times; for, searching out a grave which must secure the welfare and fortunes of a whole family for many generations is certainly not a task to be performed in

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personage, and his book, which seems to be still extant, a spurious production of much later times. On page 997 we have stated that the authorship of the Canon of Burials is ascribed to him.

[1] 厦島人貧者十日半月卽葬、房屋窄小故也。富者往往聽青烏家言；人無知愚惑而信之。俗稱爲地師。聽其指擇、又拘年月日時、房分不齊、又各信一地師、彼善此否、往往停柩不葬。始則希圖吉穴、遷延日久、漸至門戶破落. Chapter XV.

a day, unless the family be too poor to pay the professor high wages. All the expenses entailed by such excursions have of course to be defrayed by the family. They must also procure palankeens and bearers for the professor and themselves, as walking is vulgar work, unbecoming people of distinction who possess the means of avoiding bodily fatigue.

While wise discussions are being held on the contours of the country, and the hands are continuously moved up and down and in all the directions of the compass, the party keep themselves under the shade of umbrellas of paper or silk; for around most towns scarcely a tree or shrub affords a shelter against the scorching sun, all vegetation having in course of time been radically destroyed under the direction of geomancers. Now and then the professor brings forth his compass from a linen bag hanging from his shoulder, and lying full length, or creeping on the ground, he takes the bearings by placing over his instrument a so-called *hun-kim soà*[n] [1], »thread for subtle measurement", which is a red cord, from each end of which dangles a copper coin to keep it stretched. His judgment with reference to every given spot he pronounces in a learned jargon; and though his decisions may sometimes be objected to by those who accompany him, yet they are, as a rule, received with respectful awe and superstitious dread.

At length, after the professor has pocketed many bountiful remunerations for his pains, a spot is discovered upon which good geomantic influences are concentrated to any extent, and which accordingly promises to realize the boldest wishes of the family. Many days are now lost in bargaining, through an agent or broker, with the owner of the ground. But in the end this man is prevailed upon to accept a small sum of earnest money, in exchange for which he allows the family to make an experiment as to the properties of the soil, and binds himself not to sell it to anybody else until they have declined the purchase. Without delay a small quantity of pig's bones are bought at the butcher's, and interred on the spot in a small box of wood or earthen jar. After about a year, the family exhume and examine them. If they come forth hard, dry and white, the soil is approved of, as showing that it possesses sufficient preservative power to keep the osseous remains of the dead in a good condition for a very long time to come

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[1] 分金線.

and, consequently, to attach his manes for good to the spot. A shorter experiment is to bury some duck's eggs and afterwards examine them, to see whether they dry up or rot away. Pieces of charcoal are also used, for, being hygroscopic, they soon tell whether the spot is dry enough to serve for burying purposes.

In Amoy, these proceedings are called *ìm khoàⁿ* [1], »hiding experiments", or *tᶜàm kᶜoàⁿ* [2], »sounding experiments". Should the soil be found to be bad, it is, in some cases, resolved to improve it by digging away the earth around the place where the coffin must lie, and supplying the void with earth of a better quality.

It is by no means rare that a family, after having made the experiments, consult a second professor, in order to verify the decisions of the first. In nine cases out of ten, this new marvel of wisdom with a flow of astute critical remarks contradicts everything his colleague has done, for, though Fung-shui professors are dignified in their demeanour, they are subject to the influences of professional jealousy just like the rest of mankind, and constitute by no means a mutual-admiration society. The new adviser of the family is not long in discovering, for instance, that there is a dangerous bed of stones or solid rock under the soil, through which it will be impossible for the Terrestrial Breath to break its way and reach the corpse; some diggers are set to work immediately, and no sooner do they find a couple of stones than .... everything has to be done over again from the beginning. The earnest money is lost; the outlays for the numerous excursions into the mountains have been made in vain; nor can either the payments made to the professor, or the advances he has obtained, be recovered. Even the expenses the family made to propitiate the dangerous man with dinner parties, now become a dead loss; indeed, they still bounteously regaled him many a time, for fear he should counteract their whole future destiny by putting them off with a grave entirely valueless from the geomantic point of view.

Now the new marvel in turn puts the family to expense. He borrows money of them whenever an opportunity presents itself, claims payment for every trifle of work he does, and is most likely to intrigue with the proprietor of each plot of ground he declares to answer the purposes of the family; for why should he despise his honest share in the purchase-money which he enables this man to squeeze out of the family? In short, there is probably not much

[1] 廕看. [2] 探看.

exaggeration in the assertion of the Chinese themselves that many well-to-do families, unable to restrain their passion for Fung-shui, are either ruined, or brought to the brink of poverty by geomancers.

Pending the acquisition of an auspicious grave, the deceased parent remains unburied, either in the house, or somewhere in a shed or temple. Although, as our readers know (see pp. 132 *sqq.*), public opinion decries long postponement of burial as the height of unfilialness, and both law and government threaten it with severe punishment, yet these three mighty factors combined stand powerless in the matter, and regularly every year thousands of dead are deprived of a timely burial because of the exigencies of Fung-shui. Up to a certain point this phenomenon may be explained from the circumstance that postponement of burial was a legal custom in ancient China, based on the then prevailing ideas of a resurrection [1], so that the Chinese cannot but regard it as perfectly defensible on the grounds of orthodoxy and fashion. It may be also explained from the fact that the ancients used to depose the dead for some time in their dwellings before conveying them to their last resting place, and that this custom has been transmitted to posterity by so venerable a book as the *I li*, and sanctioned by many dynasties as a legal rite of the state religion (see pp. 363 *sqq.*).

Cases of long postponement of burial have undoubtedly been numerous in China ever since Fung-shui bore sway there. Many have been entailed by the acknowledged necessity of selecting auspicious dates for burials, which custom, as our readers know, is most closely connected with the Fung-shui doctrines. We read, for instance, of Ho Siün [2], a statesman who lived in the third and the beginning of the fourth century, that »when he was »finally invested with the governorship of Wu-khang (a part of »modern Chehkiang), it was very usual among the people to bury »their dead at great expense, and there were also those who, »entertaining a superstitious dread of years and months in which »certain things ought not to be done, stored up their dead, not »committing them to the earth. These practices were forbidden by »Ho Siün once and for ever" [3]. With the object, probably, of put-

1 See our special chapter on this subject on pp. 263 *sqq.*

2 賀循.

3 最後爲武康令、俗多厚葬、及有拘忌廻避歲月、停喪不葬者。循皆禁焉. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 68, l. 15.

ting a check to the evil in question, several dynasties have formally excluded from the state-service those of their subjects who postponed the burial of their parents. It is stated that »under the »Wei dynasty and the House of Tsin, the only reason for ex»cluding a man from an official post was the fact of the corpse »of his grandfather or father being kept uncoffined or unburied" [1]. This rule prevailed also during the T'ang dynasty, for we read in the biography of Yen-chen-khing [2], who lived in the eighth century: When he held a high post in the country of Ho-tung, »there was »living there one Ching Yen-tsu, who after his mother's death had »left her corpse unburied for twenty-nine years within the walls »of a Buddhist monastery. Chen-khing reported the case to the »Throne, with this result that the said man and his brothers were »not registered among the office-bearers for thirty years, and the »whole empire was alarmed and moved" [3]. Still later, in 952, during the short-lived Cheu dynasty, the emperor T'ai Tsu [4] issued a decree, stating that »henceforth, in each case of a paternal grand»parent or parent not having been committed to the earth after his »demise, the elders of the family at the head of which he had »stood during his life, should not be entitled to solicit for official »dignity, nor would the officers already sprung from that family be »granted any promotion or transference to another post; but these »rescripts did not apply to the inferior or junior relations, nor to »the members of the family still lower in rank" [5].

Szĕ-ma Kwang, the famous statesman and ethical philosopher whose acquaintance our readers have already made elsewhere in this work (page 238), stands foremost in the ranks of those who, during the Sung dynasty, turned their sharp pen against Fung-shui, be-

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1 魏晉唯祖父不殮葬者獨不聽官. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 110, l. 8.

2 顏眞卿.

3 有鄭延祚者、母卒二十九年殯僧舍垣地。眞卿劾奏之、兄弟三十年不齒、天下聳動. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 128, l. 8; also the New Books, ch. 153, l. 8.

4 太祖.

5 今後有父母祖父母亡歿未經遷葬者其主家之長不得輒求仕進、所由司亦不得申舉解送、如是卑幼在下者不在此限. Old History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 112, l. 10.

cause it deprived so many of the dead of a decent and timely burial. In A. D. 1084 he wrote: »The people nowadays do not bury » the dead more luxuriously than they did anciently, but the im- » portance attached to the prohibitions created by the Yin-and-Yang » system has become much greater! The treatises on burial now in » circulation investigate the influences of the forms of mountains and » water-courses, rocks and fields; they examine the Branches and » kan which indicate the years, months, days and hours, considering » the low or high rank of the offspring in the social scale, their » wealth and poverty, late or early death, intelligence or stupidity » to be entirely bound up with those factors, so that burials can- » not be performed unless in such-and-such grounds and at such- » and-such times. The whole nation is bewildered by these theories » and places belief therein, in consequence of which it frequently occurs » that those who lose their parents postpone their burial for a con- » siderable time. If asked the reasons why they do so, they say: » 'Year and month are not yet propitious', or: 'We have not yet » found a felicitous plot of ground', or: 'Some of our family reside » far from here in the service of the State and have not yet found » an opportunity to come home', or: 'We are so poor that we » are not yet able to procure the requirements for the burial'. » These are the causes of there being people who do not perform one » single burial during their whole lives, nay, during many generations » in succession, in consequence of which encoffined corpses are aban- » doned and lost sight of, so that it becomes unknown where they » are. Oh! how is it possible that such things do not make a man » sigh and lament from the bottom of his heart![1].

» With a view to the life to come, a man sets great value upon » having posterity, that they may properly bury his remains. But » if his offspring act in the above way, a man is worse off than

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[1] 今人葬不厚於古、而拘於陰陽禁忌則甚矣。今之葬書乃相山川岡阜之形勢、考歲月日時之支干、以爲子孫貴賤貧富壽夭賢愚皆繫焉、非此地非此時不可葬也。舉世惑而信之、於是喪親者往往久而不葬。問之、曰、歲月未利也、又曰、未有吉地也、又曰、遊宦遠方、未得歸也、又曰、貧、未能辦葬具也。至有終身累世而不葬、遂棄失尸柩、不知其處者。嗚呼、可不令人深歎愍哉。

» if he died on the road without leaving any son or grandson, for » then some benevolent creature, on beholding him, would throw » something over his remains to hide them from view [1].

» According to the ceremonial rules enacted by the ancient sover- » eigns, the period within which their burial must take place did not » exceed seven months (see p. 264), and the present dynasty has or- » dained that every one, from the Imperial princes downwards, shall » be interred ere three months have elapsed. Those rules also demand » that the children shall not make any change in their mourning » dress before the burial, that they must eat gruel and live in sheds » built against the wall, for grief that their parents are homeless, » and that they shall gradually diminish their mourning after » the interment. But people nowadays turn a deaf ear to these rules, » and openly transgress the rescripts. They put off their mourning » dress ere the burial is over, occupy official posts in any part of » the realm, eat rice, dress in ornamented garments, drink spirits » and make music. Can their hearts be at ease when they do so? [2]

» The social standing of any man, his wealth and the length of » his life depend on the heavens, and his mental development on » himself; but these matters stand in no connection whatever with » burials, nor are they pre-influenced thereby. If nevertheless every- » body follows the advice of burial professors, mankind must come » to suffer under a concurrence of events entailing grief and misery. » And how is it to be borne that people do not refrain from » cruelly exposing their parents to wind and weather, merely for » the purpose of establishing their own wealth and fortunes? [3]

» Formerly, when my own forefathers were buried, my family

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[1] 人所貴於身後有子孫者、爲能藏其形骸也。其所爲乃如是、曷若無子孫死於道路、猶有仁者見而殣之耶。

[2] 先王制禮葬期遠不過七月、今世著令自王公以下皆三月而葬。又禮未葬不變服、食粥、居倚廬、哀親之未有所歸也、既葬然後漸有除變。今之人背禮違法。未葬而除喪、從宦四方、食稻、衣錦、飲酒、作樂。其心安乎。

[3] 人之貴賤貧富壽夭繫於天、賢愚繫於人、固無關預於葬。就使皆如葬師之言、爲人子者方

» were too poor to procure proper vaults and coffins, and they did » not use these until one of them was raised to the dignity of » Generalissimo. Not the slightest quantity of gold, silver, pearls » or jade was ever placed in their graves. When the Generalissimo » was to be buried, my clansmen unanimously said: 'A burial is » an occurrence of great significance in a family; may we therefore » abstain from consulting geomancy? Certainly not!' My elder » brother Poh-khang was compelled to comply with their desires, » and said: 'I assent to advising with geomancy; but where shall » we find a good burial professor to consult?' Upon which a » clansman replied: 'In the village close by there lives one Chang, » a clever professor, employed by everybody in several districts'. » My brother called this man and promised him twenty thousand » copper coins. On hearing him mention such a sum, the geomancer » was greatly delighted, for he was a simple rustic, and the geo- » mancers being at that time looked down upon by the people as » mere rustics, he had never received more than a thousand coppers » for a burial. Still my brother said: 'I will entrust you with the » burial on condition that you follow my instructions; otherwise I » shall employ another professor'. 'I will do nothing else but what » you order me', was the reply. [1]

» My brother himself now selected such a burial place as pleased » himself best, fixed the month, year, day and hour of the inter- » ment, the depth and dimensions of the grave, and the road along » which the procession should pass, making everything agree in the

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當哀窮之際。何忍不顧其親之暴露、乃欲自營福利耶。

[1] 昔者吾諸祖之葬也家甚貧、不能具槨棺、自太尉公而下始有棺槨。然金銀珠玉之物未嘗以錙銖入於壙中。將葬太尉公、族人皆曰、葬者家之大事、奈何不詢陰陽、此必不可。吾兄伯康無如之何、乃曰、詢于陰陽則可矣、安得良葬師而詢之。族人曰、近村有張生者、良師也、數縣皆用之。兄乃召張生、許以錢二萬。張生野夫也、世爲葬師爲野人、葬所得不過千錢、聞之大喜。兄曰、汝能用吾言吾俾爾葬、不用吾言將求他師。張師曰、唯命是聽。

» best way with the circumstances. He then ordered Mr. Chang to » control his work with the help of his books of burial, and the » man declared everything to be highly felicitous. Which, being » communicated to the clansmen, filled them all with delight, none » of them raising objections or expressing any other opinion [1].

» (In spite of all this), my brother is now seventy-nine years » old, and his official career has raised him up to the dignity of » Minister of State. And I am now sixty-six and, though unworthy » of the honour, I am invested with the dignity of minister in » immediate attendance upon the Emperor; moreover, twenty three » clansmen of mine are office-bearers. And now behold how people » who carefully employ the books of burial, are unable to surpass » my family! Two years ago my wife died. No sooner was her » coffin made than we placed her in it; no sooner were the » preparatives finished than we carried her away; no sooner was » her grave dug than we buried her, nor did we waste a single » word in consulting an expert in Fung-shui matters. And yet, » nothing infelicitous has up to the present befallen me, unless by » other palpable causes. Geomancers have founded false systems with » which they delude the multitude; they cause woe and misery » to prevail for many generations in families which are visited by » death. But still worse, the proposal lately made by me to the » Throne in my capacity of a Censor, to the effect that the books of » burial in the Empire should be forbidden, has not been agreed » with by any of those who hold power under the government! » This disquisition is made by me, in the hopes that sons and » grandsons may in future bury their dead at the proper time. If » they wish to learn that the requisites for burial need not be » costly, let them consider what has found place with *my* forefathers; » and if they desire a proof that the books of burial deserve no » belief, show them what has occurred in *my* family!" [2]

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[1] 於是兄自以已意處歲月日時、及壙之深淺廣狹、道路所從出、皆取便於事者。使張生以葬書緣飾之、曰大吉。以示族人、皆悅、無違異者。

[2] 今吾兄年七十九、以列卿致仕。吾年六十六、忝備侍從、宗族之從仕者二十有三人。視他人之謹用葬書未必勝吾家也。前年吾妻死。棺成而斂、裝辦而行、壙成而葬、未嘗以一言詢陰陽

In another piece from his hand, Szĕ-ma Kwang laments over the same subject in a somewhat different key. »The people, placing »trust in the gossip of burial professors, are wont to seek for good »influences from the forms and contours of mountains and water-»courses even after they have selected felicitous years, months, »days and hours for the burial, considering the wealth and social »position of their sons and grandsons, their mental faculties and »the length of their lives to depend thereon in all respects. But »there prevails so much diversity of opinion among those proficients, »and they confuse matters by their quarrelsome discussions to such »an extent, that no decision can be arrived at with regard to a »date for the burial, so that some people do not bury any of their »dead during their whole lives, nay, during several generations. »It also occurs that the offspring do not bury their dead because »a decadence of their fortunes causes them to forget or lose sight of »the place where they have cast away the remains. Supposing for a »moment that burials could virtually render man happy and pros-»perous, would it even then be tolerable that sons and grandsons »should cruelly leave the decaying remains of their nearest relations »exposed to the open sky, with the object of reaping profit for »themselves? Such acts are the worst sins against the rites, the »worst violations of human duty that can be.

»The sorrowful resentment a bereaved filial son bears in his »heart is profound, and his grief extends far. Hence he fears »that, if he does not bury the remains deep enough, others will »exhume them, and that, if he places them too deep in the ground, »they will become wet and moulder away quickly. Consequently, »he certainly searches out a place where the earth lies thick and »the water is deep beneath the ground, and there he buries the »corpse; in this respect he must certainly select a proper place" [1].

家。迄今亦無他故吾嘗疾。陰陽家立邪說以惑衆、爲世患於喪家。尤甚、頃爲諫官嘗奏乞禁天下葬書、當時執政莫以爲意。今著茲論、庶俾後之子孫葬必以時。欲知葬具之不必厚、視吾祖、欲知葬書不足信、視吾家. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, ch. 97.

[1] 世俗信葬師之說、既擇年月日時又擇山水形勢、以爲子孫貧富貴賤賢愚壽夭盡係於此。

When Szĕ-ma Kwang thus tried his wits upon improving the customs of the nation at a time when the ascendency of his authority and influence had reached its height, the ruling Son of Heaven was endeavouring to put a stop to the postponement of burials by sterner measures. »In the fifth year of the period Yuen fung »(1082) he decreed that those who did not bury their dead relations »without postponement, should be banished for two years, and »that those who retained such men in official employ should »incur punishment" [1]. About the same time, thus the Histories of that time recount, one Wang Tszĕ-shao [2], a functionary in Hunan of very high position, »was denounced by the censor Chang »Shang-ying for not having buried his parents, and he was dis»missed from his office on account thereof" [3]. A few years later, »Liu Ping, who, while in charge of the government of Ch'en»cheu, had with his younger brother Hwan been raised to the »dignity of Minister in immediate attendance on the Throne, was »deprived of this dignity as a punishment for not having buried his »deceased parents, and dismissed from his prefectship" [4].

The Ming dynasty likewise decreed that punishments should be inflicted upon those who rendered themselves guilty of such execrable deeds. »In the fifth year of the period Hung wu (A. D. »1372) it was decreed by the emperor that, whereas there were

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而其爲術又多不同、爭論紛紜、無時可決、至有終身不葬、累世不葬。或子孫衰替、忘失處所棄捐不葬者。正使殯葬實能致禍福、爲子孫者亦豈忍使其親臭腐暴露而自求其利耶。悖禮傷義莫甚於此。

然孝子之心慮患深遠。恐淺則爲人所掘、深則濕潤速朽。故必求土厚水深之地而葬之、所以不可不擇也. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, ch. 92 and 63.

[1] 元豐五年詔不即隨葬者徒二年、因而行用者罪之. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 124, l. 15.

[2] 王子韶.

[3] 御史張商英劾其不葬父母、貶. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 329, l. 18.

[4] 劉昺知陳州、昺與弟煥皆侍從、而親喪不葬、坐奪職、罷郡. The same work, ch. 356, l. 8.

» often people who, led astray by Fung-shui, left encoffined corpses » unburied for more than a year, not setting them at rest in a » grave, the ministers in the departments of the central government » should meet in council and draw up a law against this evil; this » law should be everywhere promulgated and properly observed, » and punishments be pronounced against those who should pre- » sume to violate it" [1]. This decree was duly obeyed, for we find an article in the Code of the Ming dynasty, threatening with eighty blows with the long stick those who, led astray by Fung-shui, kept a corpse unburied for longer than a year [2]. It is worded exactly like that of the present Code of Laws, which we have cited on page 133, so that the now reigning dynasty has simply copied it. As we have stated on the same page, it has little practical effect on the evil, as written laws in China are generally a dead letter, unless it suits the mandarins to put them in force for the maintenance of their authority and that of their Imperial master.

Much time is lost in seeking a grave especially when the dead man leaves many children. Our readers know from pp. 964 *seq.* that six of the k w a are identified by the *Yih king* both with six points of the compass and with sons and daughters. Consequently, the fortunes of all the members of a family cannot be insured by the grave of their father or mother unless the forms and contours of the surroundings are perfect on six sides thereof; and as such a perfect sepulchre is hardly ever to be acquired, even by the ablest professors, it follows that some of the children are excluded from the benefits yielded by the grave. It is unnecessary to say this gives rise to domestic discord, especially when the children thereby prejudiced are the offspring of a jealous second wife or of concubines, for these women instigate the dear fruits of their loins not to stoop to such wrong, but rather to oppose it vigorously to the end. Happily, family quarrels arising from such Fung-shui questions are moderated to some extent by the fact that the interests of the daughters are little attended to, they being destined to enter another clan by marriage, after which their own fate

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1 洪武五年詔、有惑於風水、停柩經年、不行安葬、宜令中書省臣集議定制、頒行遵守、違者論罪. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 22. See also ch. 2, l. 9.

2 See the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, chapter 129, l. 9.

and that of their children will be entirely bound up with the graves of their parents-in-law.

The theory that a grave can seldom send forth blessings to all the sons equally, is one of the grandest inventions of geomantic sages. It safeguards their system from some of the most dangerous attacks of scepticists, as it imposes immediate silence upon all those who might ask: »Showers of blessings descend upon my brother's house because, as the professors say, the position of our father's grave is extremely felicitous; why then am I, though likewise his son, overwhelmed by poverty and misfortune?" Remarks of this sort are readily disarmed also by the following argument: »That the one brother is poor and the other is rich, is simply a consequence of the latter's neglecting to give the former his fair share in the profits the grave produces him. To share those profits with his brother is his moral duty; but instead of fulfilling his duty, he keeps everything for himself, even at the risk of ruining his own fortunes, for he is thus stupidly amassing a store of demerit by which the indignation of the T'ien li will be aroused in the end. They will inevitably punish him by withdrawing their protecting hands from the grave, and so cause its Fung-shui to flow away, which will render him poorer than he ever was before".

The doctrine that a grave may yield great profits to one member of a family without advantaging the others, is by no means a modern invention. Already in the histories of the emperor Wu [1] of the Liang dynasty we read:

» When the lady Ting, the emperor's concubine of the first » rank, had breathed her last, the heir-apparent (her son) had dele- » gated some men to find a propitious place to bury her in. When » they were about to cut away the plants and shrubs from that » spot, some individual who had a plot of ground for sale tried to » sell it through the medium of the eunuch Yü San-fu, promising » him one million if he managed to get three millions for it. » San-fu secretly applied to the emperor, telling him that the » ground the heir-apparent had secured could by no means ensure » the imperial felicity to the same degree as the plot he himself » had now found. The emperor who, being in the last years of his » life, entertained sundry superstitious fears, gave him orders to » purchase it.

» After the corpse had been buried in it, a Taoist priest, versed

[1] 武帝. A. D. 502—549.

» in the discovery of felicitous graves, declared: 'This grave shall » not profit the heir-apparent, but the sphere of its good influences » may perhaps be widened by certain repressive measures". So he » made a goose of wax, and with some other things buried it at » the side of the grave, at the point of the compass corresponding » to the eldest son.

» At that time there were two Palace Inspectors, Pao Moh-chi » and Wei Ya, formerly in high favour with the heir-apparent. Moh- » chi having espied what had happened, he apprized Ya of it, and » privately told the emperor that this latter was the man who » had thus suppressed the felicity of the spot on behalf of the heir- » apparent. On this, the emperor secretly dispatched somebody to dig » up the earth and see whether the affair was real, and the goose and » the other things were actually found. Much frightened, the em- » peror would have the matter thoroughly investigated; but Sü Mien » firmly withheld him from any such measures, and the priest alone » was put to death. To the heir-apparent the business was a cause » of deep remorse to the end of his days, and the consequences » were that his offspring never occupied the throne" [1].

We read also in the biography of a certain Wen Ta-ya [2], a high statesman and the corypheus of filial conduct and fraternal devotion who lived in the first part of the seventh century: » When » he transferred the remains of his grandfather to another grave, » a diviner who calculated the properties of the spot said: 'It

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[1] 初丁貴嬪薨、太子遣人求得善墓地。將斬草、有賣地者因閽人俞三副求市、若得三百萬許以百萬與之。三副密啓武帝、言太子所得地不如今所得地於帝吉。帝末年多忌、便命市之。

葬畢、有道士善圖墓、云地不利長子、若厭伏或可申延。乃爲蠟鵝及諸物埋墓側長子位。

有宮監鮑邈之魏雅者二人、初並爲太子所愛。邈之晚見、疎於雅、密啓武帝云雅爲太子厭禱。帝密遣檢掘、果得鵝等物。大驚、將窮其事、徐勉固諫得止、於是唯誅道士。由是太子迄終以此慙懼、故其嗣不立. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 53, ll. 6 *seq.*

[2] 温大雅.

» will be felicitous for your younger brother, but of no advantage » to yourself; what do you intend to do?' 'Should your prophecy » be realised', was the reply, 'I will enter the ground with a smile » on my lips'. After that year had elapsed, he died" [1].

From what has been adduced in the foregoing pages it is sufficiently manifest that the possession of sons and money is not an unmitigated blessing, for the consequences may be fatal to a Chinaman after his death. Indeed, if each son is anxious to secure through his father's grave his own fortunes in particular, and money enough has been left them to provide what they believe to be a perfect Fung-shui, discord arises, whereby the burial of the old man is postponed for months and years, to the prejudice of his manes. No wonder therefore that many a well-to-do father, if blessed with numerous sons, endeavours to elude this calamity by having his grave made during his lifetime, with the observation of all the rules of geomantic science.

This custom may be placed on a level with that of procuring, during life, one's own grave clothes and coffin. It saves many a poor soul from the gloomy fate of hovering about in the other world as a homeless paria, an outcast without a shelter into which it can retire from the evils and nuisances of the spirit world. Moreover, it is considered very grand in this present life to possess one's own grave, especially if it has been built by the care of the sons under the guise of filial devotion.

A grave made during the life of the person who is to occupy it, is called in Amoy a *siū hík* [2], »longevity region". This term owes its origin to the same idea as »longevity garments" and »longevity boards or longevity wood", which are terms respectively denoting grave clothes and coffins made before death (see pp. 61 and 323).

To prepare one's own grave during life is a custom of very ancient date. The emperor Shi Hwang started the works for his mausoleum shortly after his accession to the throne (see page 399), and the same line of conduct was followed by the sovereigns of the Han dynasty (page 423), for which reason their sepulchres are often denoted in the annals of their reign as »longevity mausolea" [3].

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[1] 改葬其祖、卜人占其地曰、弟則吉、不利於君、若何。大雅曰、如子言我含笑入地矣。歲餘卒. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 91, l. 1. Also the Old Books of that House, ch. 61, l. 1.

[2] 壽域.

[3] 壽陵.

That the custom was then in vogue among the official class also, is proved by the Histories of that epoch, which relate that the grandee »Heu Lan, having on the death of his mother in the »second year of the period Kien ning (A. D. 169) returned »home and there built a large sepulchre, the Judge of the Circuit, »Chang Kien, impeached him in a memorial addressed to the Throne »of having prepared for himself a longevity sepulchre with a vault »of stone, a gate with two entrances, and high side buildings of »a hundred feet"[1]. And of the minister Chao Khi[2] we read: »In »the sixth year of the period Kien ngan (A. D. 201) he died, »having previously built a longevity tomb for himself"[3]. Also after the Han dynasty instances of this same custom are regularly recorded. So, for instance, at a time corresponding to about the year 480 after the Christian era, a high office-bearer, named »Ch'en T'ien-fuh ordered his family to build a longevity tomb for him"[4].

Never have geomancers such a grand opportunity of showing off their ability and astuteness as when a *siū hík* is being made. There is then plenty of time for the family to consult any number of them and to admire that display of profound learning wherewith each of them can frustrate what the other has projected and executed. Of course in the end the one is chosen who manifests more erudition than all the others by uttering ambiguous nonsense and at the same time shows a good deal of deference to the views expressed by the male and female members of the family, who, indeed, feel sure they know all about the art. An experiment with pig's bones having produced good results, the grave is finished under the auspices of that wisest of the wise, the tumulus made, and an inscribed grave stone erected in front of it. If the *materfamilias* be still alive, a sepulchre is in general at the same time made for her on the right hand side, the left appertaining to her husband, as it is considered the place of honour, both in life and death.

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[1] 侯覽建寧二年喪母還家、大起塋冢、督郵張儉因舉奏覽豫作壽冢石椁雙闕高廡百尺. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 108, l. 14.

[2] 趙岐.

[3] 建安六年卒、先自爲壽藏. The same work, ch. 94, l. 19.

[4] 陳天福令家人豫作壽冢 History of the South of the Realm, ch. 22, l. 17.

When the grave is ready, it is necessary to prevent it from emitting influences of untimely death over its future occupant. To this end, a piece of red paper is pasted over his name which is carved in the grave stone. This sheet need not be replaced by a new one after time and rain have destroyed it, the influences of the grave, geomancers say, having by that time blended harmoniously with those of the Universe and, so to say, become one with it, thereby losing their dangerous character. Now the old man feels perfectly at ease, and greatly enjoys the happy prospect of being committed to the earth with promptitude after his death. The sons too cheerfully await the future and the wealth and fortune it is sure to bring them. Still, in many cases, everything goes wrong. Unrelenting, insidious death may strike the old man in a year when the line in which his grave is made is not felicitous, thus enforcing a long delay of the burial; or — and this is much worse — the professor under whose auspices and directions the grave has been made, may in the mean time have departed this life or removed to another part of the country, and his colleague, whom the family intrust with the burial, will tell them the Fung-shui is not worth a brass farthing. Struck with consternation, the men give vent to their sorrowful resentment in hot discussions, the women by loud vociferations and utterances of wrath; but as this does not remedy the evil, the coffin is kept at home and another burial site sought for. The *siū hík*, so dearly paid for, is sold to others, or employed to bury a slave or unmarried daughter in, or a person who has no offspring desirous of deriving profit from his earthly resting place.

Of course not every *siū hík* turns out such an unlucky business; otherwise people would long ago have given up making them.

Fung-shui often preventing people from burying their parents with suitable promptitude, it becomes a great nuisance especially to those who cannot afford to buy coffins good and substantial enough to permit of their keeping them in the house without suffering from the nauseous smell. In the island of Amoy, such families, as also those who, desirous of escaping the blame of unfilialness, will not adjourn burials, but neither wish to give up their chances of deriving profit from the graves through the intermedium of Fung-shui, often have recourse to a provisory interment, which they call *t'ao tâi* [1] or *t'ao tsōng* [2], »a stealthy or

[1] 偷埋. [2] 偷葬.

clandestine burial". Under escort of a plain funeral cortege, they take the coffin into the mountains or into the open country, depose it somewhere on the ground and cover it with earth, without having the properties of the spot examined by a Fung-shui expert; neither do they erect a grave stone, thereby indicating that the coffin is not there in a definite grave, but is to be removed afterwards to a resting place under propitious geomantic influences. Now it may occur that, ere the new grave is found, the family begins to prosper. Such unexpected bliss can, of course, only be ascribed to the good Fung-shui of the provisory grave. They laugh in their sleeve because the great lot in the lottery of life has become theirs by pure accident or undreamt-of merits of their own or their ancestors; and now they are certain not to transfer the corpse, nor do they convert the spot into a sepulchre worthy of the dead man, for fear the Fung-shui, sensitive as it is, might be splintered asunder by a false blow with a hoe, or be dispelled for ever by one single brick applied in the wrong place. Thus the dead man is forced to live, like a pauper, in a miserable dwelling, unworthy of his rank and station. But this causes no qualms of conscience, for the blessings he bestows upon his family are strong proofs that he feels himself perfectly happy and comfortable where he is.

Though the poorer classes cannot, of course, afford great outlays for their dead, yet they seldom neglect consulting a Fung-shui expert when they have to bury their father or mother. This man does not take long to find a suitable site when he knows there is not much money to be made out of his patrons; and he has quite a stock of second-rate plots in store for them, which he constantly increases when in search of good burial places for the rich. The poor know very well that they can hope to buy but little Fung-shui for the small sums they are able to pay. Hence they are moderate in their demands, merely seeking graves that are screened from the worst æolian influences and located on a slope which is not unfavourably situated; and they employ a professor specially to insure the placing of the coffin in the grave in the felicitous line of the current year.

As hinted above, the Fung-shui of even the best grave or dwelling is considered to be a fragile combination of imaginary influences fitting into and acting upon each other like the different parts of a machine, the slightest defect in which may bring the whole to a standstill. It is no small boon to the professors that such ideas prevail. Indeed, Fung-shui being of such a delicate nature,

no man, however economical or avaricious he be, is bold enough to dispense with the guidance of an expert; and this ensures them an everflowing source of income. Besides, Fung-shui being so easily disturbed, professors have always a ready excuse at hand if their prophecies are not realized: — the Fung-shui they say, was perfect at the outset, but it has been »wounded" by some accident, or by some malicious act of a bad neighbour.

Such wounds may be inflicted by a mere trifle. A stone carelessly thrown away, or set up somewhere in the neighbourhood by a person wishing to improve the Fung-shui of a grave of his; the erection of a stone boundary mark; the building of a hut or shed at some distance from the grave or on a visible mountain brow; in short, anything may prove fatal. But nothing is so perilous for a grave as the construction of another grave in the adjacent grounds. In general it is the professor who discovers the impending danger. He does not delay for a moment to open the eyes of the family to the sorrowful fact that the new grave will intercept the influences of a water-course, or that, being made higher up, just in the pulse through which the beneficial influences of the tail or leg of the Tiger or Dragon hitherto used to flow, it »cuts off their effective operation": chan ling[1]. At the same time he convinces the family that only prompt and severe measures can heal the wound, and that, if these be not at once taken, the beneficient Animal will bleed to death and the Fung-shui be for ever destroyed.

Therefore everybody sets to work immediately. Negotiations are opened with the owners of the murderous grave, but without any good result, as they zealously stick to their good right of retaining a spot obtained at the cost of much science and money. Geomantic measures satisfactory for both parties are hardly possible, for what is good for the one grave is generally pernicious to the other, and the learned combinations of factors to which both must answer almost inevitably collide. Hard coin may perhaps lead to a better result. But the suffering party as a rule rebounds from the high demands of the other, who is certain to demand an excessive sum, especially if any of them are graduates or rich and influential men who, being on good terms with the local mandarins, feel sure of gaining their cause if the offended party should invoke the intervention of these latter to redress the wrong. In such cases nothing remains for the family but to beat a humble

[1] 斬靈.

retreat. Making a virtue of necessity, they gulp down the wrong and let things remain as they were, resolving, however, to remove their grave as soon as any decadence in their fortunes reminds them they cannot expect any more blessings from the wounded Fung-shui.

But, should the two parties possess an equal, or nearly equal, amount of social influence, or have no influence at all, a complaint is soon lodged with the chief local magistrate. Our readers might doubtless suppose that this worthy will simply dismiss the case, written law and the Government, as we have stated on page 1017, having denounced modern Fung-shui in contemptuous terms as a farrago of nonsense, and its professors as a set of deluders. However, in respect of geomancy, theory and practice in China are two different things, for should a mandarin refuse to hear such cases, his secretaries, constables, policemen and other hangers-on would be deprived of many a nice opportunity of making money in an easy way. These underlings by leaving the accusation unattended to after it has been entered, compell the plaintiff, who is anxious to save his Fung-shui from impendent death by loss of blood, to bribe them to make haste; but however hard this may render his lot, that of the defendant is still harder. If he has any money to lose, he lives in constant fear of being taken into custody, for the common people, though ever so innocent, are always liable to immediate imprisonment if an accusation has been lodged against them with the authorities. And as the Yamen officials take good care to remind the defendant of this danger, he fees them liberally, and fees them over and over again. And yet all these fees are not always sufficient to secure him from a terrible dungeon, a very hell of cold, filth, starvation and torment.

Not until they have wrung the last penny out of their victims do these underlings arouse the magistrate from his lethargy. He is then carried in state to the graves in his official palankeen, escorted by his usual attendance of soldiers, retainers, and lictors. Arrived at the spot, maps of the locality, put in by the plaintiff, are unrolled and collated with the deeds of sale of the property; with a dignified air the mandarin surveys the country, and mostly he is in a few moments convinced that his subordinates were quite justified in persuading him that the party which paid them best is in the right. Otherwise judgment is usually given in favour of the plaintiff; but many mandarins obstinately refuse to do this when the distance between the two graves exceeds a certain number of

paces beyond which they believe no serious damage to the Fung-shui of a grave is possible. Still, most of the magistrates are imbued with too much respect for the noble geomantic art to decide grave questions in such an off-hand easy way.

Such a »Fung-shui inspection" or *khàm hong-suí*[1], as the Amoy Chinese call it, has of course to be defrayed by the party on whose behalf it is made. A good sum is squeezed out of them for the men who have accompanied the magistrate and carried his sedan-chair. Furthermore, the same party have to offer refreshments and delicacies to the great man while making his inspection, and to spread a piece of red cloth over the top of his palankeen, in order to protect him from noxious influences, which cloth is retained (comp. pp. 97 and 219). Last, but not least, they must send him a sum of money, together with a selection of costly presents, lest their ship should be wrecked, in sight of the harbour, by the mandarin ultimately changing his mind in favour of the other party.

It follows from the above that poor people, the Fung-shui of whose graves has been disturbed, have to gulp down the wrong in silence. The Amoy Chinese are quite right when they say:

Gê-mn̂g pat dzī khai,
Bó tsíⁿ m̄ sái lái[2],

which means: »Mandarins' offices stand open quite as wide as the character 八 (eight); but those who have no money need not enter".

The abuse of litigation by petty officials for money-extorting purposes is very common in China, and is systematically tolerated in all cases, both criminal and civil. We say systematically; for, whereas the Government, as our readers know (see page 541), acts on the principle that each individual or family should have their affairs regulated by their own clan and not trouble the higher authorities with them, those who are imprudent enough to call for interference may expect to suffer, and chiefly in their pockets. This method is very practical in the moral education of the people, teaching them to be mild and forbearing, and to avoid litigation. Mandarins are sometimes honest enough to issue proclamations in which those evils entailed by litigation are depicted in striking colours, thus openly confessing that extortions by police-officers and clerks are as a matter of course inseparably connected with lawsuits.

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[1] 勘風水.

[2] 衙門八字開、無錢無使來.

Much strife and contention about graves is created by the foul intrigues and frauds of certain brokers, who derive a livelihood from assisting people in acquiring suitable grave grounds. These men possess, or are deemed to possess, a thorough knowledge of the localities where eligible burial sites can be had, and they know better than anybody else who the owners are, and the conditions on which they are inclined to sell. At Amoy, the people denote them by the not very flattering terms of *soaⁿ-kúi* [1], »mountain spectres", and *soaⁿ ka-tsoáh* [2], »mountain cockroaches", in allusion to their haunting graves like ghosts, and ruminaging every spot and recess in the open country like cockroaches in a house. When such a grave broker is applied to by a client, the latter is taken out to see the merchandize; and the broker's chief business is to ask the highest possible price and to prevail upon the owners to sell cheap, quietly pocketing the difference. As is the custom with brokers generally in China, the mountain cockroach settles the transaction without allowing the buyer and vendor to see each other, or even to know each other's name. For the sake of his own purse he lives on very friendly terms with all the Fung-shui professors in the district, these worthies being able to assist him greatly in the sale of any grounds by declaring for a fee that the geomantic influences under which they are situated are good, nay, exquisite.

The cockroaches are generally represented by the people as a reckless set, little less delicate in their choice of means for making money than thieves and robbers. It is chiefly they who commit frauds like those which are provided for in the fourth and fifth supplementary articles of the Law on Burial (pp. 878 *sqq.*). They seek their victims especially among those who have not money or influence enough to gain the ear of the magistrates, should they apply to them for a redress of grievances. One of their most common tricks is the following. Within the borders of a grave of such a family the broker stealthily makes a grave mound scarcely visible. When the family perceive it, they dare not remove it, for fear the wicked unknown who has made it should be cruel enough to denounce them as grave robbers and thus bring upon them all the woes which an accusation, whether false or not, generally entails. The family having now given proof of its lack of power and influence by

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[1] 山鬼. [2] 山○○.

not reporting the matter to the authorities, after a couple of years the broker sells the mock grave to a third party, telling them that it is his legal property, from which he has for some reason or other removed the bones. Up to this point all goes well. But no sooner do the purchasers proceed to burying their dead, than the real owners sally forth to interfere. A scene ensues such as we have described on page 128; quarrels, contentions and litigation follow. In most cases, however, both parties have the good sense not to commence a suit, and the legal owners are prevailed upon to give up their claim to the disputed ground for a small sum paid to them by the broker, who, of course, is most interested in hushing the matter up as quickly as possible.

With a view to check practices of this sort, pious people, anxious to keep the moral condition of their countrymen up to the highest possible level, sometimes erect slabs or small columns of granite in the grounds where people are wont to bury their dead, engraven with this inscription: »If thou desirest to find the beneficial influences of the earth (Ti li), then first gain those of the heavens (T'ien li)" [1], which can only be done by the cultivation of virtues (p. 1013).

In many other ways mountain-cockroaches cause serious grave questions to arise. Such worthies, not considering it beneath their dignity to misappropriate other people's grave grounds and sell them, can, of course, have no qualms of conscience about selling grounds which, when converted into graves, entirely disturb the Fung-shui of other sepulchres. Neither will they shrink from misleading the buyers so as to cause them to build their omega-shaped fence over the grave of another, thus inflicting a mortal blow upon the Fung-shui of such a grave, or a dagger stroke which causes an incurable wound. This stirs up the indignation of the owners to the highest pitch. If they have not money or influence enough to place the matter in the hands of the magistrates, and their remonstrances and threats remain without effect, they cool their anger under the cover of night by knocking to pieces the inscribed stone of the grave belonging to the encroachers, which stone is considered the place in which the geomantic influences are chiefly concentrated, and, moreover, the seat of the manes of the occupant of the grave. The next night they find their own grave

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[1] 要求地理、先求天理.

treated in a like manner, the tumulus damaged with hoes and spades, nay, the coffin opened and the corpse mutilated; and now everything is ripe for a feud, each party, backed by their clan, thirsting for revenge. In the country, such feuds generally entail the desecration of several more graves, open fights, destruction of crops and incendiarism. Men, women and children are waylaid and entrapped, captured and maltreated, or held as hostages, either to be redeemed for money or exchanged; in short, civil war, which is always smouldering in China, breaks out in the locality with all its disastrous consequences.

When matters have reached such a pitch, the mandarins sometimes resort to rigorous measures. Soldiers are quartered in both villages and soon restore order by extorting money and food from the inhabitants so mercilessly that within a few weeks not a bushel of rice, nor a handful of coppers is to be found in either of the villages. While everything of value is thus being eaten up, carried off or gambled away by the peacemakers, the magistrate paternally corrects those who have taken an active part in the desecration of the graves, by making a liberal use of sticks both long and short, punishing some, if he deems it fit, with the utmost rigour of the Burial Law.

Social life not having undergone any radical change in China since culture was established there, we have no reason to suppose that conflicts about graves necessitating the interference of the authorities are exclusively peculiar to modern times. The passage in the *Cheu li*, which we have reproduced on page 830, gives evidence that already in the pre-Christian epoch certain Great officers were appointed to attend to litigations of this kind and to settle them by a judicial decision. That they have sometimes assumed enormous proportions is proved by the History of the Sung Dynasty, according to which, in the thirteenth century, one »Lü Hang in »the capacity of prefect of Wu-cheu managed to settle by judicial »dicision a suit which had been pending about some fields for »forty-two years between Mr. Chu and a certain Chang, and also »a contention about graves which had lasted twenty-nine years »between two gentlemen of the surnames of Wu and Wang"[1].

Hostilities between clans or villages not seldom arise from a

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[1] 呂沆通判婺州朱君章訟爭田四十有二年、吳王府爭墓二十有九年、沆皆決之. Chapter 407, l. 21.

disarrangement of the Fung-shui of an extensive tract of country. A slight alteration made in the course of a brook for agricultural or other purposes; the modification of the brow of a hill or the outlines of a rock by the erection of a house or shed; in short, any little trifle may seriously disturb the Fung-shui of villages or valleys, which is usually evinced by a decadence of their prosperity, bad crops, calamities etc. Attacks upon the Fung-shui of a landscape are often made for malignant purposes. There are instances on record of the whole male population of a village having worked hard for several days to destroy the felicity of a hated neighbour by digging away a knoll, levelling down an eminence, or amputating a limb from a Dragon or Tiger.

Quarrels and litigation arising from Fung-shui questions are of daily occurrence in towns. The repairing of a house, the building of a wall or dwelling, especially it it overtops its surroundings, the planting of a pole or cutting down of a tree, in short, any change in the ordinary position of objects may disturb the Fung-shui of the houses and temples in the vicinity and of the whole quarter, and cause the people to be visited by disasters, misery and death. Should any one suddenly fall ill or die, his kindred are immediately ready to impute the cause to somebody who has ventured to make a change in the established order of things, or has made an improvement in his own property, which he had a perfect right to do. Instances are by no means rare of their having stormed his house, demolished his furniture, assailed his person; sometimes they place the corpse in his bed, with the object of extorting money and avenging themselves by introducing the influences of death into his house (comp. pp. 840 *sqq.*). No wonder Chinamen do not repair their houses until they are ready to fall and become uninhabitable.

Fortunately much animosity and contention is prevented from the circumstance that Fung-shui, when disturbed, can be restored in various ways. Professors, if consulted in time, are generally able to suggest some remedy. When a dwelling house is endangered, they usually order the erection of certain fences capable of keeping off or absorbing the shah which are, they think, encroaching upon the good geomantic influences. Among such fences, slabs of granite inscribed with the sentence: »This stone dares bear them" [1], are considered the best, if placed at a proper spot on the premises,

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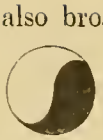
[1] 石敢當.

or inserted in the outer-wall. Very efficacious are also broad boards with the eight kwa, painted around the figure  which is the common representation of the Yang and the Yin constituting unitedly the T'ai Kih or first creative power in the Universe (see page 960); such a board should be placed like a screen in the pathway leading up to the house. Other devices are, to place in front of the house, or on the top of the roof, dragons or lion-like animals of stone or burnt clay; or to nail down over the main entrance, or at each corner on the outside of the house, a square board with a tiger or a tiger's head daubed thereon. But this is leading us into the domain of amulets and talismans, which will be treated of in our Second Book.

In a paper read in 1867 at the Missionary Quarterly Meeting in Shanghai, the Rev. Mr. Yates relates the following interesting instance of the correction of the Fung-shui of a mansion. »During » the time the rebels occupied the city of Shanghai, the Yamen of » the district magistrate was destroyed. A short time previous to » this a magistrate had died, and his death was attributed by the » Fung-shui professor to my church tower, which was due North » of the Yamen. It must be borne in mind that the influence of » Fung-shui, when undisturbed, proceeds in a line due North and » South. When the rebels left the city, and the local authorities » were about to resume their old positions, they sent to me a » deputation to consult in regard to pulling down my church tower, » stating as a reason that it had been the cause of one magistrate's » death, and consequently no one was willing to serve while thus » exposed. My proposition to discuss the matter with the mandarins » was declined. Application was then made to high authorities for » the privilege of moving the Yamen to some other part of the city. » This was not granted. Finding it must be rebuilt on the exposed » lot, they called many Fung-shui professors and priests to devise » some means of counteracting the evil to which the place was » exposed. All, at first view, pronounced the position bad.

»After a few days consultation and feasting, one astute fellow » was able to exclaim, in language equivalent to 'eureka, eureka': » 'Nothing could be more simple; build the Yamen on the old » plot, but do not place it due North and South. Thus, as the » murderous spirit proceeds due South, when it passes the corner » of the wall, its course will diverge from the end wall, and no

» evil influence can possibly follow'. The suggestion was adopted, » and the Yamen stands to this day in that position. No magistrate » has died there since the Fung-shui was corrected".

Also when the Fung-shui of a village, town or valley has been disturbed, there are many means of remedying the evil. We have stated already on page 958 how the calamitous contours of rocks, mountains or plains may be rectified by skilful manipulations, and turned into instruments of blessing. If an elevation is not high enough, it can be made higher; a calamitous water-course may be given a favourable turn; groves may be planted at the back or on the sides of villages and towns as fenders; tanks and ponds may be dug to counteract obnoxious breaths by the aquatic influences of which they are the depositories (pp. 946 and 958); pagodas may be erected for the same purpose, or piles of stone be made to represent such structures (pp. 941 and 958). Temples for the worship of mighty tutelary divinities and even large Buddhist convents generally owe their existence to a desire of the people to confirm the Fung-shui of the environs. The particulars on this head we reserve, however, for other parts of this work, wherein such sanctuaries will be described.

Curious incidents illustrating the ways in which the Chinese endeavour to rectify the Fung-shui of towns or large tracts of country, have been recorded by European residents. Especially instructive are the following, which were communicated by Mr. Yates at the above-mentioned Missionary Conference:

» Local rebellions and other public calamities are often attributed » to some object that has destroyed the good Fung-shui, and allowed » the murderous spirit (shah) to enter. Take the case of Shanghai. » A few years ago, when the rebels left the city, the Fung-shui » professors were employed to discover the cause of the disturbance » in Fung-shui, and consequently the cause of the local rebellion. » Their attention was directed to a large new temple within the » north gate, called the Kwang-Foh szĕ[1]. They found on en- » quiry that the Kwangtung and Fuhkien men were mainly instru- » mental in rebuilding the temple, and the largest donor was the » keeper of a house of ill-fame. As such men are called in common » parlance a tortoise[2], they made strict examination to see if the

1 廣福寺, which means: Temple of Kwang(tung) and Fuh(kien).

2 Viz. »black tortoise" 烏龜.

» temple and plot of ground had any resemblance to that disreput-
» able animal. To the astonishment of all, it was found to be a
» perfect representation of a tortoise travelling South. It was bounded
» on the four sides by a street and water, with a stone bridge at
» the four corners, representing the four feet of a tortoise. There
» was a stone bridge just in front of the temple door, representing
» his head, and two wells at the door, representing the animal's
» eyes, and a large tree in the rear, representing his tail turned
» up, while the temple itself represented the body of the odious
» thing. If any thing was wanting to confirm them in their suspi-
» cions that that temple, from its resemblance to the tortoise, was
» the cause of the local rebellion, its name Kwang-Foh szĕ
» was quite sufficient to remove all doubts; for the city was taken
» by Kwangtung and Fuhkien men, who entered at the North
» gate, just in the rear of the temple. Now as Kwang-Foh szĕ
» was found to be bad Fung-shui, something must be done to
» correct it. They dare not order it to be pulled down, for it was
» occupied by the gods. The Fung-shui professors had no difficulty
» in finding a remedy, both simple and effectual. They decided
» that to change the name of the temple and put out the eyes of
» the animal would be quite sufficient to render him incapable of
» doing further injury. The order was given, and the wells were
» filled up, and the name of the temple changed to The first Moun-
» tain of the City on the river Hu [1].

» Again, about twelve months ago, the merchants within the
» city of Shanghai became alarmed at the great falling off of busi-
» ness within the walls. The Fung-shui experts were consulted to
» ascertain the cause. The cause was soon discovered. As the Little
» North gate was simply a hole in the wall, without the ordinary
» fender and side entrance, the good influences from the South
» passed without obstruction into the foreign community, while the
» evil from the North flowed into the city. The order was given
» to build the circular wall with a side entrance, which we all
» know was done without any apparent reason, as there was no
» danger of an attack from that quarter, it being well defended
» by the foreign settlements. Unfortunately for the credit of Fung-
» shui, trade has not revived within the city.

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[1] 滬城第一山. The Hu is a branch which flows into the Hwang-pu 黃浦 at Shanghai.

» Kü-yung [1], a city near Nanking, has a history in connection » with Fung-shui, well known in the Northern and Central Pro- » vinces. Early in the Ming dynasty, a Fung-shui professor discov- » ered that that city would produce an emperor, and that all its » population would be mandarins. The Emperor, alarmed at the » prospect of being superseded by an appointment of this kind, » took steps to have the Fung-shui of that city corrected. It was » decreed that the North gate, at which the evil spirit entered, » should be built up solid, and remain so, and that the people » should devote themselves to other than literary pursuits. It is a » well known fact that Fung-shui has kept the North gate of Kü- » yung closed for a period of over four hundred years. The people » were ordered to choose one of three callings — a barber, a corn » cutter or a bamboo root shaver, each of which necessitated the » use of sharp edged instruments. It is supposed that the shah » spirit never comes near one who uses sharp edged instruments. » In confirmation of the fact that such an order was issued, and » that it was obeyed, we have ocular demonstration even at this » day, seven tenths of the dressers of the dried bamboo shoots, an » equally large proportion of the corn cutters in connection with » the various bathing establishments, and the same proportion of » the barbers of this city and of the many cities in the Central » Provinces are known to be Kü-yung men. The monopoly of these » trades is readily conceded to them, since it is known to be decreed » that they should get their rice in this way.

» As every mandarin has the right to erect the official pole in » front of his house, these people claimed it, and it was conceded » in part. Each travelling barber was allowed to erect his official » staff on his box. Any one who will notice a travelling barber » going about the streets with his chest of drawers slung on either » end of a stick on his shoulder, will observe a rod in front pro- » jecting above the stick on his shoulder. This is his official pole, » guaranteed to him for all time by the decrees of Fung-shui. » Thus, by closing the North gate and dispersing the male popu- » lation, Kü-yung has been prevented from producing an emperor, » and the Empire has been saved".

It seems to us, however, that the above tale about the peculiar vocations of the Kü-yung people savours too much of legend to deserve implicit belief. We have never found anything about this

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[1] 句容.

subject in Chinese books, and the custom of the street barbers of carrying an official pole in miniature on their wash-stand is often explained by the Chinese in quite another way [1].

In his work on The Folk-lore of China [2], Dennys reports the following incident, taken from a Shanghai newspaper:

» The general excitement caused in Hang-cheu, in common, ap- » parently, with the rest of the province, was some weeks ago » intensified by a development of the well known superstition of » Fung-shui. A number of people having died in a certain part » of the town, enquiries began to be made as to the cause of a » mortality somewhat specially localised. But instead of looking to » the physical conditions and environments of the district, the good » folks of Hang-cheu called in the learning of the geomancers to » explain the cause of the evil influence. These worthies were not » long in pointing to a range of buildings belonging to one of the » American missions, that stood on a hill overlooking the district » where the abnormal mortality had prevailed. These buildings, » though not high in themselves, were yet elevated by their site » above all the surrounding buildings, and thus they interrupted » the benign influences of the Fung-shui. The question then came » to be, how the evil was to be remedied. The traditional mode » of procedure would have been to organise a mob, raise a disturb- » ance, and during its continuance contrive to pull down or burn » the obnoxious premises. But, on the one hand, past experience » of foreigners has convinced the authorities that this way of dealing » with foreign property is sure to entail serious consequences; » while, on the other, the satisfactory results of diplomatic action as » illustrated at Peking has gradually inclined them to the *suaviter-in-* » *modo* policy. Accordingly a number of the gentry were commis- » sioned to proceed to Ningpo and put themselves in communication » with the United States Consul on the subject. Arrived in Ningpo, » they drew up a petition to that gentleman, setting forth the fears » and anxieties which were excited among the common people of » Hang-cheu by the disturbance of the Fung-shui occasioned by the » mission premises in question, and setting forth the willingness of » the authorities to grant them a site and erect buildings on some » other site to be agreed on between them and the missionaries, » or to pay the missionaries a money equivalent for the surrender

1 See » Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui", in the » Annales du Musée Guimet", vol. XI, page 171.

2 Page 66.

» of their property. The missionaries, on being communicated with » by Dr. Lord, signified their preference of the proposal to grant » them an equally eligible site and erect suitable buildings else- » where, in exchange for their existing property, and this arrange- » ment is now in course of being carried out. No better instance » of the difficulties which Fung-shui presents to foreign missionary » and commercial enterprise could be adduced".

After this digression to return to the Fung-shui of the resting places of the dead: — a wound inflicted on a grave does not necessarily entail the death of its Fung-shui. That of some graves is so vigorous that it can sustain many an injury without being seriously damaged, nay, even the amputation of a Dragon's or Tiger's limb. Of others, on the contrary, the Fung-shui is so frail that the slightest wound is sure to affect its working and bring the whole machine to a standstill. Only professional experts are capable of ascertaining whether the wound is dangerous, and whether a cure is possible. They aver that, as in the case of the human body, the gravity of the injury chiefly depends upon the part affected. The stone, for instance, on which the grave inscription is carved, and the tumulus, are especially vulnerable, they being, as stated before, the chief seat of the manes of the occupant of the grave. Whether a wound is mortal is inferred from its consequences. Should the family be visited by sickness, mortality or a decline in business, or sustain any considerable pecuniary losses, then, after long consultation with one or more learned professors, the death of the Fung-shui is taken for granted. It is then of no use to remove the object which has caused the wound, or to repair the violated tumulus, or to erect a new grave stone in the place of the one that has been knocked to pieces. Indeed, so people argue, neither the extraction of the dagger from the body of a murdered man, nor the patching up of his wounds, can ever restore him to life.

When enough evil has befallen the family to convince them that the wound, inflicted on their grave, is mortal, they generally arrive at the conclusion that the best thing they can do is to ask their professor to look out for another grave, and re-bury the corpse. It not seldom occurs that a professor, eager for business and gain, makes a family believe that one of their graves has entirely lost its good Fung-shui, the corpse having fallen a prey to termites, the skeleton being turned upside down, or the bones lying out of order or topsy turvy in the coffin; he tells them it is their duty to break the grave up and give the soul a better resting

place elsewhere. Still all his logic is powerless so long as the fortunes of the family take no unfavourable turn, for this is the most decisive proof that everything is all right with the Fung-shui. But no sooner does a disaster occur, than the professor's argument gains attention; and a few more mishaps suffice to make the family surrender themselves bound hand and foot into his power. When the grave is opened, fortunately for the credit of the Fung-shui and the professor, the correctness of the latter's statement is often verified by facts. In truth it is a very common occurence in China for termites to built their nests in coffins, or for foxes, rats or other beasts to nestle therein; besides, the stick of a mountain cockroach or of the professor himself can secretly disarrange the bones so as to insure the triumph of the latter. And even if everything in the grave should be in the best condition, and the bones dry and hard, and the coffin but little affected by decay, the professor has plenty of arguments to prove that the Fung-shui was thoroughly bad.

It is not necessary to dilate further on Fung-shui and its influence upon social life. The above pages will suffice to show what it really is: — the product of egotism under the guise of filial piety; a sure criterion that this highest among the national virtues of the Chinese, so often extolled to the skies by European authors, is much less sincere than is generally supposed; that it is not spontaneous, but calculating; not generous, but thoroughly selfish. Fung-shui is fetichism applied to the dead and their corporeal remains. It is a hybrid monster, born of the union of filial devotion in its vilest form with blind gropings after natural science. At the outset a benumbed viper, it has, carefully fostered by the nation, developed into a horrid hydra suffocating the whole Empire in its coils and deluging it with its venom throughout its length and breadth.

In fact, as we have stated, wielding its cruel scourge with vigour, it disturbs social peace and order, sowing endless discord among families, clans and villages, and giving rise to quarrels, litigation, contention, incendiarism and bloodshed. It causes the ruin of many families, wasting their fortunes under the pretext of creating fortunes. It constrains the people to keep their dead unburied for months, nay years, in spite of epidemics and contagious diseases, and to exhume them before the process of decay has done its work, thus increasing mortality. But further, Fung-shui interferes

with industry and commercial enterprise, as being the ground for refusing many improvements which would be of the greatest advantage to the people. The cutting of a new road or canal, the construction of a new bridge, almost always entails the amputation of a limb of some Celestial Animal, intercepts good aquatic influences or affects the calculations of geomancers in some way or other, causing entire clans, wards, villages and towns to rise up as one man against the reckless individual whose enterprising spirit presumes to bring misfortune upon them all. »When", says Dr. Eitel [1], »it was proposed to erect a few telegraph poles, when the »construction of a railway was urged upon the Chinese Govern»ment, when a mere tramway was suggested to utilize the coal»mines of the interior, Chinese officials would invariably make a »polite bow and declare the thing impossible on account of Fung»shui. When, thirty years ago, the leading merchants of the »Colony of Hongkong endeavoured to place the business part of »the town in the so-called Happy Valley, and to make that part »of the island the centre of the whole town, they ignominiously »failed on account of Fung-shui. When the Hongkong Govern»ment cut a road, now known as the Gap, to the Happy Valley, »the Chinese community was thrown into a state of abject terror »and fright, on account of the disturbance which this amputation »of the Dragon's limbs would cause to the Fung-shui of Hong»kong; and when many of the engineers, employed at the cutting, »died of Hongkong fever, and the foreign houses already built in »the Happy Valley had to be deserted on account of malaria, the »Chinese triumphantly declared, it was an act of retributory justice »on the part of Fung-shui. When Senhor Amaral, the Governor of »Macao, who combined with a great passion for constructing roads »an unlimited contempt for Fung-shui, interfered with the situation »and aspects of Chinese tombs, he was waylaid by Chinese, his »head cut off [2], and the Chinese called this dastardly deed the »revenge of Fung-shui".

As a matter of fact, all the books of geomancy re-echo the doctrine of Ch'ing I-ch'wen, the philosopher mentioned on page 715, that, in selecting graves, »one must not be remiss in avoiding the »five following evils: Care must be taken lest some day or other »roads are made there, or city walls, canals or ponds; or lest

1 Feng-shui, pp. 1 *seq*

2 Comp. page 355.

» people of rank and influence appropriate the place to themselves, » or agriculture be exercised thereupon" [1]. As a consequence hereof, Fung-shui causes an immense waste of labour in China, for as it prevents in most parts of the Empire the construction of good canals and roads, ships, beasts of burden or carts can only be employed in limited numbers, which necessitates a great use of the human shoulder for the transport of persons and merchandise along paths scarcely passable. Nor is it rare to see hundreds of ships and vessels taking a wide roundabout and difficult circuit, simply because Fung-shui has forbidden a bridge to be built high enough to allow of their passing underneath.

The question will be asked, how is it possible that so large a portion of the human race, though imbued since its childhood with sacred awe for the mysteries of the Universe, has grown up to manhood and hoary old age without arriving at even an elementary knowledge of the true laws of Nature? How is it the Chinese never built up anything better than a speculative system based upon ancient formulæ and mystic diagrams, and amounting to little more than a mechanical play of idle abstractions, a system so unscientific, so puerile, that it can only move us to a smile?

The answer must in the first place be sought in the educational system of the nation. This has always been grounded upon an unbounded reverence for everything which could claim an ancient origin. Whatever the ancients thought, taught and wrought always was in everybody's eyes the highest truth, sacred and inviolable; beyond it no other truth ever existed. Thus the classical books, transmitting the ideas and actions of the ancients to posterity, naturally became the exclusive starting point of instruction, both public and private. And the Government being recruited, regularly and systematically, from the classes thus educated, it never could do otherwise than disparage, nay, formally forbid any doctrines and studies arising from other principles; on the other hand, it never occurred to any one among the people to pursue another line of study, because only the old method opened up any prospect of being admitted into the ranks of the ruling party, which is the highest ambition of every true Chinaman.

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[1] 五患不可不謹、使他日不爲道路、不爲城郭、不爲溝池、不爲貴勢所奪、不爲耕犁所及. Domestic Rituals, ch. VI.

So nobody in China has ever thought of studying Nature in that independent matter-of-fact way which alone can reveal to man the secrets of the Universe; nor have the Chinese tried to make instruments to aid them in the contemplation of the canopy of heaven, the study of the atmosphere, the laws of gravity and hydrostatics. Instead thereof, they have blunted their wits upon conjectural theories, evolving an entire system of natural science from their religious superstitions with respect to the dead in connection with a few rough guesses at Nature occurring in the Classics; the product being a monstrous medley of religion, superstition, ignorance and philosophy, more strange than was ever hatched by the human brain. It seems never to have occurred to any one, not even to the wisest of the wise, that methodical, independent research might be a better groundwork for big books than the ignorance of the ancients. Chinese sages, by spinning out the dogmatic formulæ of ancient tradition to an infinite length, have succeeded in proving that oceans of wisdom lie hidden in those formulæ. Thus the position of the ancients has been strengthened, so as to render it impregnable, but in the mountains of reasonings not a single grain of common sense is to be found; and though these sages have obtained places of worship for themselves in the Government temples dedicated to Confucius and the great disciples of his school of learning, thus gaining the highest laurels ever conferred in their country on the human intellect, not one of them has ever enriched the Empire with the simplest rudiment of real, useful knowledge.

Even at present the educational system of China is based, as firmly as ever, upon the principle that the Classics are the sole depositories of true science; and everything which is not built upon the principles laid down therein, is ignored, or stigmatized as heterodox. And the Government is in the hands of the learned class, as it has always been. Hence Fung-shui is still in the apogee of its power, bearing sway in the mansions of emperors and princes just as in the cabins of the poor. The palace-grounds in the Metropolis and the gorgeous mausolea of the Imperial Family as well as the graves of the lowest class are laid out in accordance with its rescripts. That Fung-shui has a legal status we have seen from the fact that the authorities entertain the claim and give judgment when complaints about the disturbance of the Fung-shui are placed before them.

Fung-shui has even a political status. » When a rebellion breaks » out in any one of the eighteen provinces, the first step taken by

» the Government is not to raise troops, but invariably to dispatch » messengers instructed to find out the ancestral tombs of the several » leaders of the rebellion, to open the tombs, scatter their contents » to the winds and desecrate the graves in every possible way. For » this is supposed to be the surest means of injuring the prospects » and marring the possible success of the rebels" [1]. The books make mention of emperors having, no doubt for similar reasons, destroyed the graves of the dynasties they had dethroned. Chwang Tsung, for instance, the first sovereign of the short-lived posterior T'ang dynasty, » having destroyed the House of Liang, desired to dig up » the grave of T'ai Tsu, (the founder) of that House, and to hack » up his coffin and mutilate the corpse. But (Chang) Ts'üen-i gave » it as his opinion that, though that family had been in overt » enmity (with the present emperor), enough retributive justice had » been done it by its slaughter and destruction, and that the » cutting-up of a coffin and the mutilation of the corpse was not » a sublime measure for a sovereign to take as a warning example » to the world. Chwang Tsung opined he was right, and merely » demolished the gate of the tomb" [2]. There is little doubt that it was not merely rapacity which inspired insurgents to destroy, in the course of centuries, so many imperial tombs, but also a desire to weaken the Throne by depriving it of the indispensable protection of its ancestors. Already in Chapter V we have drawn the attention of our readers to this point (p. 441) and, moreover, stated (see pp. 427 *sqq.* and p. 436) that, to minimize such dangers, walled cities have, since the Han dynasty, been built in the neighbourhood of the imperial mausolea, and the latter are walled and garrisoned down to the present day. Should European armies have for a second time to march on Peking, it will be worth while trying whether the campaign cannot be shortened and loss of life spared by a military occupation of the burial grounds of the Imperial Family. Indeed, should the Court receive the ultimatum that these tombs will be successively destroyed by barbarian explosives, its belief in Fung-shui will without a doubt force it to submit implicitly to the foreign demands.

1 Eitel, *op. cit.*, page 80.

2 初莊宗滅梁、欲掘梁太祖墓、斲棺戮尸。[張]全義以謂梁雖讐敵、今已屠滅其家足以報怨、剖棺之戮非王者以大度示天下也。莊宗以爲然、鏟去墓闕而已. History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 45, l. 3.

By thus making use of the Fung-shui doctrines to harm their enemies, the foreign powers would merely be wielding the same weapon which Chinese statesmen have so frequently and cunningly used against them in times of peace. » When land had to be ceded to the hated » foreigner along the coast of China, as a so-called foreign conces- » sion, the Chinese Government invariably selected ground condemned » by the best experts in Fung-shui as combining a deadly breath » with all those indications of the compass which imply dire ca- » lamity to all who settle upon it, even to their children's children. » If the spot had not had to be ceded by treaty, it would have been » pointed out to the unsuspecting foreigner as the only one open » for sale, and anyhow the ignorant barbarian sceptic would be made » the supposed dupe and laughing-stock of the astute Chinaman. » Witness, for instance, the views held by intelligent Chinese in » regard to the island of Sha-meen, the foreign concession of Canton. » It was originally a mud flat in the Canton river in the very worst » position known to Fung-shui. It was conceded to the imperious » demands of the foreign powers as the best available place of » residence for foreigners; and when it was found that the Canton » trade, once so important, would not revive, would not flourish » there, in spite of all the efforts of its supporters — when it was » discovered that every house built on Sha-meen was overrun with » white ants as soon as built, boldly defying coal tar, carbolic acid » and all other foreign appliances — when it was noticed that the » English Consul, though a special residence was built for him » there, preferred to live two miles off under the protecting shadow » of a Pagoda, — this was a clear triumph of Fung-shui and of » Chinese statesmanship" [1].

Afterwards, when the barbarians had been settled long enough in the several ports for the Chinese to witness the rise of flourishing mercantile houses, surrounded by buildings and villas which must appear to them to be palaces when compared with their own huts and houses, then a decided change in their ideas as to the stupidity of foreigners in Fung-shui matters came about. Did not the fact that there were never any paupers to be found among them, and that most of them became rich enough to pay to their humblest clerks salaries which, if earned by a Chinaman, would stamp him as a man of wealth, sufficiently prove that they knew all about that noble art? In Amoy many professors have not words enough

1 Eitel, *op. cit.*, pp. 80—81.

wherewith to extol the Fung-shui of the foreign houses in the island of Kulangsu. Nearly all of them, they say, are placed under the protection of excellent Tigers and Dragons, and the gardens too are laid out in a way which native experts could hardly improve upon, the groves and trees serving as perfect fenders against obnoxious shah. The Fung-shui of those dwellings is so solid that the inmates need no such cabalistic amulets and talismans as the natives are forced to affix to their own walls and to wear about their bodies in considerable numbers; they may even regularly clean their houses without fear, whilst the cleansing of a Chinese dwelling would inevitably expulse therefrom the ts^{c}ai khi [1] or »wealth-producing breath", and so cause the ruin of the inmates [2]. Last, though not least, it is the good Fung-shui of their buildings which exempts foreigners from the trouble of selecting auspicious days and hours for their enterprises. They never consult a day professor, nor cast a look into an almanac, and yet, even in the hottest summer months when hosts of obnoxious spirits and dangerous breaths innumerable decimate the natives by cholera and other diseases, they look hale and healthy; and though they recklessly spoil the Fung-shui of many Chinese graves by erecting buildings for trading purposes, dwellings and amusements, they are wonderfully exempt from the disasters sent down by the irritate spirits. How is it then to be believed that foreigners do not know more about Fung-shui than they are willing to tell?

However firmly the foreigners maintain that they are quite ignorant of the art and only characterize it as ridiculous, the Chinese are astute enough to understand that they do so simply to rid themselves of importune questioners anxious to ferret out their valuable secrets. If they know nothing of Fung-shui, it is asked, why do they lay out the graves of all their dead in one plot in Kulangsu, a plot carefully selected on the slope of that marvellous Dragon-head Hill (p. 949) which commands the Fung-shui of the whole island, the town and the harbour? Why do they place the graves there in uniform straight lines, and surround

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[1] 財氣.

[2] As a matter of fact the Chinese of Amoy assimilate the filth in their houses with their family fortunes. This no doubt is the explanation of their well known sordidness, in which they are surpassed by no people on earth. In subsequent parts of this work we shall have to mention curious customs and habits illustrating this assimilation.

them with trees and bamboo groves? Why have they, just in the centre of that ground, a queer tower-like building exhibiting lines and contours both mysterious and marvellous? Why have they walled that cemetery on three sides, thus screening it at the back and the sides from obnoxious shah and leaving open the frontside with the iron railing, exactly as if it were a good Chinese grave? Why have they laid it out in such a wise that at the back there are gently shelving terraces, and in front a large pond in which water-courses converge from the four chief bluffs of the island, everything in strict accordance with Fung-shui? In short, they ask, how can foreigners pretend to know nothing of Fung-shui, when we ourselves see how anxious they are to accumulate their dead in that mysterious, narrow plot which combines everything required for a perfect Fung-shui, thus giving us the clearest evidence that they regard it as the chief palladium of their fortunes?

Fung-shui being most deeply rooted in the minds of the people and firmly entwined with their religious system, in so far as this consists in the worship of ancestors, divinities and saints as exercised at graves, domestic altars and in temples, we cannot expect that it will be eradicated as long as the people remain so totally ignorant of the exact sciences as they have done up to the present. The only power capable of overthrowing it, or weakening its all-pervading influence, is sound natural science. Seeing, however, that neither the ruling classes, nor the people have ever manifested the slightest inclination to make a study of Nature by an experimental and critical survey of its laws, and that a national stagnation has kept their mental culture down at such a low level, it seems hopeless to expect that sound views of natural science will ever be acquired by the Chinese on their own initiative. Perhaps the foreigners may be able to shed some rays of the light of their science upon the Middle Kingdom. But where are the men to be found, willing and able to take upon themselves the Herculean task of educating such a nation, and capable of writing clear and popular explanations of the laws of Nature in that idiomatic, attractive Chinese style which alone finds favour in the eyes of the educated? And even were such men to be found, their attempts would most likely suffer shipwreck from the national ignorance of the written language, for, owing to the fact that this language is extremely difficult to learn, only very few men in every hundred or, more correctly speaking, in every thousand, are able to understand a book. And

thus, even though it were granted that the Chinese race is not stamped for ever with the total incapacity to rise to a higher level of mental culture, a complete overthrow and re-organisation of its religion, philosophy, literature, customs and social forms would be required to uproot Fung-shui. In other words: Fung-shui will bear the supreme sway in China as long as China is China, and the Chinese are Chinese.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE CUSTOM OF RE-BURYING BODIES IN OTHER GRAVES. URN BURIALS.

In the preceding chapter we have cursorily acquainted the reader with the custom of transferring, in certain cases, buried corpses to other graves, stating that this is frequently done when a family sees its fortunes ebbing away in consequence of the supposed disappearance of the Fung-shui of a parent's or grandparent's grave, or because a deadly blow may have been inflicted on that Fung-shui. We have now to consider this matter in detail, and to deal with some other cases in which re-burial takes place.

When the Fung-shui of a grave is believed to be detrimental to the fortunes of the family, the exhumation is seldom long delayed, and is even done before a new grave has been found. The reasoning is, that an ancestor lying in a grave beyond the reach of the good influences of Nature is entirely at the mercy of evil, as then the evil is neither counteracted, nor destroyed by anything whatever. No doubt then his wrath will descend upon his posterity, unless he be forthwith delivered by them from his painful position. To dwell in a bad grave is but one degree worse than not to be buried at all.

As a matter of course, a long time must elapse before it can be held to be convincingly proved that the Fung-shui of a grave is bad, inactive or dead. Hence it seldom occurs that a corpse is disinterred before it has become a skeleton and the coffin is too decayed to be used for the second grave.

Disinterment being once resolved upon, an auspicious day is selected for the work, for reasons explained on pp. 103 *sqq*. When this day arrives, some grave-diggers, under the guidance of a few members of the family and the Fung-shui professor of its choice, open the grave and then the coffin; they take the bones out of it, commencing at the feet, and arrange them in their natural order upon a large tray of wicker work, such as is in general use in China for winnowing rice by throwing it up in the wind. The hair and the cue are thrown away, being considered useless, as no substance of the

soul of the deceased dwells therein. During these proceedings, an open umbrella belonging to the family stands at the head of the pit on behalf of the soul, should it desire to take shelter underneath; and when the workmen have finished their task, they may take it for themselves as a perquisite. Finally all the bones are placed in their natural order in a high, large-mouthed earthenware jar, the skull, which comes last, being first wrapped up in paper daubed with the rough outlines of a mouth, nose and eyes. For the better preservation of the bones, the jar is not unfrequently filled up with bits of charcoal and closed with an earthen pan, this pan being fastened into the mouth by means of lime.

Should the bones, when disinterred, be solid and hard, and none of them missing, and the grave, moreover, bear no vestiges of termites, the family generally come to the conclusion that the Fung-shui is by no means so bad as they have been led to believe from the professor's description. Pained at the idea of having to give up a grave so dearly bought, they bury the jar in the same spot, if they can succeed in persuading the professor into their opinion, selecting for the purpose a felicitous day and hour with the usual Chinese foresight. But in by far the most cases another grave is sought for, and the old ground sold. This sale does not necessarily cause a pecuniary loss, for, as the geomantic doctrines affirm that a Fung-shui, though disadvantageous to one, may be extremely beneficial to another, often eager buyers are easily found.

The well-to-do generally having high demands in respect of graves, a new burial place for the remains of a disinterred corpse is, as a rule, not so soon found. Pending its acquisition, the jar is stowed away somewhere in a locality to which some Fung-shui is supposed to cleave, as *e. g.* under an overhanging rock, or in a grotto or cavern, of which there are many between the huge boulders of granite which crown the hills and stud the valleys in the sea-coast districts. Dilapidated granite tombs of solid construction are very often used for the purpose, as also sheds or cottages in which encoffined corpses are preserved for burial (see pp. 127 *sqq.*), and the small buildings erected by benevolent men as conservatories of soul tablets of dead people who have no offspring to attend to their worship (Plate XXVIII). Sometimes the urns are deposited in the Buddhist mountain temples mentioned on page 128, which admit encoffined corpses within their precincts for safe keeping; but this way is only open for the well-to-do, as the priests require

Public Repository for Soul Tablets, containing Bone Urns.

payment therefor. The disinterred bones are never taken home, prejudice forbidding this, as explained on page 840.

On putting the urn away, one of the kinsmen, taking a couple of burning incense-sticks between his fingers, makes a slight bow towards it, and beseeches the soul to content itself for a time with this mean abode, as, indeed, the family will not be long in finding for it a new grave of excellent quality. »Potted Chinese", as foreigners have ludicrously called these urns, are pretty safe everywhere. To a great extent this is owing to their worthlessness, they being of very plain make, unglazed, without ornamentation, and therefore hardly worth stealing. But, still more, the aversion felt by all classes to any unfriendly collisions with disembodied spirits, protects them from sacrilegious hands. Nevertheless it is advisable not to place charcoal inside the urns. For it is a fact that the Flowery Kingdom harbours many reckless individuals who, poor as Job, will not shrink from the dangerous work of emptying them of combustible matter and sell it for a few coppers; but even such low characters will carefully avoid cooking their own food over it, for the same reason which deters everybody from using old coffin boards for such a purpose (see p. 329).

A new grave having been found, the family usually leave it to the Fung-shui professor to decide whether the urn with the bones shall be buried in it, or whether a coffin be necessary. Our readers will remember that geomancers attach great importance to the five elements and their influence upon the resting places of the dead. So, urns used for bones happening to be styled in Amoy and the surrounding districts *kim tāng* [1], »urns of metal", though none but urns of earthenware are in vogue at present, these men, if they possess talents and wit, use them to increase the metallic influences on the grave. Should they find that metal is not present in the surrounding hills and rocks in a sufficient quantity to counterbalance or neutralize the dangerous presence of the element fire, which conquers and subdues metal (see page 957), they advise urn-burial. But if there be a superabundance of metallic power in the environs, so that the element wood, which is conquered by metal, becomes insufficient to counterbalance it, they strengthen it by burying the bones in a coffin. This they also do in the event of there being too much of earth in the neighbourhood, this element being subdued by wood.

[1] 金甕.

Coffins used for second burials are generally much smaller than ordinary coffins, and little better than mere wooden boxes. The Chinese of Amoy call them *siáo bók* [1], »small coffins". In the written language they are denoted by the characters 櫬 s u i, and 櫝 t u h, which, as far as we know, occur in this meaning for the first time in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty. It is stated therein that the emperor Kao Tsu in 199 B. C. ordered the remains of the warriors, who had died in the armies, to be sent back to their native places in such s u i (see page 845), and that »the »emperor Ch'ing in the fourth year of the period Ho p'ing »(25 B. C.) dispatched eleven functionaries, viz. Kia, who was »the Chief of his Court of Entertainment, and some other Doctors »of that court, with orders to report to him about the con»dition of the countries along the Hwangho. There they were »to distribute assistance amongst those who had been ruined by »the inundations, or reduced to such misery that they could no »longer support themselves, and the several governments were »ordered to grant s u i and t u h for the burial of those who »had been swept away by the waters and whose own relations »could not afford to inter them" [2]. Yen Shi-ku commenting upon this passage, explicitly declares that »those s u i and t u h were small coffins" [3].

On placing the exhumed remains in a »small coffin", the skull is not seldom patched up with a kind of filt made of cotton and silk fibres, and daubed with a rough outline of eyes, nose and mouth; a piece of paper is wrapped round every bone; the vertebræ of the spine are strung on a cord or a piece of rattan, and the whole skeleton, reduced to the size of that of a child, is arranged inside one or more suits of clothes which scarcely differ from ordinary grave suits, except in size, and which are of silk among the well-to-do. The same things are put into the coffin as at ordinary burials. But second burials in coffins are tolerably rare, people almost

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1 小木. Coffins for burying young children are also called *bók*, with the diminutive affix *á*: see page 330.

2 成帝河平四年遣光祿大夫博士嘉等十一人行舉瀕河之郡。水所毀傷困乏不能自存者財振貸、其爲水所流壓死、不能自葬、令郡國給櫬櫝葬埋. Chapter 10, l. 6.

3 櫬櫝謂小棺.

always preferring to use the cheaper urns, if geomancy does not object.

Re-interments always take place on an auspicious day and hour. Some of the near relations are present, who never neglect to offer incense and a few dishes of eatables to the spirit, without, however, over-much ceremonial. They are dressed on these occasions with a few badges of slight mourning, in obedience to the rescript of the *I li* reproduced on page 532, that the mourning of the lowest degree is to be worn when an interment is being repeated.

In this manner human bones are disinterred and re-interred several times in succession by families seriously afflicted by the Fung-shui craze. But minds of a commoner order generally lose their interest in the remains of their ancestors when a few generations have passed away; and thousands and thousands of buried and re-buried corpses, and numberless urned skeletons unburied, go the same way as the millions among the poor for the Fung-shui of whose graves little or no outlay is made: in a short time they obey the unalterable law of Nature, »To dust shalt thou return". There are very few families who can boast of the possession of an old grave which has escaped oblivion and slow destruction by reason of the constant repairs made on account of its being believed to be the main support of their wealth and fortunes.

Re-burials sometimes take place in the case of persons who, having died and been buried at a considerable distance from their native place, are conveyed home for reasons set forth in Chapter X (pp. 833 *sqq.*). As a rule, the family in such cases postpones the disinterment until time has mouldered the corpse into a skeleton, for then the bones can easily be sent home in a box or parcel, at little expense. Numerous sets of bones are so dealt with every year, and Custom-house officers in the Treaty Ports have told me they have had to examine travelling boxes of repatriating emigrants partly filled with such curious luggage. Those people abroad who cannot afford to send the corpses of their relations home in coffins, not unfrequently bury them first, using bad coffins for the purpose of accelerating the process of decomposition, and then send home the bones. It is almost superfluous to state that, in many cases, the principal reason for sending home human bones or encoffined corpses for a second burial, is a desire to render them instruments of blessing by interring them in ground located under favourable geomantic influences.

Among re-burials may be ranked the cases mentioned on pp. 1033 *seq.*, in which corpses for which no good graves have been found and which cannot be kept at home because of the bad quality of the coffins, are provisorily buried in a slipshod manner, and afterwards definitively entombed in a proper grave under good celestial and terrestrial influences. We may finally class among re-burial the practice of depraved characters who, with the intention of selling the grave grounds of their relations merely for the sake of gain, disinter the remains and re-bury them in a cheaper place, or put them in an urn and deposit them somewhere in the mountains or under the open sky. The reader need not be told that such a proceeding is unanimously decried as a hideous crime, the height of depravity. Sons or grandsons who render themselves guilty thereof are threatened by the laws of the Empire with slow death by the knives, as the article quoted on page 887 shows.

It now remains for us to review the several forms of re-burial of the dead in their historical aspect.

Re-burials have been in vogue in China since very ancient times. In its record of events for the year 721 before our era, the *Tso ch'wen* states: »In winter, in the tenth month, the ruler Hwui » (of Lu) was re-buried in another grave. When he died, the state of » Sung was in arms (against Lu) and the crown-prince was young, » so that then some omissions were made in the burial rites. Hence » they now buried him in another grave" [1]. The ruler Chwang also was, according to the same chronicle, taken by his people out of the grave in which his murderer had buried him with little ceremony, and transferred to another; but this case we have placed before our readers on page 841. That a repetition of burial was of common occurrence in pre-Christian times may be inferred from the fact that the *I li* formally prescribes the dress to be worn by those who attends such ceremonies (see page 532).

The historical books of every dynasty so frequently make mention of emperors, imperial consorts, princes, dignitaries and commoners whose interment was repeated for sundry reasons, that it seems a matter beyond dispute that re-burials under a variety of circumstances have always held a place among the established customs of

[1] 冬十月改葬惠公。惠公之薨也有宋師、太子少、葬故有闕、是以改葬. First year of the reign of the Ruler Yin.

the nation. This is not only ascribable to the fact that they were practised, and thereby sanctioned, by the ancients, but also to the circumstance that Fung-shui, ever exercising an omnipotent influence over the nation, constantly necessitated them. That the dead were also removed to other graves in order to enable them to consummate marriages, has been stated in a former part of this work (pp. 802 *sqq.*). Moreover, the custom has been encouraged throughout all ages for various other reasons, and this can be best illustrated by a few citations from the books.

» In the ninth month of the ninth year of his reign (A. D. 97) » (the emperor Hwo) bestowed posthumous honours upon his defunct » imperial mother, (his father's) secondary consort of the surname » Liang, by raising her to the dignity of empress-dowager. He » then, in the next month, awarded a second burial to this em- » press Kung Hwai of the surname Liang, placing her remains in » the western mausoleum" [1]. — According to one of the principal encyclopedias possessed by the Chinese, the following episode relating to Yü T'an [2], one of the highest grandees of the Empire in the third century, occurs in the » Domestic Records of the Family Yü" [3]. » His mother, the Grand lady, died in the department of I-tu. When » in the fifty-ninth year of his age, he transferred her remains to a » temporary grave, in order to repair her burial crypt, but the coffin » stopped on its way and would not advance. All the attendants » suggested that it were better not to remove it from the spot, » because, in funeral matters, the proper thing is to advance steadily » and not to make any retrogressive movement (see page 32). But » T'an remembered that in ancient days, when king Wen (the founder » of the Chen dynasty) had buried Wang Ki, an inundation destroyed » the grave, washing the coffin out of the vault, and that the king » thereupon erected a shed, took the coffin, and buried it on the third » day, when all the ministers were assembled on the spot [4]. This pre-

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[1] 九年九月[和帝]追尊皇姚梁貴人爲皇太后。冬十月改葬恭懷梁皇后于西陵. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 4, l. 12.

[2] 虞潭. [3] 虞氏家記.

4 This incident is chronicled in the Records of the Contending States (see page 730). This work relates that, when king Hwui 惠 of the state of Wei 魏 was buried, one of his magnates, Hwui-kung 惠公 or Hwui-tszĕ 惠子, prevailed upon the crown-prince to defer the burial because heavy snow obstructed the roads, saying: » Anciently, when Wang Ki-lih was buried in the tail of the mounts of Ts'u,

» cedent serving as a rescript bequeathed to posterity by an august » and holy sovereign, and, moreover, duly recorded in the books, » T'an transported the encoffined corpse to a tent, stored it up » there temporarily, and ordered the sons and grandsons to give » vent to their mournful feelings every morning and every evening » at that spot. The clansmen, too, resorted to this tent, in imitation » of what had taken place in the shed (of Wang Ki). The son of » Heaven presented the Grand lady with a pleasure carriage; his » ceremonial ushers escorted the funeral procession; and with a » brilliant and complete manifestation of ceremony she was re-placed » in her old tomb by the side of her husband" [1].

— » In the sixth year of the period Yung kia (A. D. 312) Wei » Kiai died in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and was buried » in Nan-ch'ang. In the period Hien hwo (A. D. 326—334) they » placed him in another grave in Kiang-ning, and on this occasion » the minister Wang Tao said: 'It is evident that this Imperial Horse- » washer should be transferred to another grave; indeed, this great » man was an officer whose fame had spread abroad on the wings » of the wind, and to whom the whole nation between the four » seas looked up with admiration. It is but just that the slight

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» streaming water wore away his grave and laid bare the frontside of the coffin. » The king then showed how mild his character was: 'Oh', he said, 'the rulers of » yore decidedly desire me to care for my ministers and my people in like manner; » may I allow that stream of water to lay him bare!' So he removed the coffin » from the grave and made a shed for it for the presentation of the morning sacrifices, » and all the people resorted thither to pay homage. On the third day he re-buried » the corpse". 昔王季歷葬於楚山之尾、欒水齧其墓見棺之前。和文王曰、嘻、先君必欲一見群臣百姓也、夫故使欒水見之。於是出而爲之張於朝、百姓皆見之、三日而後更葬. Chapter 23, l. 3.

[1] 潭母太夫人薨宜都府。君卽世五十九載改殯、修搆筦穸、靈柩住而莫前。羣從咸以喪事有往無反、不應遷移。潭以昔文王之葬王季卽定而洪水出截冢棺槨、文王乃設張屋、出柩、三日群臣臨之、然後葬。此則上聖之遺令、載在篇籍、遂奉遷神柩、權停幕屋、使子孫展哀晨夕。宗族相臨、允合張屋之儀也。天子給太夫人徘徊車、謁者送喪、禮儀光備合葬于舊壙. *Yuen kien lei han*, chapter 181, l. 12.

» sacrifices (that have hitherto been offered to him) should thus be » improved, and his former good acts thereby be properly honoured'" [1].

In the biography of Sié Hwui-lien [2] it is related that »in the » seventh year of the period Yuen kia (A. D. 430), when he was » Minister of Revenues, I-khang, the king of P'eng-ch'ing, on re- » pairing the eastern wall of the chief city of his department, dis- » covered in the moat a grave of ancient date. He had the contents » transferred to another grave, and ordered Hwui-lien to compose » an offertory for this ceremony" [3]. But far more important for the knowledge of China's ancient burial customs than the above quotations, is what the Standard History of the early part of the seventh century tells us of the prevalence of methodical bone-burial in small coffins, and of grotto-burial, in the countries now forming the province of Hupeh and the northern parts of Kiangsi province, and inhabited by tribes known at that time by the name of Man [4]. »As to their » customs at death and funerals, they understand how to cry, lament, » howl and weep, though they do not untie their hair, nor bare their » breast or stamp their feet. Immediately after the demise they take » the corpse to the central apartment of the house, not leaving it » in the room. The dressing and coffining finished, they convey the » body into the mountains, and at the latest after thirteen years » place the remains in another coffin of smaller dimensions, on an » auspicious day previously selected. This they call 'gathering the » bones'. It is deemed necessary that this work should be done » by the sons-in-law, who are charged with it because the Man » regard their sons-in-law as men of importance. Those who gather » bones remove the fleshy parts, collecting the bones only, the larger » ones being retained, while those of small size are thrown away.

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[1] 永嘉六年[衛玠]卒、時年二十七、葬於南昌。咸和中改塋於江寧、丞相王導教曰、衛洗馬明當改葬、此君風流名士、海內所瞻。可修薄祭以敦舊好. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 36, l. 14.

[2] 謝惠連.

[3] 元嘉七年方爲司徒、彭城王義康修東府城、城潰中得古冢。爲之改葬、使惠連爲祭文. History of the Southern part of the Realm, chapter 19, l. 17. See also the Books of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 53, l. 18.

[4] 蠻.

» And in the evening before the burial, the sons-in-law of the » family, not seldom more than thirty in number, assemble in the » dwelling of the chief of the clan. They wear hats of empty blades » of corn, which bear the name of grass plumes, and every one » carries a bamboo stick over a chang of ten feet long, on which » are twigs and leaves down to over three or four feet from the » top. From thence they march in files, those ahead bearing metro- » nomes to mark the cadence of their songs and exclamations, » some of which consist of regular verses. Tradition avers that » Pan-hu (a mythic ancestor of the Man) was placed in a tree » immediately on his death, and then pricked out therefrom with » poles of bamboo and wood; and this practice having been imitated » down to the present day, it has become an established custom. » Those who abstain from joining in the matter call it 'pricking » the Northern Bushel' (the Greater Bear constellation).

» When the burial is ended, they set out a sacrifice, after which » the near and remote relations howl conjointly. Then they are » joined by the other members of the family, and all indulge in a » merry drinking party, afterwards going home, neither to sacrifice » nor howl any more.

» The people living on the left (*i. e.* eastward) do not resemble » them. They wear no deep mourning, and do not call back the » souls of the dead. No sooner is the last breath drawn, than they » place the body in a shed, and then the young neighbours, each » holding a bow and arrows, walk around it, singing, and marking » the cadence by striking the arrows against the bows. The words » of those songs refer to the joyful events of human life until death » makes an end of it. This custom may be compared to the present » singing of the men who draw a catafalque (see p. 189). After having » sung several tens of verses, they dress and shroud the corpse, » encoffin it, and take it into the mountains, depositing it in a shed » built for it apart; but some bury it beside their village. Then » waiting till some twenty or thirty cases of death have taken place, » they bury all the corpses at the same time in grottos in the rocks" [1]

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[1] 其死喪之紀雖無被髮袒踊、亦知號咷哭泣。始死卽出屍於中庭、不留室內。斂畢送至山中、以十三年爲限先擇吉日改入小棺。謂之拾骨。拾骨必須女壻、蠻重女壻、故以委之。拾骨者除肉取骨、棄小取大。

The ancients having sanctioned re-burials by performing them themselves, the ethical and political leaders of the nation have generally shown themselves well-disposed thereto, provided that they are properly justified by the circumstances. Commenting upon the rescript of the *I li* that the mourning dress of the fifth degree should be worn at such burials (see page 532), Ching Khang-ch'ing wrote in the second century: »This rescript refers to cases in which the » grave has caved in, or somehow or other fallen to ruin, so that » the coffin with the corpse is in danger of being destroyed or » lost" [1]. Reasons such as those based on Fung-shui speculations were evidently excluded without reserve by this authority. The emperors of the T'ang dynasty legalized re-burials by laying down in the Ritual of the Khai yuen period elaborate rescripts as to how the relations, after having opened the grave, should dress the corpse on a couch in a tent of white linen pitched near the grave, how they should dress its hair, wailingly lean upon it, re-coffin it and sacrifice to the soul, and finally re-inter it with the usual funeral ceremonies. The Ming dynasty enacted similar rules, both for the official class and the people, giving them a place among its Collective Statutes [2]. Both dynasties prescribing that the preparation of the

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當葬之夕女壻或三數十人集會於宗長之宅。著苎心接羅、名曰茅綬、各執竹竿長一丈許、上三四尺許猶帶枝棄。其行伍、前却皆有節奏、歌吟叫呼亦有章曲。傳云盤瓠初死置之於樹、乃以竹木刺而下之、故相承至今以爲風俗。隱諱其事謂之刺北斗。

既葬設祭、則親疎咸哭。哭畢、家人既至、但歡飲而歸、無復祭哭也。

其左人則又不同。無衰服、不復魄。始死置屍館舍、隣里少年各持弓箭遶屍而歌、以箭扣弓爲節。其歌詞說平生樂事以至終卒。大抵亦猶今之挽歌。歌數十闋乃衣衾棺斂、送往山林、別爲廬舍安置棺柩、亦有於村側葬之。待二三十喪總葬石窟. Books of the Sui Dynasty, chapter 31, l. 23.

1 謂墳墓以他故崩壞、將亡失尸柩者也. Khien lung edition of the *I li*, chapter 25, l. 44.

2 In chapter 92, ll. 19 *seq.*, and ch. 93, l. 13.

remains for the second grave ought to take place in a tent near the old sepulchre, they were apparently partisans of the doctrine that dead bodies should not be taken into the dwellings of the living.

Though authorizing the exhuming and re-burying of the dead, the Sung dynasty and that of Ming placed their subjects under some restrictions on this head. Indeed, the Ritual enacted in the Ching hwo period (1111—1117) and the Collective Statutes of the House of Ming both ordained that, »whenever a re-burial was to take »place, the why and wherefore should be made known to the ma»gistracy, who should not issue a permit before having examined the »matter and found it to be correct [1]. The reigning dynasty has like»wise passed a law, viz. in the twelfth year of the period Yung »ching (1734), stating that the people are at full liberty to trans»place a buried coffin to another grave with observance of the »proper ceremonial; but, apart from this, if they place belief in »geomancers' gossip and therefore re-bury a corpse without valid »reasons, the local authorities shall track out such geomancers, »and neither abstain from prosecuting the matter, nor deal with »it leniently" [2].

This point of view of modern legislation is also that of modern authors generally. Hwang Tsung-hi [3], for instance, wrote: »If it be »asked: 'Suppose the ground is not felicitous, is it then permitted to »take the corpse out of it?' — then the answer is: 'Everybody knows »how horrid a torment it is to be quartered alive; — if the bones »of an interred corpse be picked up when the coffin is decaying »and the bones lie apart from each other, and are then deposited »in a small coffin, this causes little less torment than such quarter-

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[1] 凡有改葬者皆具事因聞於官、勘驗得實始聽之. See the *Tuh li t'ung khao* 讀禮通考, »Thorough Examination of my Studies of the Rites", an elaborate historical exposition of mourning and funeral rites in all their details, published in 1996 by Sü Khien-hioh 徐乾學; ch. 106, l. 7. And the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 92, l. 19.

[2] 國朝雍正十二年定例云、除民間有將已葬棺槨依禮改葬者聽其自便外、其有偏信地師之說無故改葬、地方官須究出地師、不得隱諱寬縱. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 19, l. 17. See also the last clause of the second fundamental article of the Law on the Opening of Graves, translated on page 870 of this Volume.

[3] 黃宗羲.

» ing. It is not then better for a corpse to enjoy rest in the » ground where it is, and to be spared the cruel suffering of » mutilation? The conclusion is that, even when the ground is » infelicitous, the dead must not be transplaced" [1]. Yang Hwui-kih [2] wrote down his opinion in the following words: »The means by » which the ancients searched out burial places consisted in divina- » tion by tortoises and stalks. But their posterity, led astray by the » geomantic doctrines, search for dragons, point out favorable hüeh » (see page 1009) and select auspicious days and hours, not minding » whether the coffin be stored away unburied for years and years, » but merely entertaining fears to remain poor and of low position. » Whenever any descendants who have no glorious career have » some slight discomfiture after a burial, they arbitrarily ascribe » it to the operation of the spot where the grave is located, and » transfer the corpse, not merely once, but often several times. » The bodies of their parents thus being deprived of rest, how is » it possible that the children should feel quiet? The doctrines of » the sage and wise merely preach accumulation of virtue and » merit; if a man's virtues and merits are not amassed, he shall » be unhappy, even in spite of felicitous grounds; but if he has » a stock of virtues and merits, no soil or ground whatever can » have any influence upon his lot. Wantonly transferring a corpse » into another grave because faith is placed in gossip about things » which nobody can know, is just as foolish as seeking food by » abandoning the fields that are necessary to produce it. I have » seen numbers and numbers of people who frequently re-buried » their dead and were nevertheless just as often disappointed; and » never did I see anybody grow richer by a re-burial, or rise higher » in the social scale.

»It might be asked, is it then never allowable to re-bury a corpse » in another grave? — Oh no; it is quite proper to do so in the » case of a stranger who has to be forwarded to his native place; » or when a grave has to be prevented from caving in or being

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1 問者曰、地苟不吉遷之可乎、曰、支解之慘夫人知之、入土之屍、棺朽骨散、拾而置之小櫝、其慘不異於支解。何如安於故土、免戮屍之虐乎。卽不吉亦不可遷也. *Wu hioh luh, loc. cit.*

2 楊暉吉.

» submerged by water; or if it is observed that there is water in » it, or white ants. In all these cases the matter tends to benefit » the dead, and not another; and according to the great leading » principles it is of the utmost importance to take good care of » the dead" [1].

Chinese works show that in different epochs it has been customary in various parts of the Empire to enhance, at re-burials, the felicitating power of the bones by washing them. In the fifth century of our era this custom prevailed in Heng-yang [2], a part of the present province of Hunan, as the biography of Ku Hien-chi [3], a grandee living at that time, teaches us. »It was a local » custom there among the mountaineers, when any one among » them fell ill, forthwith to say: 'It is our deceased parents who » visit us with misfortune'. They then conjointly set to work to » open the graves, broke the coffins open, and washed the withered » bones with water. They called this 'averting calamity'. In a lucid » proclamation Ku Hien-chi expostulated with them, saying that » matters of life and death, being of a nature entirely different, could » not arise from each other; and the result was that the custom » was modified" [4]. In a note inserted in the *Jih chi luh* by Hwang

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[1] 古人卜葬所以謀之龜筮也。其後惑於堪輿之說、尋龍指穴擇日諏時、不顧停閣歲年、惟慮身之不富貴。後之不昌熾者既葬之後或少不適意、輒歸咎於墓地使然、一遷不已、至於再三。夫親體不安而子心獨能安乎。聖賢之教惟聞積德、我德不積、雖吉地、亦凶、我德既積豈地所能制。妄肆營遷以泥於不可知之說、是猶求食而捨其田也。吾見其屢遷而屢蹶者數數矣、未見其富益富而貴益貴也。

曰、然則皆不可遷歟。曰、不然、寄客歸里則宜遷、防備崩潰則宜遷、知有水蟻則宜遷。是皆爲親而非爲已也、大率以慎終爲要耳. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 19, l. 16.

[2] 衡陽.

[3] 顧憲之.

[4] 土俗山民有病、輒云先人爲禍。皆開冢、剖

Jü-ch'ing [1] the following statement occurs: »Of late there still lived »in the entire country of Kwang-sin, in Kiangsi province, people »who observe a custom which they call 'burial of washed bones'. »Two or three years after the interment they open the coffins »without any palpable reasons, wash the bones till they are clean, »place those of each corpse separately in an earthen jar, and bury »the latter in the ground. One consequence of this custom is that »people, in quarrelling for felicitous grounds, not seldom render »themselves guilty of the theft of human bones, which, if dis»covered, gives rise to litigation" [2].

This extract is evidence that re-burials connected with a washing of the osseous remains still prevailed in China scarcely two centuries ago. Hence it is not improbable that it exists there to the present day. This supposition is supported by the fact that the Code of Laws contains an article prohibiting it, viz. the one of which we have given the text with translation on page 882. Like most of the supplementary articles of the Law on Burial, it was probably enacted in the present century. It suggests that human bones are sometimes exhumed for the special object of drawing prognostics from them. To our great regret we have not been able to glean any particulars on this head, either from actual Chinese life, or from the native literature.

棺、水洗枯骨。名爲除祟。憲之曉喻爲陳生死之別事不相由、風俗遂改. Books of the Liang Dynasty, chapter 52. l. 2. History of the South of the Realm, chapter 35. l. 15.

[1] 黃汝成.

[2] 近世江西廣信一路又有所謂洗骨葬者。既葬二三年後輒啟棺、洗骨使淨、別貯瓦瓶內、埋之。是以爭吉壤者往往多盜骨之弊、發而成訟. Chapter 15, l. 24.

CHAPTER XIV.

DESCRIPTION OF TOMBS AND MAUSOLEA.

Such a work as the present, which purports to give an account of the principal subjects, customs and practices connected with the resting places of the dead in China, certainly ought above all things to contain particulars about the shape and construction of graves and tombs, from the smallest and meanest built for the lower classes, up to the large, nay, gigantic mausolea which protect the bodies and souls of magnates, nobles and emperors. Though the details collected together by us on this subject and laid down in this chapter are numerous, yet they do not embrace the entire Middle Kingdom, our peregrinations having extended over six provinces only. But we hope to make clear in the following pages all the principal features of grave building, especially those which come out in a comparison of the tombs and graves in Fuhkien and the adjacent mountainous regions with those in the central and northwestern provinces of the Empire.

Unfortunately we can but seldom lead our readers into an archæological field. For, no important graves older than the fourteenth century have been found by us in such a state of preservation as to allow of any reproduction of their original shape and structure (comp. page 441); besides, though the Chinese books refer often enough to ancient and mediæval sepulchres of significance, we can find no regular descriptions sufficient to form a general picture of them of any value and interest. Our readers will therefore have to content themselves with descriptions of tombs and mausolea built during the reign of the present House of Ts'ing and the dynasty of Ming; but we shall often intersperse these descriptions with information drawn from works of older date when such can be of service in tracing the antiquity and history of matters connected with graves.

1. Concerning Graves of the Common People, the Nobility and the Mandarinate.

The character nowadays more commonly used than any other to denote a grave, is 墓, mo. It is found with this meaning

already in the *Shu king*, in the account of the achievements of the founder of the Cheu dynasty [1]. It occurs also in the *Shi king* [2], but a more regular use of it is made specially in the *Li ki*, the *Cheu li*, and other ancient books. Another denomination now of very common use is 墳, fen. This likewise occurs very often in the literature of pre-Christian times, though almost exclusively in the sense of an eminence or mound, and in that of height and size; hence, no doubt, the signification of »grave" has been attached to it at a later period, and its first use with this meaning was restricted to graves with a tumulus. The *Li ki* confirms this, by stating in a passage quoted by us on page 664, that »anciently mo were made, but no fen" [3], that is to say, graves, but no graves with tumuli.

Mostly, however, the ancient books denote graves and sepulchres by the character 冢, ch'ung. Mediæval and modern authors, too, make a very extensive use of it, but they often place the radical 土, »earth", at its side (塚), to bring out its meaning more sharply. We have stated already on page 442 that this word originally signified an eminence, and that it consequently denotes, correctly speaking, a tumulus. On the same page we have given four other terms of ancient origin, denoting both a height and a grave. Still we must add to the list the character 塋, ying, the use of which on an extensive scale seems to date from the Han dynasty. In the literature of that time, and also in that of all subsequent epochs, it occurs chiefly in the sense of a tomb of considerable superficies, or a grave with its circumjacent grounds and appurtenant buildings, or a family grave-ground, a mausoleum. Sometimes we find as a synonym the expression 封墓, fung mo, »grave-ground in which a tumulus or some tumuli are raised". Characters, now somewhat antiquated and obsolete, are: 墦, fan, which occurs, we believe, for the first time in the works of Mencius, viz. in the excerpt given by us on page 385; and 埌, lang, 坻, yü, and 埒, ts'ai, mentioned in a small vocabulary entitled »Local Terms" [4] and composed by Yang Hiung [5], an ethical philosopher and statesman who died in A. D. 18.

Besides, there exist sundry expressions for graves, which are merely periphrases. So *e. g.* hwang ts'üen 黃泉 or »yellow

1 Section 武成. 2 The Odes of Ch'en, section 墓門.
3 古也墓而不墳. 4 方言. Chapter 13. 5 揚雄.

watersprings", alluding to the groundwater filtering through the red-yellowish clay of which the subsoil is composed in many parts of China; yü tseh 輿宅 or »dwelling in the terrestrial vehicle" (comp. p. 939), and many others, which it would be useless to sum up. The term kia ch'ing 佳城, »nice city" or »city of excellence", with which our readers have been made acquainted on pp. 148 and 223, is traceable in the books at least as far back as the second century B. C., for we have therein the following tale, relating to a high magnate of the Han dynasty: »On the death of the ruler »of T'eng, who lived during the reign of the House of Han, »they searched out a burial place for him outside the gate of the »eastern capital. When the high nobles and princes escorted the »corpse to the grave, the team of four horses would not advance, »but bent down to the ground and neighed piteously. Their »prancing hoofs, coming down upon the ground, uncovered a »stone, bearing the following inscription: 'If this nice city be »covered with flourishing bushes, it shall behold the bright sun»shine still after three thousand years. O Ruler of T'eng, settle »in this home!' They thereupon buried him in this spot" [1].

In Amoy and the surrounding districts a grave is styled *bōng* or *bō*, which words are the local pronunciation of the above-mentioned character 墓. Also the word *hún*, representing the character 墳, is there in vogue, but almost always in combination with *bōng* or *bō*, viz. as *hún bōng* or *hún bō*, »grave with a tumulus". But, owing to the sway of the Fung-shui theories, these terms are at Amoy almost totally supplanted by the word *hong-súi*, which, as our readers know, is there the local form of the word Fung-shui; the beneficial influences of Nature, which every one is sure to concentrate upon his graves, are thus used to denote the graves themselves. This fact, though insignificant at first sight, is yet of some interest, as showing that the people are wont to connect Fung-shui so inseparably with their burial places, that a grave without some Fung-shui is to them a thing unimaginable. In connection here-

[1] 漢滕公薨、求葬東都門外。公卿送喪、駟馬不行、踾地悲鳴、跑蹄下地得石、有銘曰、佳城鬱鬱、三千年見白日、吁嗟滕公、居此室。遂葬焉. *Poh wuh chi*, ch. 7. The ruler of T'eng is especially known in history under the name of Hia-heu Ying 夏侯嬰; see his biography in the Historical Records, ch. 59, ll. 9 *sqq.*, and the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 41, ll. 7 *sqq.*

with it cannot excite surprise that our proverb: »All his geese are swans", has a standard equivalent in the Amoy common parlance, running thus: *Pat lâng ê hong-súi khah m̄ hó*[1]: »Other people's graves never have a Fung-shui like that of our own".

Nevertheless, graves in the selection of which no Fung-shui calculations have had part or lot, exist in considerable numbers. They are those of forlorn people without offspring, on whose last resting places nobody's fate depends, and whom benevolent men, anxious to collect a store of merit, have committed to the earth in urns or poor coffins, without much ceremony. Neither do the Fung-shui theories exist for the graves of young children. Their corpses are placed in a jar or a poor wooden box (see page 330), which a workman unceremoniously carries on his shoulder, or in some other way, to the open country, together with a hoe to dig the grave pit. No relations escort him on his way. At best the sorrowing mother sees him out into the street, giving vent to her grief by piteous wailing, and loudly protesting against her child's leaving her. The corpse is buried anywhere at a depth of a few inches, and the rest of the earth heaped up over it. Within a short time the dust returns to dust, or, as is very often the case, the remains are devoured by dogs and crows. No property in the ground is secured, nor is any attention paid to the spot afterwards. Many babies are not buried at all, the urn or box being merely set aside in the open country, where it likewise soon falls a prey to birds and starving dogs.

Some care is, however, bestowed upon the graves of children approaching the age of puberty, especially if they belong to the male sex. Indeed, their bones being solid enough to long withstand decomposition, they may be advantageously made use of for drawing down blessings on the nearest relations through the medium of Fung-shui; and it is therefore worth the trouble and expense of burying them with a ceremonial approximating to that for adults, in grounds the ownership of which has been duly acquired, and in graves commensurate with the wealth of the family. The case is nearly always treated in this way when it concerns an only son on the verge of manhood, his parents being then constrained by the laws of social life to adopt a son for him for the perpetuation of his line of descent and the worship of his ancestors, and

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[1] 別人之風水更不好.

consequently, a grave being wanted for the said Continuator as a palladium of his own fortunes and those of his offspring.

Already when Confucius lived, it was customary to bury non-adults in a slipshod way. There is evidence of this in the interesting passage of the *Li ki*, which we have translated on page 240; moreover, the same Classic narrates the following incident from the life of the Sage (chapter 27, l. 40):

»Tseng-tszĕ asked: 'Children dying between eight and twelve »are buried in the fields by imbedding them in earth on all sides; »and if the relations follow thither behind the contrivance which »serves the purpose of a carriage, they do so because the burial »place is near. But now, if the grave is at a distance, how should »the burial be performed?'

»Confucius said: I have heard Lao Tan say: 'Formerly (viz. in the »twelfth century B. C.), the recorder Yih had a son who died thus »prematurely, and the grave was distant. The ruler of Chao said to »him: 'Why not encoffin and dress him in your palace?' The recorder »answered: 'May I presume to do so?' The ruler of Chao spoke »about it to the prince of Cheu (see page 691), who said: 'Why »not?' — and the recorder did so. The custom of using coffins for »boys who have died between eight and twelve and placing them »therein after having dressed them, dates from the recorder Yih" [1].

The right to use a ground for a grave is generally acquired by purchase; that is to say, for a certain sum the proprietor, who may be either a person, or a family, clan or village, cedes the ownership of it to another man and his offspring, or to some family with their descendants, either for ever, or for so long a time as the ground is used for the purpose for which it is ceded. This latter condition being stipulated in almost every case, or silently understood, time as a rule cancels the transaction after some generations, when the grave sinks into oblivion or is swept out of existence for want of repair. As proof

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[1] 曾子問曰、下殤土周葬於園、遂輿機而往、塗遯故也。今墓遠則其葬也如之何。

孔子曰、吾聞諸老聃曰、昔者史佚有子而死、下殤也、墓遠。召公謂之曰、何以不棺斂於宮中。史佚曰、吾敢乎哉。召公言於周公、周公曰、豈不可、史佚行之。下殤用棺衣棺自史佚始也. Section 曾子問, II.

of the cession, the bargainors hand to the bargainees a written deed, called at Amoy *soaⁿ koan* [1], »a deed for land", or *hong-súi khoè* [2], »a deed for a grave". The wording of such a document is as simple as the transaction itself, formality and circumlocution being dispensed with as superfluous, as the universal respect for the dead, and the laws protecting their abodes, are deemed to be sufficiently efficacious in safeguarding against any attempt of bad characters to swindle the legal holders out of their property. Here is the text with translation of a *soaⁿ koan*, the original of which is in our possession:

山關

鄭府有祖山壹帶、坐落萬石獅山、高續及水尖山等處、歷來批送鄉閭以及遠近人氏葬墳之便、茲有吳雲谷觀前來求葬親柩、送與本山除本家墳界以外無碍處所自擇地壹穴在獅頭後溪墘。出命不許衝傷別墳、仍不許打石車石、損壞山龍、及私專圖利致虧梓。誼兩全其美。

山關付炤

嘉慶拾年、參月、十二日給

山主鄭府 □

»The family Ching, owners of a tract of high ground inherited »from their ancestors, which is situated on the hill known as the »Lion of Ten Thousand Rocks and extends up-hill as far as the »Waterpeak and other places, have already ceded by contract »parts of this ground to the villagers and other people far off and »near, to be used for graves; — and whereas there has now

1 山關. *Koan* 關 is, we think, an abbreviated form of the term 關防, which means a seal and, consequently, a sealed document. 2 風水契.

» appeared before them one Wu Yun-kuh, who has to bury the » remains of his parents, they cede to him in those parts of that » hill on which there are no restrictions and which are situated » beyond the limits of their own graves, ground for one grave, » which he has himself selected, viz. on the borders of the brook » which flows at the back of the head of the Lion. But they » herewith issue orders that he shall not come in contact with » other graves, nor inflict »wounds" on the same; neither shall he » cut out or upset any stones, and so injure the dragon of the hill; » nor shall he for the sake of private gains and profits do any » damage to the Rottlera trees. But he must keep the excellent » qualities of the spot in a state of twofold perfection.

» This *soan koan* is handed to him as a certificate.

» Given in the tenth year of the period Kia khing (1805), » on the twelfth day of the third month.

» The family Ching, Owners of the ground,
(square red seal stamp).

In times long ago, before paper was invented, or, at any rate, before paper was in universal use, deeds and bonds of all sorts were, in China, carved on small boards of wood, which we find denoted in the native books by the character 券, khüen. This word occurs already with this meaning in the *Shwoh wen*, so that it is certain that bonds on wood were in vogue in pre-Christian times. Of course it is not dubitable that, in ancient times, bargains for grave grounds were written in China on wood, just the same as other transactions. In any case we have documentary evidence of this having there been customary still in the fourteenth century, although, we are pretty sure, paper was then manufactured on a large scale and was in general use; but old usages are very tenacious of existence. We read in the *Kwei sin tsah shih*, a work composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century (see page 399):

» Nowadays, when people make a grave, they do not neglect » the making up of a written bargain for the ground; and they » make it of Rottlera wood, upon which they write in red char- » acters that such-and-such a plot has been bought for a sum of » 99,999 coins, etc. etc. This is a custom prescribed by village- » priests, and consequently extremely ridiculous. In the Continuation » which Yuen I-shan wrote to the *I kien chi*[1], we find it stated

1 The *I kien chi* 夷堅志 is a large work in 420 chapters, composed in the twelfth century by Hung Mai 洪邁.

» that some people in the country of Khüh-yang (province of Peh-» chihli), when digging up a grave on the Ts'ing-yang embankment » in Yen-ch'wen, found therein an iron contract, on which was » engraved in gilt characters: 'Wang Ch'u-ts'un, a loyal officer, » buried at the cost of the Emperor; a donation of 99,999 strings » of coins and 999 coins has been made for the purpose'. This » burial having taken place under Ngai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty » (904—908) [1], the custom in question is of ancient date" [2].

We are not able to give the reasons for this queer practice of stating in such certificates the amount of the money in a sum exclusively composed of the cipher nine, not having found any explanation thereof in Chinese books. The wording of the above extract, however, intimates that this practice was far from universal, as the author gives it as a mere curiosity, ludicrous in the eyes of the many. The conservative spirit of the Chinese with respect to everything connected with the treatment of the dead, renders it probable that it exists even now somewhere or other in the Empire; but we have never during our stay in China heard the people speak of it. As to the custom, also mentioned in the above quotation, of placing in the graves bargains engraved in metal, no doubt this must have been of rather common occurrence, as the Sung dynasty considered it important enough to sanction it officially. Indeed, among its statutory rescripts concerning the funeral among the mandarinate we read: »There shall be used, besides » a stone bearing a record of the life of the deceased, one stone » on which the deed is engraved, and one copy of this latter » in iron" [3].

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1 Wang Ch'u-ts'un died in A. D. 895; see the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 182, l. 6.

2 今人造墓、必用買地券、以梓木爲之、朱書云、用錢九萬九千九百九十九文買到某地云云。此村巫風俗、如此殊爲可笑。觀元遺山續夷堅志載、曲陽燕川青陽壩有人起墓、得鐵券刻金字云、敕葬忠臣王處存、賜錢九萬九千九百九十九貫九百九十九文。此唐哀宗之時、然則此事由來久矣. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 140.

3 誌石券石鐵券各一. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 124, l. 14.

The essential part of every grave in Amoy and the country around is a tumulus smoothly rounded on the top, a little longer and broader than the coffin which is buried under it. Graves without a mound are extremely rare, though the tumuli of those of the poor are often so low as to be barely distinguishable from the surroundings. In many cases, the coffin is buried at a considerable depth. Much oftener, however, it is scarcely below the level of the soil around, nay, partly or entirely above it, having only the tumulus to cover it from view; and this method reminds us of the way in which, anciently, encoffined corpses were stored away under a layer of clay in the house (pp. 363—365). But such shallow burials, or, as they are called in the books, »burials by heaping up the earth (around the coffin)" [1], stand in no connection whatever with those house-burials of bygone days. They are simply enforced upon the people by geomancy, enlightened prophets of this art having, many centuries ago, revealed the remarkable physical fact that in many parts of eastern Fuhkien, and in the departments of Chang-cheu and Ts'üen-cheu in particular, the Terrestrial Breath (see page 948) »is floating on or near the surface". Shallow burials have also the advantage of protecting the coffin from the water of the sub-soil. Moreover, they are frequently ordered by geomancers because, according to their theories, the outlines of the mountains and other configurations only are of value for a grave if they can be seen from the spot where the corpse is placed.

At almost every burial, it is the Fung-shui professor who determines the depth of the grave. He fixes also the direction of its longitudinal axis in connexion with the decrees of the almanac and the bearings he takes (comp. page 974), and regulates the construction and finishing of the tomb in all its details, geomantic art having in the course of years brought its theories to bear upon every integral part of the dwellings of the dead.

On page 213 we have stated that coffins in the grave are generally covered with oiled paper, straw, matting or such-like material, and thereupon imbedded in a layer of earth mixed with lime, which, becoming hard and solid, forms a vault which keeps out rainwater, and protects the coffin from being crushed in, when the wood moulders. No solid substratum is placed underneath the coffin,

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[1] 培土葬.

for no salutary effects can be expected from a grave unless the Terrestrial Breath have access to the coffin and can freely exert its influence upon the corpse. The earth of the tumulus, too, is often mixed with lime, particularly if the grave pit is shallow.

In many families the conviction prevails that it is the duty of the married daughters to pay the cost of the lime which is required for their parents' graves. Indeed, they having to mourn for their father and mother in the second degree (see page 552, no. 13), it is naturally becoming in them to provide the second covering in the grave, the first one, viz. the coffin, having to be bought by the sons and the other mourners in the first degree. The same considerations render it incumbent upon the married daughters to give the second layer of grave clothes, as we have stated on page 63.

The books teach us that lime was used for the construction of graves already many centuries before the Christian era. In a passage quoted by us on page 725, the *Tso ch'wen* relates that lime prepared from sea-clams was used at the burial of Wen, a ruler of Sung, who died in 587 B. C.; and it is interesting to read, in connection herewith, in the *Cheu li*: »The Officer for the Sea-» clams has the direction of the gathering of bivalvular animals and » clams, and thus to provide in the need for clams for closing » burial pits" [1]. In mediæval ages, employing lime for graves must have been very common, otherwise it could hardly have occurred to Chu Hi to make a formal rescript rendering the use of it almost obligatory. We read indeed in his Rituals for Family Life: » Make a partition wall (of boards around the coffin in the grave) » for the lime, then put a (wooden) cover into the pit, and fill up » the space around with lime, finally filling the pit by means of » earth" [2]. Commentators, expounding this passage, say that a layer of charcoal dust must be placed at the bottom of the pit, and, over it, a thick layer of lime mixed with sand and clay, and that a similar double protection against termites, moisture, roots of trees and robbers is to be made around and over the coffin by the help of wooden boards. But these directions are far from being obeyed to the letter by the Fuhkienese of the present day.

We believe it is no exaggeration to say, that at least nine graves

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[1] 掌蜃掌斂互物蜃物、以共闔壙之蜃. Ch. 16, l. 38.

[2] 加灰隔、內外蓋、實以灰、乃實土. Chapter 6.

out of ten merely consist of a tumulus, at best with a quadrilateral tablet of granite, engraved with characters, standing perpendicular at the shortest side or foot end. By far the majority of the people are indeed too poor to do more for their dead; and many of the well-to-do use no better graves when the exigencies of Fung-shui compel them to follow the »stealthy" method of burial, of which we have spoken on page 1033. At many graves of this simple description, the said inscribed grave stone is fixed into a small wall, which, as a rule, is a little lower and slopes down by a curved line on both sides, as may be seen from those represented in the back ground on Plate XXIV, inserted at page 941. Generally, this wall is a compound of sand and clay, well mixed with lime, battered into a solid mass and plastered over with white mortar. In a few cases it is of white-plastered masonry.

Only the graves of the better class have an omega-shaped ridge of earth, the *raison d'être* of which we have explained on page 942. Indeed, such a *bōng moa* embraces an area of ground which is much larger than the small plot required for a tumulus alone, consequently demanding an outlay which the poor cannot afford. On page 942 we have also stated that some graves have a double bank, one of granite or brick, and one of earth on the outside. This latter, if it is large and broad, is often called *bōng chʿiú* [1], »the grave-arms", because it extends along both sides like the arms hang down along the human body. Now, whereas man is utterly helpless if he loses the free use of those limbs, it is extremely disastrous to a grave should its arms be »wounded" (comp. page 1035). Like a fortress with dilapidated defences, its Fung-shui must infallibly succumb to any attack of the obnoxious powers, always lurking about to destroy good influences.

Grave banks being especially common in the southern provinces of China, they are a distinctive feature also of Chinese graves in the Straits Settlements, the Malay Archipelago, and other transmarine colonies in which natives of those provinces have settled. Some explanations given of their meaning by European authors, may be set aside as fanciful and ludicrous. Some writers have discovered that they are downright representations of the legs of Mother Earth, from whose womb man is born, and into whose womb he returns at death!

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[1] 墓手.

The common name for a tumulus is, at Amoy, *bōng tui*[1], »grave heap" or »grave mound". The shape is often ellipsoidal, which must be ascribed to the form of the coffin buried underneath (comp. page 941). When girt by a *bōng moa*, the tumulus is generally low and reminds us of the shape of a tortoise, whence it is popularly styled *bōng ku*[2], »grave tortoise". Some say that tortoises are often thus imitated on purpose, because they are, as we have stated on page 56, a popular emblem of longevity; the capacity of reaching a high age is thus concentrated upon the grave, and passes from it to the offspring of its occupant. It is not improbable that we here have to do also with an attempt at placing the grave under the influence of the Celestial Tortoise, the spirit of the northern quadrant of the heavens; indeed, the tumulus is, in theory, the northern part of the grave, and an ancient rescript requires the dead to be buried in the northern suburbs and with their heads to the north (see page 984). We have seen many graves the tumulus of which was entirely besmeared with plaster in light and dark colours imitating the lines and figures of a tortoise shell.

It is a custom of rather common prevalence to plaster grave-mounds over their whole surface with white mortar. They are then called at Amoy *he bōng*[3], »lime graves", in contra-distinction to the *t'ó bōng*[4] or »graves of earth", which are turf-clad. Some *he bōng* are round and low, especially when they cover urns or small coffins with bones that have been exhumed and re-buried for reasons expounded in Chapter XIII.

Complete tombs, such as the moneyed class in Amoy are accustomed to build for their dead relations, are in general laid out on the same plan as the dwellings of the living. In the first Volume of this work we have, opposite page 16, inserted a Plate, showing how, in accordance with the opinion of Chinese authors generally and Chu Hi in particular[5], mansions used to be built in ancient China. Most palaces, dwellings of the rich, and temples of the gods are similarly planned at the present day, and it can therefore hardly be doubted that they have also been planned so during the whole series of centuries which separate ancient from modern China. If the reader bears in mind the outlines of that plan, he will understand the construction of Chinese tombs in every detail. Plates XXIV, XXV

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1 墓堆. 2 墓龜. 3 灰墓. 4 塗墓.

5 See his »Explanation of Mansions" 釋宮, reprinted at the head of the Imperial Khien lung edition of the *I li*.

and XXIX, which represent complete tombs of the simplest kind, may help him in this matter.

The chief part of the grave, viz. the tumulus covering the coffin, corresponds to the back chamber of the house, in which, anciently, its inmates breathed their last and were washed and prepared for the grave. In front of the tumulus, separated therefrom by a wall in which the grave stone is fixed, we have the *bōng thg* [1] or »grave hall", corresponding to the »hall" of houses and temples. As we have stated on page 5, such a house hall contains an altar bearing the soul tablets of the ancestors, which is erected against the wall opposite the door; — in a similar situation there is an altar in the hall of the grave, which does duty at sacrifices to the soul of the buried man. It is the so-called *bōng toh* [2] or »grave table": a square slab of granite, either placed on the ground, or upon a massive table-shaped pile of masonry; sometimes it is entirely of granite, and carved in front with characters or emblematic figures, such as we have mentioned on page 979. As this altar is affixed to the wall of the grave stone, it apparently bears the latter; which renders its resemblance to a house-altar as close as possible, the said stone being, as we shall see anon, deemed to be, like the wooden soul tablets at home, a seat for the manes. Let us here add that in temples dedicated to the worship of the dead, or to gods and saints of any sort, the altar with the tablets or images stands in quite a similar position in the main hall.

That grave altars can be traced back by the Chinese to the dawn of their history, we have had occasion to explain on page 385.

The next integral part of a complete tomb is a *bōng tiâng* [3] or »grave court", corresponding to the paved *tiâng* or court-yard of houses and temples. Just the same as this latter, it is a depression in front of the »hall". Straight before it we have the *tan tî* (tan ch'i), the important receptacle which, whether it be empty or filled, is expected to bless the grave with a rich shower of aquatic influences. Having on page 946 expatiated on the part such tanks play in grave building, and there stated that they are constructed also before large mansions and temples, we may now pass them over in silence.

Even the earthen bank or omega-shaped fender has its counter-

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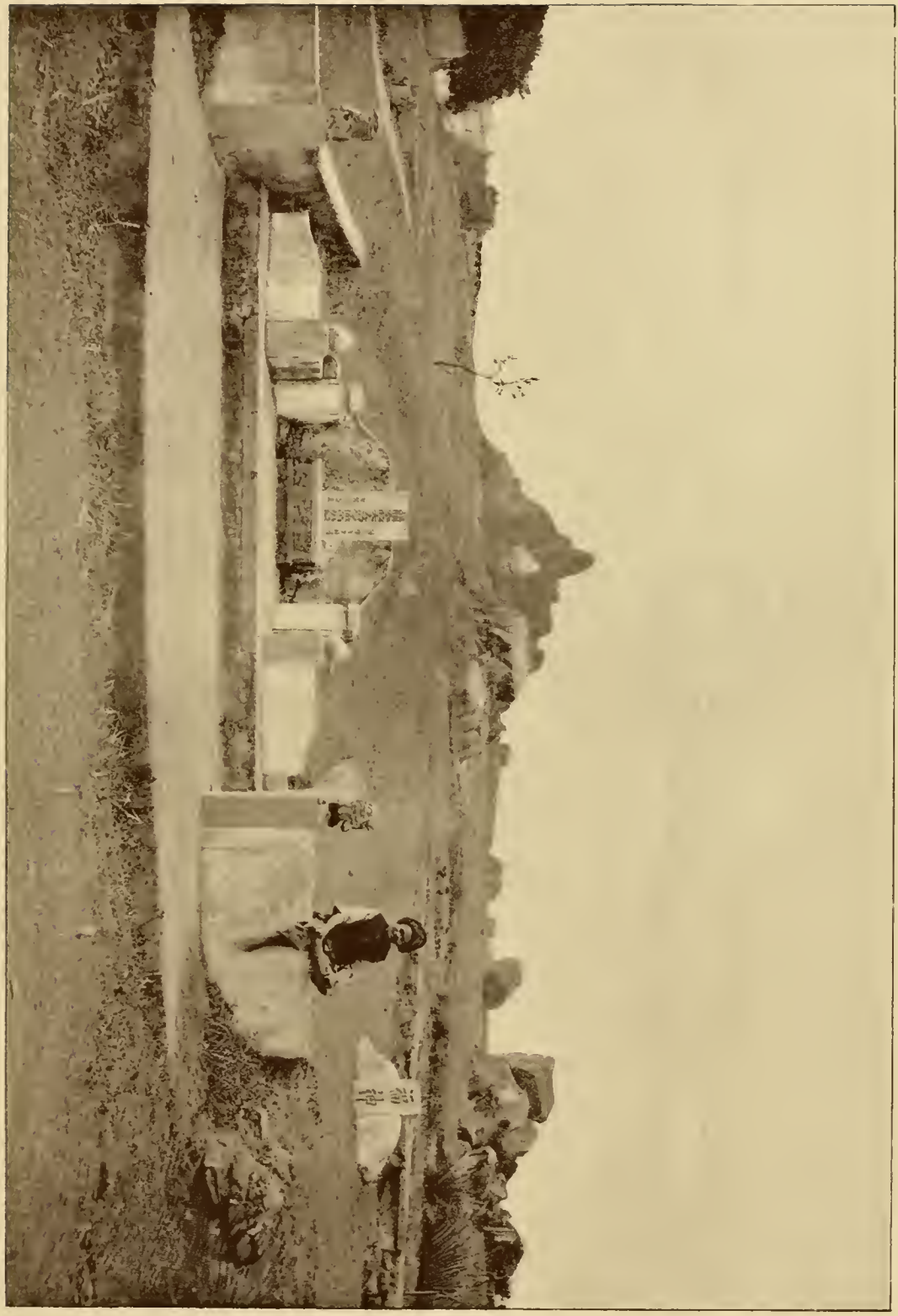
[1] 墓堂. [2] 墓桌. [3] 墓庭.



A Tomb in the Vicinity of Amoy.

part in mansions and temples. It corresponds with the walls immuring the emplacement and forming on either side a row of apartments with a verandah, or a covered piazza without apartments, called wu [1] or lang wu [2]; — indeed, the term *bōng moa* virtually means the piazza or side gallery of a grave (see page 942). Thus much for complete tombs of the simplest construction. Though moulded on the same plan, yet they are, as our illustrations show, by no means all alike in shape. A great many, *e. g.* that represented in Plate XXIX, have no tank, some gully in the vicinity rendering it superfluous; others have no court, the whole space in front being occupied by the tank. Almost always, everything, including the floors of the hall, court-yard and tank, is of a mixture of clay, sand and lime, battered into a solid mass, over which comes a coating of white plaster. But in course of time this coating tarnishes, giving the tomb a dirty and ruined appearance, unless it be kept in constant repair. Hence some people prefer mixing the plaster with blue-greyish colouring material.

Tombs such as described above are often very large when they inclose the remains of a high mandarin, or a person with a high titulary rank. We have seen many occupying an area twenty and more times as large as the graves represented in our illustrations, and affording room for the building of a dozen good-sized European houses. Some of these big sepulchral monuments have one or two flights of steps leading from the tank up to the grave court, and other flights connecting the grave court with the hall, if this latter be a few feet higher. Some large tombs also have, let into the floor in front of the altar, a *pài tsióh* [3] or »stone for reverences", which is a square slab of granite, serving, as the name indicates, for the relations to make prostrations upon when they worship the buried man. Such a stone is to be found also in front of the altar in many a temple and many a dwelling house. Several large graves have a low wall, girding the entire front beyond the tank (comp. Plate XXVII), with an opening for an entrance, which is called *bōng mĥg* [4], »the grave gate". Our readers forthwith recognize in it the gate erected in front of the court-yard of temples or mansions, both in modern and in ancient times (comp. Plate I, at p. 16). We have seen some tombs with a second wall of the same construction, this being likewise in conformity with the custom, ancient

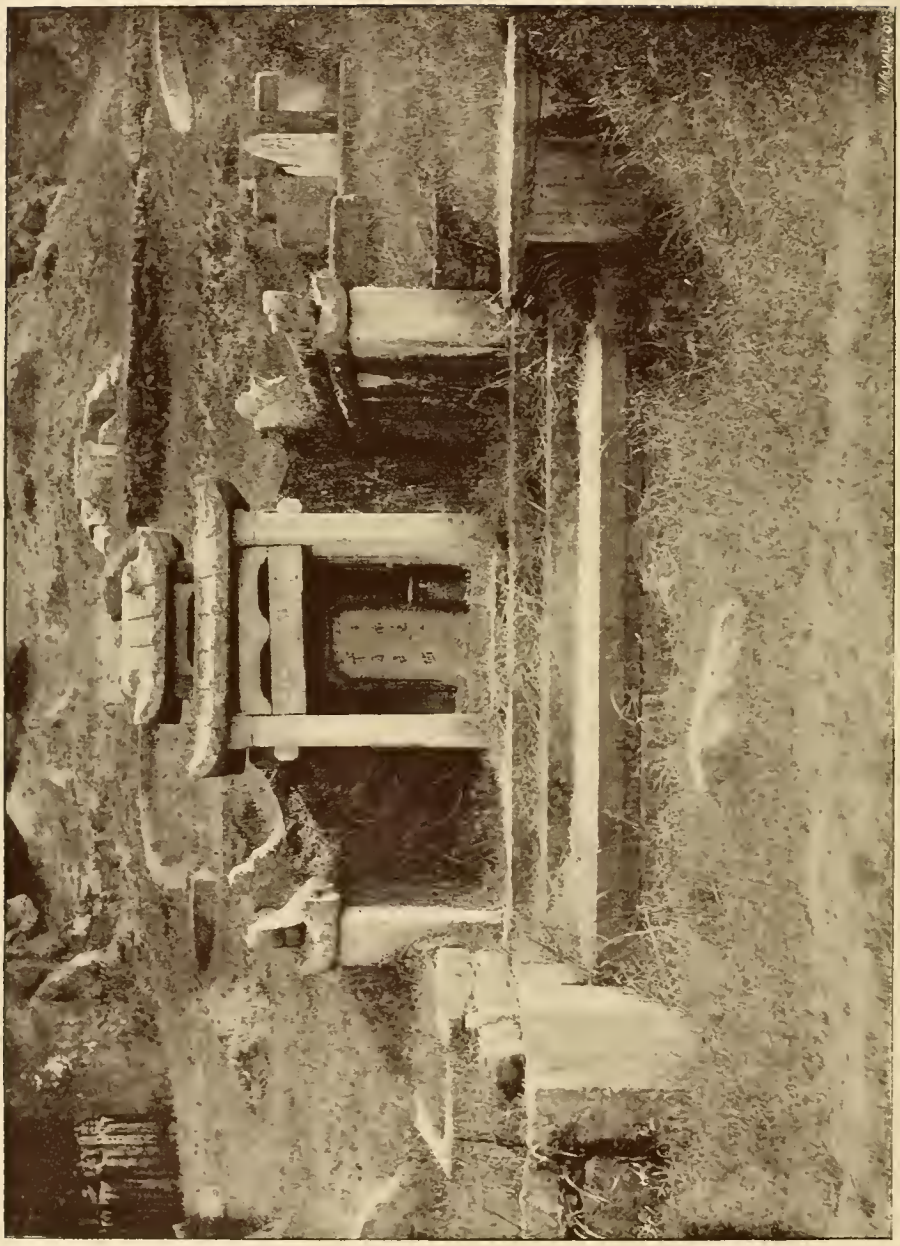
[1] 廡. [2] 廊廡. [3] 拜石.
[4] 墓門.

and modern, of having a double enclosure in front of large houses and religious buildings.

Families rich enough to afford sepulchres of such dimension, in general possess also the means to build them of a material more durable than a compound of earth and lime. For the better protection of the coffin they have a vault of brick constructed over it, or have it covered with slabs of granite resting on other slabs with which the pit is lined; and so the grave is for ever prevented from caving in, and tolerably safe from robbery. The outward parts of the tomb they make, either partly or entirely, of granite and brick, nearly always plastering the brickwork, but never the granite. In many cases, only the low pillars in the corners of the tomb are of granite, and chiseled out at the top into a lion, a flame, a lotus flower or some other ornament (comp. Plate XXIX). But it would be incorrect to pretend that granite plays any great part in modern grave building. Nearly all the granite graves now extant in Fuhkien province were built under the Ming dynasty. This fact suggests a considerable decadence in grave building; and this decadence must, we believe, be ascribed to a general decrease of wealth, there being no reasons to suppose that piety for the dead is on the wane, or that the art of stonecutting has declined, the Chinese everywhere being still capable of producing excellent things in this branch of workmanship.

Such old tombs of granite are tolerably numerous in the environs of Amoy. Many are in good condition; but a much greater number are badly dilapidated, because the offspring has died out or, having become impoverished, takes no more interest in them, leaving them a prey to any one who wants good pieces of stone for building or other purposes. It is certain that they will soon share the fate of the many thousands which have been swept out of existence. Hence we insert in these pages pictures of some of the best specimens we have seen, directing the attention of our readers specially to that represented in Plate XXVII, opposite page 979, which, being hidden in a mountain recess in the island of Amoy, far from human ken, has remained intact and is undoubtedly one of the finest to be found in Fuhkien. Its grave stone says that it was built in 1587.

We need not dwell long on those ancient monuments; for, as our readers will see at a glance, they are planned like the modern graves. But attention must be drawn to the fact that straight lines are more prevalent in them than in the modern tombs, and that the walls are generally higher than those of the latter. The walls



A Tomb with Stone Shed.

on the right and left of the grave hall and the grave court are covered with blocks of stone carved into the shape of roofs; which again shows that tombs and human dwellings are closely connected, for during the Ming dynasty it was, as at present, an established custom to place tiled roofs upon the walls surrounding the emplacement of palaces and buildings of importance. The said blocks not unfrequently bear on their front a squatted lion or a lion's head in stone; and such figures are sometimes to be seen also in front of the tomb, where they flank the ground on both sides like a pair of sentinels (see Plate XXXI).

A special feature of many tombs dating from the Ming dynasty is a square sheltering structure of granite, raised on pillars over the grave stone and covering, in many cases, the altar, or even the entire grave hall (Pl. XXX). This structure is another tie connecting tombs with houses and temples, not to say that it renders their resemblance almost perfect. Its roof is generally double, which is likewise the case with the roofs of several edifices of any architectural pretensions. In many cases, the grave stone it shelters is not fixed in the back wall of the grave hall, but stands insulated in a square pedestal of granite, in the same way as the large tablets of stone represented in Plate XXXVI at page 1141, and like soul tablets of wood are usually implanted in wooden blocks.

These so-called *bōng am* [1] or »grave sheds" we have never seen on tombs constructed during the present reigning dynasty. It can hardly be questioned that they were in vogue in times prior to the rule of the House of Ming, they being in point of fact small grave temples, and grave temples being, as we have shown on page 388, traceable in Chinese books up to pre-Christian times. We may finally conjecture that the method of building the graves so exactly on the plan of dwellings, is to be directly connected with the ancient Chinese house-burial, of which we have spoken in a former chapter (pp. 363 *sqq.*). Even though we search in vain for written evidence that might support this suggestion, yet we think that probability forbids us to flatly reject it as untenable.

That many graves of the Ming dynasty, if the occupant was a member of the mandarinate or the nobility, have stone images of men and animals in front of them, or animals alone, has been stated already in our dissertation devoted to those grave decorations

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[1] 墓庵.

(p. 816). We have therein mentioned also that such figures are hardly ever to be found on tombs of the present dynasty (p. 822), and in our chapter on Fung-shui given one of the chief reasons thereof (page 945). Another reason we may add here, viz. the decadence of the national wealth and prosperity, which, as we have stated, may also account for the fact that solid, natural stone is now hardly ever used on a large scale for the construction of tombs.

Just as the tombs built under the present dynasty (see page 979), those dating from the reign of the House of Ming are sometimes decorated with the eight k w a, and characters or emblematic figures expressing felicity (see Pl. XXVII, facing p. 979). They also have, in many instances, two stone pillars, flanking the space in front (see Pl. XXXI). From the table given on page 452 our readers have seen that the Ming dynasty only entitled noblemen and servants of the crown to have them on their graves. The House now on the throne having inherited this institution from that dynasty almost unaltered, as the extract given by us on pp. 821 and 822 shows, such pillars also are often seen on modern graves of considerable size, even if the occupants are mere commoners with a titular official rank obtained by purchase. In the official regulations of both dynasties they are called w a n g c h u [1], »pillars to look at". This appellation betrays their object: they are to serve the soul as beacons, by means of which it may find its way back again to its resting place when it has wandered from the tomb. To make them answer this purpose the better, the top is pointed in imitation of a flame, an imaginary light being thus emitted, which has, moreover, this advantage of intensifying the vitality of the soul. Accordingly, the part the pillars perform at the tomb is the same as that of candles or lamps burning near a death-bed (comp. pp. 21 *sqq.*). In Amoy they are usually called *tsióh tsik* [2], »stone torches", even if, as if often the case, they bear no flame at the top, but a decorative lion.

It is not unreasonable to connect these stone grave-lights with the stone torch-bearers which, according to an ancient book quoted by us on page 811, stood in the crypt of a king in the seventh century before our era and, no doubt, were at that time placed in many graves of people of distinction. At any rate, they are

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[1] 望柱. [2] 石燭.

A Tomb built under the Ming Dynasty.

traceable to very early times. We find them mentioned in an old description of a mausoleum of the Han period, which we have translated on pp. 445—446, and this corroborates the statement of Wang Jui that their use dates from the Ts'in dynasty and that of Han (see p. 825). In writings of later times they are mentioned regularly; as *e. g.* in the description of a mausoleum of the fifth century, which we have translated on pp. 440—441, and in an annotation touching the sepulchre of Chao Siu, who lived in the sixth century (p. 814), besides sundry other passages which it is superfluous to quote. But it must be observed that their erection was officially subject to rules in the sixth century of our era, which is evinced by the excerpt, quoted by us on page 814 from the Books of the Sui Dynasty. In mediæval times they decidedly occupied a place among the ornamentations of imperial tombs, for, as we have shown on page 815, the emperor T'ai Tsu ordained in his testamentary dispositions that the pillars to be erected on his tomb should be of brick, and not of stone. Public functionaries were officially allowed to have them on their graves under the Sung dynasty, the government regulations respecting the burial of such worthies then prescribing that »one pair of stone sheep, one »pair of tigers and one pair of wang chu should be placed »on their graves; but the officers of the first, second or third »degree might add two stone images of men" [1]. And we shall see later on that they are also to be found in the mausolea of the emperors of the Ming dynasty and in those of the present reigning House.

Large sepulchres are generally surrounded by a tract of private land of sufficient extent to prevent others from building graves close by and spoiling the Fung-shui. The boundaries of these adjacent grounds are marked by small slabs of granite, planted upright in the soil and engraved with characters indicating the name of the owners, such as 陳界, »boundary of (the family) Ch'en", or the like. Should there happen to be rocks or boulders on the confines, the inscription is as a rule carved thereon. The adjacent grounds are generally styled mo yin [2], »the grave shade", in allusion to the so-called »shade trees" [3] which ought to grow therein. But

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[1] 墳所有石羊虎望柱各二、三品以上加石人二人. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 124, l. 14.

[2] 墓蔭. [3] 蔭樹.

in spite of the fact that, having trees on the tombs, represents a time-honoured custom which can be traced back to the dawn of Chinese history; in spite of the circumstance that the planting and keeping of grave trees has always ranked among the cardinal duties of virtuous wives and children, as we have demonstrated elsewhere (pp. 460 *sqq.*), they are nowadays rare in the south of the Empire, and seldom seen there even on graves of the largest sort. In the main, as we have stated before (p. 945), this is owing to Fung-shui, which, condemning the presence of trees in the front of graves, only allows of their being planted thereon if there are no other tombs behind. Besides, only a few tombs have adjacent grounds so large that trees may grow therein without the roots sapping the masonry and destroying the corpse. Most professors set very little value on the trees as fenders, for, unless they be planted in considerable numbers, so as to form a foliage of great density, they can scarcely prevent the obnoxious effects of the atmosphere from penetrating to the tumulus and the grave stone. In many cases, grave trees are planted on account of geomantic speculation about the elements, when calculations have made out that an increase of Wood is urgently demanded by the configurations around. Here and there the traveller comes across a grave built under the Ming dynasty, which, owing to the care of descendants who regard it as the palladium of their prosperity, is shielded on both sides of the avenue of animals and at the back by copses and underwood of a considerable extent. But such mausolea are rare, and we have not seen half a dozen in the course of so many years. It struck our attention that graves planted with trees are more numerous in the northern half of Fuhkien than in the southern parts of that province.

Apart from the above reasons, it is not improbable that the total absence of trees from the graves of the common people is a survival of ancient times, when, according to the extracts from the *Cheu li* and the *Li ki*, quoted on page 461, sepulchral trees were planted exclusively on the tombs of the higher classes. It is, however, doubtful whether those extracts are to be relied upon implicitly, they being contradicted by the *Poh hu t'ung i*, a book which is generally believed to date from the first century of our era. »The grave mound of a Son of Heaven", it says, »was three »jen high, and pines were planted about it. That of a feudal »ruler was half as high, and the trees planted about it were »cypresses. The height of the tumulus of a Great officer was

A Granite Tomb built under the Ming Dynasty, with Grave Trees behind.

» eight feet, and Lwan trees were planted about it. That of an » ordinary office-bearer was four feet and planted with Sophora » trees. Non-official persons had no grave mounds, and the trees » planted about their tombs were willows" [1]. But, whatever the truth may be, it appears certain that the ancient Chinese planted trees chiefly about the remains of people of distinction, simply because the graves of the latter covered more ground than those of the vulgar, and also because customary law — as we learn from the extract from the *Chéu li* just now referred to — prescribed that their number must be proportionate to the rank of the dead.

Though the present inhabitants of south-eastern China hardly ever plant sepulchral trees, yet they regard them with much awe and respect. The conviction that they screen the soul, which rests under their shade, from noxious influences and avert decay from the coffin and the remains, is still as vividly alive as ever; nor has the belief in a mystic relation between those trees and the soul they continuously infuse new vitality into, in the least waned. To hew them down is considered a heinous crime for which the Laws of the Empire inflict heavy punishments, as we have shown on pp. 902 *sqq.* And in Amoy, the expression *boē bōng-ch'iū* [2], »to sell grave trees", is frequently on the lips of the people as a metaphor denoting the height of filial ingratitude. The conscience of the nation is incessantly roused to respect for grave trees by the *Li ki*, which declares that »no worthy man hews down any trees of his grave mounds when he has to build a mansion or dwelling" [3]; moreover, many centuries before our era, the *Shi king* pronounced an anathema against the destroying of such trees, in these terms: »At the gate of the tomb there stood jujube trees, » and they were cut away with an axe: that man was not virtuous. » The people of the kingdom knew he would do it, and never- » theless they did not stop him" [4].

In describing in our First Volume the rites of burial, we have

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1 天子墳高三仞、樹以松。諸侯半之、樹以栢。大夫八尺、樹以欒。士四尺、樹以槐。庶人無墳、樹以楊柳. Chapter IV, § 崩薨.

2 賣墓樹. 3 See page 461.

4 墓門有棘、斧以斯之、夫也不良。國人知之、知而不已. The Odes of Ch'en, section 墓門.

made mention of an altar, built at many tombs, for presenting sacrifices to the local divinity of the Soil (see page 219), in order to propitiate its favours on behalf of the body and the soul entrusted to its care. Such an altar is hardly ever wanting at tombs the construction of which has required considerable expenditure, but it is also to be found near many which consist of nothing but a tumulus with a grave stone. In most cases it is built on the left hand side of the occupant of the grave, this deity being higher in rank than he, and etiquette requiring that persons of lower rank should keep on the right of those in a higher position. Hence, also, Chao Ki-ming has prescribed that, in family burial grounds, the altar erected for all the graves in common shall be on the North-east (see page 833), it being there on the left of all the principal dead who lie with their heads to the North. The rule is not, however, without exceptions, many altars being on the right side, or to the north-west, south-west or south-east, for, as the god of the Soil is considered to dominate the Fung-shui of graves, nothing is deemed so important by the professors as to place its seat under a confluence of exquisite geomantic influences.

The altar (see Pl. XXXIII) consists of a rectangular slab of granite, seldom higher than one or two feet, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. On the front of this slab are carved the characters 后土, »Ruler of the Earth"; 土神, »God or Spirit of the Earth"; 山靈, »Active Animus of the Ground"[1]; 福德神, »Spirit of the Felicitating Agencies", or some other appellation denoting the divinity for the worship of whom it is erected, and whose spirit, being identified with the stone by means of the inscription, is believed to lodge therein. In some cases, this divine soul tablet is, like a grave stone, fixed in a small wall of masonry, reared against a little mound of earth which is sometimes covered with white plaster, sometimes not, the whole resembling a grave in miniature. Not seldom this resemblance is enhanced by a square slab of granite lying at the foot of the inscription, forming a small sacrificial table which calls up before the mind the »table" of a grave.

Nothing has as yet been said in this chapter about sepulchres built before the Ming dynasty; and the reason hereof is that we have never seen any in a sufficient state of preservation to serve as models for a general description. Of those we have come across, hardly anything

1 This name shows that the god is identified with the shan ling of geomancers, of which we have spoken on page 952.

Pl. XXXIII.

Tomb with Altar to the God of the Soil.

was left but a tumulus with a grave stone; and even these poor remains would long have disappeared, had not the owners been accustomed for generations to regard them as the bulwarks of their wealth and fortunes, sacrificing regularly to the manes supposed to dwell therein, even after the last atoms of the corpse and the coffin had mixed for good with earthly dust. We have never seen such an ancestral grave converted into a funeral monument worthy of the powerful family-god inhabiting it. Apparently, the owners had steadfastly refrained from building and digging on the spot, for fear that such a procedure might disturb the Fung-shui, and destroy their fortunes. Families who possess such a »grave of a first ancestor" [1] are generally very proud of it, as it ensures them a reputation for being of ancient descent, and consequently of indisputable respectability.

This description of tombs and graves being drawn from those in the province of Fuhkien, our readers must not consider it as applicable to the whole Empire. No doubt, every province and region has its peculiarities in point of grave-building, which it is unfeasible for us to particularize, but which may be illustrated by the following short notes from our diary. Almost everywhere in Fuhkien, when brooks or rivulets are close by, the tombs are built of big gravel cemented together with lime, this material combining solidity with cheapness and being within reach of every one, even of the poor. — In the regions watered by the Min and its tributaries, a sort of cave-burial is practised, the dead being often put away in mural steeps of red-yellowish loam, formed by brooks or rivers that have washed their way through the soil. The cave is made at the foot of such a steep, the coffin is slid into it, head foremost, and the opening is closed with gravel, in front of which comes the grave stone, or such structures in masonry or stone as have been described in the foregoing pages. We saw a curious instance of cave-burial at Ho-kheu [2], a town with considerable traffic in the district of Yen-shan [3] in Kiangsi, and a resort of river craft of every description. Amid a cluster of barren rocks of red sandstone on the bank opposite that place, there was in a mural boulder rising vertically aloft, a queer grotto, at about a score metres from the ground, consisting of an accumulation of small shafts, probably formed by water which had filtered through the stone and worn it out (see Pl. XXXIV). Some of the lowermost shafts had been cut

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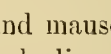
[1] 始祖墓. [2] 河口. [3] 鉛山縣.

away and a coffin been inserted in the spot, the mouldering foot-end of which was entirely visible when we visited the place, because the masonry, behind which it was originally hidden, was dilapidated and crumbled away. Holes chiseled in the rock underneath this grotto showed that a scaffolding had been used to place the coffin in that eagle's nest.

Not everywhere in the Empire are grave mounds shaped alike. In the north-western districts of Fuhkien the conical form is the most common, and in Kiangsi province and the environs of Nanking we have seen such tumuli over three metres in height. On tombs of this description we hardly ever saw any constructions in stone or brick, nor a protecting bank of earth. In Shantung, too, conical tumuli are common. Many graves in this province have a vertical grave stone standing detached in front, and, moreover, a grave table, which is a square slab lying on the ground or resting on two or four legs of stone, and either placed against the grave stone, or a few feet off. Sometimes it bears an incense burner of stone, flanked by a pair of candle sticks and flower vases of the same material. In other cases, these objects are placed on the ground in front of the table; in others again there is nothing but a censer. All these implements being massive, they are unfit for use, and merely serve for decoration and to keep alive the idea of perpetual sacrifices offered to the soul in the grave. Such tumuli, grave stones and appertaining decorations greatly vary in dimension according to the wealth of the families to whom the graves belong. We have seen grave stones over two metres in height and mounds of four, though the average height of the latter does not exceed one metre.

Apart from the conical shape, large numbers of grave mounds in the central and northern provinces are semi-globular , or resemble standing cylinders vaulted at the top  . These latter are a characteristic feature in the numerous sepulchres and mausolea which stud the plains around Peking, harbouring the bodies and souls of noblemen and mandarins who spent their lives in the service of the Boards, Courts and Offices grouped around the Son of Heaven for the maintenance of his glory and supreme authority throughout the Empire and its boundless dependencies. In general, these tumuli are entirely turf-clad. Many are plastered with lime; others are girt with grey bricks, either up to the top, or to a certain distance from the ground, to prevent the earth from slipping away. In some cases, a slab is fixed in the frontside, carved so as to represent a closed door, which is a survival, perhaps, of ancient

A Mural Cave used as a Grave.

times, when the dwellings of the living were used to bury the dead in; but we have spoken hereof already on page 374.

The sepulchres of those Pekingese grandees are specially deserving of a description because they differ greatly from the graves in the South, of which we have tried to convey an idea in these pages. They are remarkably simple, though the area of the ground they occupy is considerable. There are no structures of brick or stone about the tumulus, but it stands insolated in an unpaved plot, mostly with a few mounds of smaller size on the right and left, which cover the remains of the wife and the principal descendants. A bank of earth runs in a straight line behind this row of tumuli, protecting them from obnoxious shah. With two similar banks, respectively on the right and left, it forms a walled square, open in front; in many cases the bank runs in a curved line, embracing the spot like a *bōng moa* and gradually diminishing in height at the ends. These banks vary much in size. Many are scarcely one metre high, but we have seen others of over five metres.

So, when such ying (see page 1073) contain more than one corpse and one tumulus, they are in reality family graves. The principal feature by which they are distinguished from the graves in the South, is that they are richly clad with trees. It is, indeed, by means of trees that geomancers usually try to remedy the evil of the absence of mountains, hills or rocks, which elsewhere protect the graves from evil influences. A shady copse of pines and cypresses, planted in parallel rows, forms a dense protection at the back of the tumuli and at the flanks. Lines of oaks and other trees gird this copse on the outside, enhancing its protective capacities. In front, too, there is a rectangular arbor of pine and cypress trees and, in many cases, a second copse of similar shape, the mausoleum thus having the aspect of a quadrilateral park, particularly beautiful, if it is old enough to contain trees of stately size. The row of tumuli, concealed in a somber grove of evergreens, gives the spot a druidical aspect, this illusion being often enhanced by grave stones, a stone table with sacrificial implements, standing detached in the midst of the open plot in front of the tumuli, and one or more large tablets of stone displaying the names and titles of the buried persons, reared on the spot on stone pedestals, or on the backs of huge tortoises of the same material.

A catch drain extends along the four sides of the park, to keep it dry. Beyond, in the fields, small landmarks of stone denote the extreme limits, and at the same time those of the adjacent

grounds set apart for the sustenance of the families who act as keepers of the sepulchre in the numbers fixed by the institutions of the State. They regularly till these grounds, dwelling thereon in mean huts which contrast strikingly with the splendour of the adjacent park of death.

These numerous grave parks of evergreens agreeably break the monotony of the Peking plains, especially in winter and early spring, when they resemble countless oases in a boundless, dreary desert. Their attractiveness is enhanced by stately pines with milk-white bark, which are a peculiar feature of the landscape in this part of the world. But many ying are mere types of neglect and ruin. They can lose their geomantic value for a hundred reasons, and the owners consequently feel no more interest in keeping them in good condition; or the proprietors may be reduced to poverty and sell the ground, this not being forbidden by law if it does not entail the destruction of the graves (see p. 896); or they may die out, nobody preventing the keepers and the farmers in the environs from gradually felling the trees and converting the grounds into fields for themselves. In China, too, the dead among the great of this earth and the most gorgeous monuments erected in their honour are finally engulfed in the abyss of oblivion. Thus it is that many tumuli stand alone and desolate in the midst of cultivated fields, surrounded only by a small open grass-plot, nothing testifying to the former grandeur of the spot except the large tablets of stone and the debris of the grave altar.

Among such sepulchral parks there are many the central part of which, containing the tumuli, the grave stones, the altar, the stone tablets and a part of the trees, is surrounded by open-worked walls of brick, that take the place of the earthen banks. These walls generally run in straight lines along the front and the sides, or along the front only, and in a curve along the back. Sometimes the wall in front has an opening in the middle, doing duty as an entrance. In point of size and grandeur these sepulchres stand next to the most gorgeous mausolea ever erected for the subjects of the Sons of Heaven, viz. those of princes of Imperial lineage, the description of which we defer to the third section of this chapter. We must now speak of the official rescripts regulating the dimensions and ornamentation of graves.

It is hardly necessary to call to mind the characteristic feature of the Chinese nation, traceable throughout all ages of which we have any knowledge from its books, of burying the dead in graves

varying in size according to their social position, and of placing them under tumuli of a height likewise fixed by their dignity and rank. We have devoted many pages to this subject in Chapter V, and also shown therein that already in pre-Christian times, and at any rate since the Han dynasty (pp. 420 and 449), laws and rescripts have been enacted by the Government, fixing those dimensions. The dynasty now on the throne, sticking faithfully to its cardinal device that the institutions of the ancients may not be swerved from, has likewise enacted regulations to this same effect. In the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* we read:

» For officers of the first rank, the grave ground may have a size » of ninety pu, measuring from the centre of the grave to the four » sides, and the tumulus may be one chang six feet (ch'ih) high. » For the second rank, these dimensions are eighty pu and one » chang four feet; for the third, seventy pu and one chang » two feet; for the fourth, sixty pu and one chang; for the fifth, » fifty pu and eight feet. For the sixth and seventh rank, the » ground may measure respectively forty pu and twenty pu, and » the tumulus may be six feet high. The ground shall be walled in. » For nobles of the three highest ranks (Kung, Heu and Poh), » this wall is forty chang in circumference, and four families are » appointed as grave keepers. For officers of the first and second » rank, the wall is thirty-five chang and the number of families » two; for officers of the fifth rank and higher, the wall is thirty » chang and one family is settled on the ground to guard it; » and for those of the sixth rank and lower, the wall may be » twelve chang and the grave keepers two in number [1]. Mem-

[1] 凡塋地、一品九十步、發步均自塋心數至四旁、封丈有六尺。二品八十步、封丈有四尺。三品七十步、封丈有二尺。四品六十步、封一丈。五品五十步、封八尺。六品四十步、七品二十步、封皆六尺。圍以垣。公侯伯周四十丈、置守塋四戶。二品以上周三十五丈、守塋二戶。五品以上周三十丈、守塋一戶。六品以下周十有二丈、守塋二人. Chapter 52, l. 11. Of the above ciphers, those relating to the length of the wall and the grave keepers are drawn from the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, ll. 5 and 6, from the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, 大清會典事例, » Ordinances for a proper Execution of the Matters prescribed in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*", the largest official compilation of State-papers and Imperial Ordinances that

» bers of the gentry have a sepulchral ground of twenty p u to » each side, and a tumulus of six feet; the wall around their graves » measures twelve c h a n g, and two persons are established on the » spot as keepers [1]. And for the common people, the ground may » be nine p u, the tumulus four feet, and the wall enclosing it » on the four sides eight c h a n g; and two persons may act as » grave keepers" [2].

To give the reader a clear view of these ciphers we arrange them in a tabular form, giving the height of the tumulus in Chinese ch'ih or feet, of which ten make a c h a n g:

	Distance from the centre of the ground to its sides.	Height of the tumulus.	Length of the wall.	Number of families or persons charged with the care of the grave.
Nobles of the first, second and third rank	90 pu	16 ch'ih	40 chang	4 families
Mandarins of the 1st. rank	90 »	16 »	35 »	2 »
» » 2nd. »	80 »	14 »	35 »	2 »
» » 3rd. »	70 »	12 »	30 »	1 »
» » 4th. »	60 »	10 »	30 »	1 »
» » 5th. »	50 »	8 »	30 »	1 »
» » 6th. »	40 »	6 »	12 »	2 persons
» » 7th. »	20 »	6 »	12 »	2 »
» » 8th. »	20 »	6 »	12 »	2 »
» » 9th. »	20 »	6 »	12 »	2 »
Members of the Gentry	20 »	6 »	12 »	2 »
Commoners	9 »	4 »	8 »	2 »

The length of the official standard foot (ch'ih) and the p u have not, we believe, as yet been determined exactly in foreign measurement. In the convention between England and China concerning the import and export duties to be levied in the ports opened to foreign trade, which was signed at Shanghai on the 8th. of No-

exists, published in 1818, ch. 714, l. 6; and from the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 29. In this last-named work it is stated they were enacted in 1644, the very year in which the first Emperor of this dynasty mounted the throne. They are also given in the »Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites", 禮部則例, ch. 165, ll. 2 *seq.*

[1] 士、墳塋周二十步、封高六尺、圍以垣周十二丈、置守塋二人. *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, ch. 52, l. 19; Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 165, l. 3.

[2] 庶人、墳塋九步、封四尺、牆四圍周八丈、守墳二人. *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, ch. 52, l. 24; Rules and Regulations, *loc. cit.*

vember 1858, it was stipulated that one ch'ih should be held to be equal to 14,1 inches English, which would give 0,358 metre French. There is some doubt however, whether the ch'ih referred to in the dynastic Ordinances and Laws has this length. Williamson says that, according to the Board of Works, it measures 13'1—8 inches [1]. The official ch'ih differed considerably under various dynasties. The pu does not seem to be commensurate with the ch'ih, and measures about 66 English inches or 1,675 metre [2]. If these ciphers be anyway correct, the length of grave walls, supposing the ground they enclose to be a regular square, is, in the case of a mandarin of the highest rank, about 31 metres on all sides, and the length and breadth of the whole ground about 300, while for mandarins of the lowest class and members of the gentry these ciphers are about 11 and 67 metres.

These regulations are not laid down to force the nation to make the graves of noblemen and officers of the size and height stated; but they give the maxima which may not be exceeded. Our readers have seen that only a small number of those sepulchres, in the South scarcely any, are walled in. Neither is it obligatory to erect the stone figures which, according to the ordinance translated on page 821, may be placed on the graves of distinguished nobles and public functionaries; and our readers know they have hardly ever been placed on a tomb during the reign of this dynasty (p. 1088). But the prerogative, likewise warranted by the institutions of the State, of having in those grounds a large stone tablet, inscribed with the name and titles of the deceased and, occasionally, with some particulars about his career, is seldom neglected. We shall deal with this subject in the next section of this Chapter.

On page 412 we have made mention of a custom of China's ancient rulers of bestowing upon deceased statesmen presents in the shape of burial requisites and money, in order to enable their family to commit them to their graves in a way worthy of their merits and career. Numerous passages in the books show that emperors of later ages have not given up this custom; and they have finally come to consider such solicitude for the burial of their servants not a mere bounty, but a stringent duty towards a class of men whose lives have been devoted to supporting their sovereigns in supreme power and maintaining them on the throne. During

1 Journeys in North China, I, XIX.

2 Chinese Repository, X, p. 651; Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX p. 93, and XXIV p. 95.

the Ming dynasty, the graves of civil officers were still built at the expense of the State; indeed, a certain sum, varying according to the rank of the deceased and the number of years he had spent in state service, was awarded for that purpose from the treasury, and a certain number of workmen were placed at the disposal of the family. »In the beginning of the period Kia tsing (A. D. 1522)", thus we read, »the outlays were fixed which were to be » made for the sepulchres of civilians. For those of the first rank, » the sum was estimated at 300 taels of silver, and the number of » workmen at 200, each man at the rate of one tael, also in the case » of officers of lower rank. For the second rank, those ciphers were » fixed at 250 and 150, and for the third rank, at 200 and 100. » In addition, it was stipulated that for officers of the fourth or » fifth rank, to whom a burial was granted, defrayed by favours of » the Emperor, the silver should amount to 80 taels, and the number » of workmen to 30. And in the sixth year of the same period » it was, in accordance with a proposal made to the Throne, » decided that for officials of the three highest ranks who had not » spent a whole lifetime in the service of the State, only half the » amount of taels and half the number of workmen should be » granted, and that, when a grave was opened (to place the wife » of the occupant therein), only 50 workmen would be granted » equally for every rank and grade" [1]. The same House also laid down in its Collective Statutes [2] a long rescript regulating the gifts to be made in cases of death of military officers, in the shape of bricks and lime for the tomb, a wooden vault, stones inscribed with a eulogic biography, workmen to be assigned from among the prisoners, objects for the Netherworld, embroidered needle-work, horse-harnesses and saddles; the character and quantity of these gifts depending on the rank of the man upon whom they were bestowed.

[1] 嘉靖初定文臣壙料價。一品料價銀三百兩、夫匠二百名、每名銀一兩、下同。二品料價銀二百五十兩、夫匠一百五十名、三品料價銀二百兩、夫匠一百名。續定四品五品官特恩賜葬者料價銀八十兩、夫匠三十名。六年奏准一品二品三品未經考滿者價銀夫匠減半給領、開壙者不分品級崇卑、止與夫匠五十名. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 133.

2 *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 162, ll. 16 *sqq.*

The Ts'ing dynasty likewise adopted the principle that the sepulchres of nobles and public functionaries should be built at the cost of the Government. »In the eighteenth year of the period Shun »chi (A. D. 1661) a proposal, properly discussed, was approved, »according to which the allowance, to be paid for the building of »the grave, should amount to 650 taels for a noble of the first »rank, and to 600 and 550 respectively for a noble of the second »or the third rank. For an officer of the first rank 500 taels were »to be paid; for one of the second rank 400; for the third and »fourth, 300 and 200 taels respectively; and for the fifth, sixth »and seventh rank 100. For each of these ranks the money was »merely to be paid out to the family, with orders for them to »make the grave themselves" [1].

2. Inscriptions placed upon and in the Tombs.

Grave Stones.

Like other nations that have made progress in the noble art of writing, the Chinese attach much importance to decorating their tombs with inscriptions. Characters intended to attract felicity to the buried person and emit it through him to his offspring, are frequent on graves of considerable dimensions and solid construction, as we have stated elsewhere (page 979). Besides, every tomb, except those of the poorest, who cannot afford such expenditure, and those of infants and neglected individuals who have no one to care for them, has a granite slab at the foot of the tumulus, on which are carved some characters, sometimes painted red, or partly red and partly green, which mention the man or woman buried behind it. We have spoken of such stones on pp. 1082 and 1084; but we must still give our readers some details respecting them, to clearly explain the important position they hold at graves.

In Amoy and the surrounding districts they are generally denominated *bōng pâi* [2], »grave tablets". Serving to point out who

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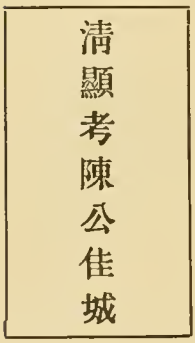
[1] 順治十八年議準民公六百五十兩、侯六百兩、伯五百五十兩、一品官五百兩、二品官四百兩、三品官三百兩、四品官二百兩、五品官至七品官一百兩。皆給價、令其自造. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tsch li*, ch. 137, ll. 29 *seq.*, and *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 714, l. 7.

[2] 墓牌.

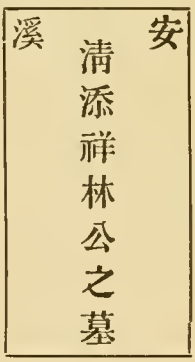
is buried behind, and to whom the grave belongs, they always bear the family name of the occupant. Most poor people can only afford to have a stone of very small dimension, hardly one foot high, bearing nothing but the family name, followed by the character 公 or 氏, which respectively correspond with our Mr. and Mrs. On large, substantial grave stones of good, solid tombs dating from the Ming dynasty, we have also found inscriptions of like simplicity.

Graves which are well cared for, and the owners of which can afford the expense, mostly have a stone about two feet in height or a little higher, bearing an inscription that more precisely identifies the occupant and consists in one column of characters running perpendicularly down the middle of the stone. Here are a few specimens, taken from reality: —

For a commoner of the middle or lower classes:

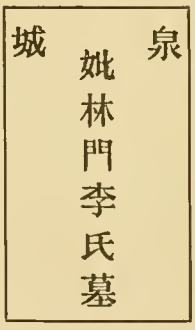


» Excellent City of our illustrious deceased father, Mr. Ch'en, who lived during the Ts'ing dynasty"; — or



» Grave of Mr. T'ien-siang, of the surname Lin, who lived during the Ts'ing dynasty". The two characters in the top corners indicate his birth-place or the home of his parents and ancestors, viz. Ngan-khi.

The two following inscriptions are for women of the middle or lower classes:



» Grave of our deceased mother, Mrs. Li, maiden name Lin". In the top corners: »The city of Ts'üen", *i. e.* Ts'üen-cheu-fu, her birth-place or ancestral home.

清顯妣貞烈黃門林氏之墓

»Grave of our illustrious deceased mother, Mrs. Ching-lieh of the family Lin, maiden name Hwang, who lived during the Ts'ing dynasty".

Inscription on the grave stone of a dignitary, invested by the Emperor with a title of honour:

誥贈中憲大夫諱文裕倪公塋

同治乙丑年葭月

孝男德修德耀同立

»Mausoleum of Mr. I, whose personal name, which may not be pronounced, was Wen-yü, on whom the honorary title of the third degree [1] was conferred after his death". In the columns on the right and left we read: »In the year yih-ch'eu of the period T'ung chi (1865), in the (seventh) month in which the reed is in seed, the filial sons Teh-siu and Teh-yao have conjointly erected this stone".

It is an established rule that grave stones of civil and military dignitaries in actual service, and those of persons with a titulary official rank obtained for merit or by purchase, should display in a few characters their official quality, and the grave stones of their consorts, in an abridged form, the corresponding titles of honour which, in accordance with the institutions of the State (see page 767), were awarded to these women on their husband's promotion. Low ranks being cheap, they are

1 Comp. page 767.

purchased in very great numbers. Consequently, the title jü-jen[1], which pertains to the wives of title-bearers of the three lowest degrees, occurs oftener on grave stones for women than any other, and the more so because the people are accustomed to place it on the graves of women upon whom no rank was ever conferred. This custom of rendering the graves an exhibition of ranks and titles has led to a great variation in the inscriptions on the graves of the better class, with which the soil of the Empire literally teems. It is unnecessary to say that many a grave stone, if placed on a tomb of considerable dimensions, is several feet high.

Grave stones which mention both the date of erection and the names of the children by whose care they were reared, are, comparatively speaking, rare. More numerous are those which only state, on the right side of the central column, that »The filial sons So-and-So have erected it". The birth-place or ancestral home of the deceased is hardly ever cut in the stone, when the grave is situated within the locality or close by.

On page 1084 attention was directed to the fact that the grave stone, owing to the position in which it is placed on the altar of the grave, is an actual pendant or counterpart of the wooden soul tablet of the buried man, which is exposed for worship on the altar in his home. Another important point of affinity between the two objects is, that the inscriptions they bear are almost similar. Our readers can make this out for themselves by referring to our description of soul tablets, inserted in the Second Book of this work. On account of the inscriptions, both the grave stone and the tablet are, according to the popular belief, inhabited by the manes of the defunct for whom they are erected. It is, in fact, the inscription which, describing the deceased, *identifies* him with his grave stone and his soul tablet, rendering either of them an *alter ego* of him, an artificial body to which his frail, vapoury soul may cling as to a firm support that shall prevent dissolution. Consequently, the part that grave stones play in the Religious Worship of the Dead is also analogous to that of the temporary soul tablets described on pp. 70 *seq.*

Being an embodiment of the manes of the buried man, his grave stone is deemed to exert a greater influence upon the weal and woe of his family than any other part of his grave. Hence it is by no means a matter of indifference how many characters it

[1] 孺人.

bears. Existence, the Chinese say, is a concatenation of birth 生, old age 老, disease 病, death 死, and misery 苦, and only the first and second of these five points bear a felicitous character; procreation of a numerous male offspring and longevity ranking among the greatest blessings ever bestowed on man in the Kingdom of the Midst. Consequently, the grave will confer these blessings upon its owners, if the inscription contains either one or two characters; should it consist of three, four or five, the family will be visited with sickness, death or woe. Six characters again bring childbirth, seven longevity, and so forth; in short, the number ought certainly to be fixed at one or two, six or seven, eleven or twelve, sixteen or seventeen. In most cases, the same rule is observed with regard to the columns on the right and left, if there be any. But many aver that they do not influence the felicitating qualities of the grave, as only the central column represents the buried man.

This wise arithmancy explains why so many grave stones of the poor bear only two characters, though there may be room thereon for three, four or five. It also causes the grave inscriptions in general to be more varied in tenor than would be the case if it did not prevail; requiring, for instance, in some cases the placing of the name of the reigning dynasty at the top of the column. It may also happen that, in order to obtain the requisite number of characters, the birth-place, otherwise generally carved in the top corners, has to be placed in the column; or that, as in the second grave inscription, given on page 1103, the character 諱, *i. e.* »the personal name which may not be pronounced", must be shifted a little to the left, so that it forms no essential part of the column. Again, the number of characters may have to be restricted by simply writing 考 or 妣, »deceased father or mother", instead of 顯考 or 顯妣, »illustrious defunct father or mother"; or by omitting the private name of the dead person. On the other hand, the characters may have to be increased by inserting the genitive particle 之 above the word 墓, »grave", or by replacing this latter word by a synonymous term composed of two characters; etc. etc.

It may now reasonably be asked how this popular quinary division of the human fate has come into existence? None of the Chinese to whom we have applied for information, were able to answer the question. Feeling that this division had a Buddhistic ring about it, we have sought for a solution in the writings

of that Church, and succeeded in tracing it to the Sûtra of the Lotus of the True Law [1], Saddharma Puṇḍarika Sûtra, a well known Classic occupying a preponderant place among the sacred canons of Shâkyamuni's Church in China, which, according to tradition, was translated by, or under the auspices of Kumâradjiva, a famous apostle who came to China at the end of the fourth century. We read in the third section of that book, that the Buddha on a certain occasion said to Shâriputra, his disciple: »In this triple »world, which is like a decayed old house on fire, I make my »appearance, in order to carry to perfection all the living beings »subject to birth, old age, disease, death, sorrow, wailing, misery, »grief, the dark enveloping cloud of ignorance and the fire of the »three poisons, in order to convert them and make them reach »the state of perfect intelligence (anuttara sanjak sambodhi). I then »behold how all the living beings are burned by birth, old age, »disease, death, sorrow, wailing, misery and grief, and how for »the sake of the five lusts, wealth and fortune they suffer various »sorts of pains . . . . . ». . . . . Shâriputra, I the Tathâgata still reflect thus: If I »display supernatural power and power of wisdom, without availing »myself of devices, so that the living beings praise the intelligence, »power and intrepidity of the Tathâgata, those beings will not »attain to the state of perfection. Why is this so? Because they »are not yet freed from birth, old age, disease, death, sorrow, »wailing, misery, and grief . . . [2]".

Though birth and old age appear in this sermon at the head of the miseries of life, in perfect keeping with the peculiar ideas of Buddhism about existence, the Chinese consider them,

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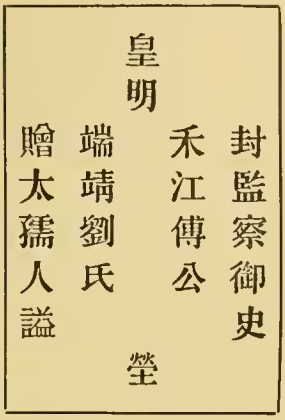
[1] 妙法蓮華經.

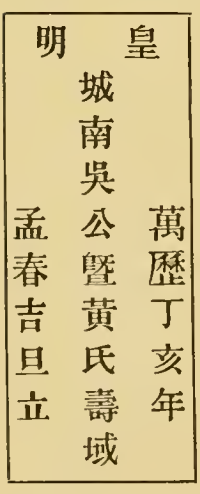
[2] 而生三界朽故火宅、爲度衆生、生老病死憂悲苦惱、愚癡暗蔽、三毒之火、敎化令得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。見諸衆生爲生老病死憂悲苦惱之所燒煮、亦以五欲財利故受種種苦。。。。舍利弗、如來復作是念、若我但以神力及智慧力捨於方便、爲諸衆生讃如來知見力無所畏者、衆生不能以是得度。所以者何。是諸衆生未免生老病死憂悲苦惱。

as we have seen, as great blessings. Already during the Ming dynasty the quinary division of the fate of man was made to bear upon the composition of grave stone inscriptions, as the following one, copied from a slab nearly two metres in height, proves:



»Mausoleum of Mr. Hwo Kiang-fu, to whom the title of Inspecting Censor was awarded during the Imperial Ming dynasty; and of Mrs. Liu, bearing the posthumous name Twan-tsing, on whom the title of Grand jü-jen was conferred after her demise". — Those of our readers who understand the Chinese written language will see at a glance that the two characters at the top, meaning »Imperial Ming dynasty" virtually form a part of the two outer columns, each of these consequently consisting of seven characters, or the number corresponding with old age. But they are also combinable with the two inner columns, the characters of which thus number six, and consequently ensure childbirth, or seven, if combined with the character »mausoleum" at the bottom.

Likewise, the inscription on the tomb represented by Plate XXVII (opposite page 979), bears evidence of having been composed with observance of the same rules. It runs as follows: »Longevity region of Mr. Wu from Ch'ing-nan, and of Mrs. Hwang, who lived under the Imperial Ming dynasty. This stone was erected in the year ting-hai of the period Wan lih, on an auspicious morning in the first month of the vernal season".



Both these instances teach us that, during the Ming dynasty, it was customary to give a married couple, when buried in the same grave, one grave stone in common. This custom still exists at the present day. On such a stone, the inscription for the wife forms a separate column of characters, invariably placed to the right of her husband's column because, as our readers know, the right is the less honourable side, and the wife is buried on the right of her husband. Many a grave covering the remains of a married couple has two separate stones, and sometimes even two tumuli. Such graves are

called at Amoy *siang khòng* [1], »double grave-pits". Relatively speaking, they are rare in Fuhkien, professors of Fung-shui there finding it difficult to discover spots the geomantic propensities of which agree with two different horoscopes; besides they entertain serious fears that, when a grave is opened to receive a second corpse, the manes already settled therein may be disturbed, and the Fung-shui »wounded" or »killed". Still rarer, therefore, are graves in which a husband rests with his wife and one or more concubines.

The importance of the grave stone as an embodiment of the soul is openly avowed by the Fung-shui doctrines. No less than the corpse, the principal seat of the manes, ought that stone to be a focus in which the good celestial and terrestrial influences converge; and from it, consequently, the geomantic bearings are chiefly taken. If it is damaged or broken, the Fung-shui itself is maimed, and doomed to inactivity; for how can a human soul possibly display any energy on behalf of its offspring, if the body which it inhabits be seriously impaired? Hence it is that, to destroy their grave stones, is the worst blow an enemy can inflict on a family whose fortunes he desires to ruin (see page 1039). On the other hand, likewise on account of their being inhabited by the soul, such stones can be made use of with great advantage for the improvement of the Fung-shui of graves. The professors, indeed, frequently have recourse to them to rectify the influences of the Five Elements or Planets. Should one or other element be insufficiently represented in the configurations surrounding a grave, they simply give the top of the stone the shape of that element, in accordance with the theory about forms, of which we have spoken on page 956; or they make it represent an element which, according to ancient philosophic speculation, has the capacity of producing the missing one (see page 957). And if, on the contrary, a certain element prevails too much in the configurations around, the stone is given the form of an element that destroys it. Such transformations of the grave stone have a mighty effect, the chief working power of the grave, viz. the soul assimilated with the stone, being immediately affected. Very often, also, the wall in which the stone is fixed is given a planetary form, and two elements combined are thus set to work for the rectification of the Fung-shui of the spot. In connection with these geomantic artifices, the di-

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[1] 雙壙.

mensions of grave stones are generally determined to an inch, after a most careful calculation, by the professors.

Eulogistic Biographies in Stone, buried in the Tombs.

Grave inscriptions of quite another kind, but of no less importance than those described above, are the so-called mo chi-ming[1] (Am. *bông tsì-bîng*), »sepulchral biographies with inscriptions". They are engraved on rectangular slabs of smooth slate stone of equal size, often measuring about thirty centimetres by twenty, and two centimetres thick, and consist of a chi or »biography", that is to say, a summary of the chief events in the life of the deceased, and a ming or »inscription", which is a eulogy of his good qualities and excellence, in grandiloquent, flowery language, such as Chinese literati consider to be the height of elegance in style. The characters are of the same type as that of the best printed books, and daubed over with red paint, or gilded. A mo chi-ming generally covers more than one slab, sometimes four, five, or even more; the inscription is regularly continued from one slab to the next, covering both sides, so that, when placed upon each other in regular sequence, the slabs form an unbound book, in stone, of a few leaves. This resemblance to a book is by no means accidental; it is intentional. Like the title-page of many good books, the first side of the first slab bears the title of the biography, or the so-called »cover"[2], in tall characters of the chwen writing[3], which is supposed to have been in vogue during the Cheu dynasty and a knowledge of which is now considered a proof of high literary attainments.

The stone book is placed in the grave of the person whose life is described therein. As we have stated on pp. 166 and 213, it should, in theory, be conveyed thither in the funeral procession by a special vehicle, and it is buried between the coffin and the grave stone; in some cases, however, it is placed at the head of the coffin. Before sending it to the grave, the relations have a number of fac-simile copies made from it on paper, in the following way: — a wet sheet of white paper is laid out over the surface of the slabs, pressed down into the characters with a soft dab of wet linen, and rubbed over with black ink; after removal from the stone, the sheet bears the characters in white on a black ground. It is then folded up so as to resemble

[1] 墓誌銘. [2] 蓋. [3] 篆字.

a thin Chinese book with double leaves, as may be seen from Plate XXXV, which is the exact reproduction of a specimen. Such fac-similes are made for distribution among relatives and friends, for the propagation of the fame of the deceased. Generally they are also sold in the book-shops as models of style and handwriting, being much sought after by students and schoolboys; indeed, sepulchral biographies are always composed by local scholars of high repute, and written out by renowned caligraphists; and the carving in the stone is likewise entrusted to the ablest hands to be found.

The employing of men of prominent scholarship and capacity requires a considerable outlay in presents and pecuniary remuneration. Hence only people of wealth and distinction are able to have sepulchral biographies composed. The poor have to content themselves with tiles or flat bricks, on which they write in ink a few dates of the events in the life of the deceased, covering the same with a coating of transparent varnish, to prevent them from being effaced by the moisture from the grave.

The great care bestowed by the Chinese on these necrologies in stone, indicates their belief in their importance to the dead. In fact, the reputation of their ancestors is dear to all, and devotion demands that the living should establish the fame thereof both in the realm of Death and in this world. Hence they place in their tombs an indelible record of their commendable and glorious feats, at the same time blazing abroad their fame by liberal distribution of copies on paper. By thus giving vent to their filial feelings they also greatly benefit themselves, for the ancestors cannot do otherwise than reward them therefor by showering down blessings. These blessings may be shared by the composer of the document and the caligraphist, who have done their work so well. Hence, to direct the attention of the dead to their persons, they take good care to place their names on the stone, with all their official titles, their boast and glory, either at the head of the »biography", or at the end of the »inscription". This adds much to the reputation of the family of the deceased, showing both in this world and the next how distinguished its members are, who count such noble men of rank among their kinsfolk, friends or acquaintance.

The people generally consider one of the great advantages connected with the placing of stone biographies in the graves, to consist in their identifying the buried corpses for ever, even after

出嗣男德文
芳文
孫炳煌
清和
植槐
頌壎仝勒石

畊文齋刻

歎穀價日益昂民嗷嗷紳士林樞北
都轉急出設局平糶而苦於米之莫
來君言諸東商為泛舟告糴於異國
先是廈門雖復而匪徒多逼於番地
日佈妖言民滋懼君曰民饑已困於
內萬一匪類復萌於外治矣非急聯
番人使為我備海不可因逞任其事
延諸番商於南普陀寺說以利害使
各禁戒其所用之人而召戰船於港
口以防外患諸番素敬服君皆奉約
束人心大定米續至饑得無害君之
所為如此可以見君之異人矣戊午
上游匪擾大府日籌兵餉捐輸孔亟
君首先捐資為衆勸得議敘以道員
候選加三級授通奉大夫三代皆贈
如君階君才智過人而訥訥若無能
家雄於財而自處有同寒素跡君行
事乃發於性分之自然得於詩書之
味而有合於士君子之行有如是是
可以銘也君生於嘉慶辛酉六月廿
九日寅時卒於咸豐己未十二月十
六日丑時得年五十有九娶蔡氏於
坵要林氏於廈側室陳氏生子八人
長龍文三德文五養文七燦文皆抹
出德文出嗣長房次欽文六鳳文八
同文皆蔡出四芳文側室陳出出嗣
七房女六蔡出者四其二庶出孫清
和頌壎龍文出炳煌植槐欽文出以
咸豐庚申十一月十五日葬於庵兜
社胡井山之原坐乙向辛兼辰戌分

金辛酉卯
銘曰智足識務才可有為棄儒而賈
士行何虧忠信篤敬蠻貊行之匪出
匪處能積能施繩繩孫子作善有基

男龍文
欽文
養文
鳳文
煥文
同文

皇清誥授通奉大夫候選道加三級楊君
墓志銘
賜進士出身
誥授中憲大夫軍功
賞戴花翎四川即補道前兵部員外郎記
名御史
欽命會同館監督武闈提調兵部則例館
提調加三級隨帶加一級通家愚弟
莊志謨頓首拜譔文
賜進士出身

誥授中憲大夫刑部奉天司主事總辦秋
審處軍機處行走方略館協修庶常
科會試同考官加三級隨帶加一級
愚弟謝謨亨頓首拜書丹并篆蓋
鷺島多瞻人有仙舟楊君者多智略
能任事善治生子久耳其名而未嘗
謀一面也歲戊午予安研王屏楊君
介眉與其徒楊欽文来請受業詢其
家世即所聞楊君仙舟之子也介眉
端士也而君能取友迺為子師是賢

而有士行者歟君之卒其子奉君狀
頓首泣請銘其壙中之石然後益悉
君行事之詳乃案取事狀書之　君
諱濟川字長湍仙舟其別號也世居
郡南亭店鄉考天喜與妣莊始遷廈
門天喜生七子存者惟君與弟彥秀
君行三幼聰敏異凡兒經書過目成
誦家酷貧不能卒業隨父為小賈十
五喪其父由是益困父執侯璞園太
翁自呂宋歸慰君曰焉有警敏如孺

子而長貧賤者乎因要之抵垠使佐
賈謂其門下諸客悉聽君指君亦實
心應謹不數年而垠之口音番字及
諸番所與往来交易無不通曉凡佐
侯氏十數年侯氏饒君乃自行賈而
家由此起時年三十尚未婚惟急寄
資於家為其弟娶人問之則曰使之
早有室以敬承宗事故也自後歸置
祀田於族周戚黨於里凡有義舉莫
不稱心而作丁巳歲廈大饑臺地亦

all the outward parts of the graves have fallen a prey to the ravages of time and totally disappeared. They aver, indeed, that the slabs are often used as evidence in cases of litigation. To convey to our readers some idea of the contents of such stone documents, we now insert a literal translation of the one represented by Plate XXXV, which commemorates an Amoy gentleman with titulary official rank.

» Sepulchral Biography with Inscription for Mr. Yang, Intendant » Expectant of a Circuit (Tao-t'ai), promoted three degrees, on » whom the Imperial Ts'ing dynasty has conferred the title of honour » of the second rank.

» His unlearned family friend and younger brother[1] Chwang Chi- » khien, Literary Graduate of the highest rank (tsin-shi) in actual » service of the State, on whom the title of honour of the fourth » rank has been conferred and who wears peacock plumes as a » reward for military merit; Intendant of a Circuit for the pro- » vince of Szĕ-ch'wen, appointed for actual employ; formerly Second » Class Secretary of the Board of War and inscribed as a Censor; » appointed by the Emperor as Superintendent of the Imperial » Despatch Office (regulating the transmission of the correspond- » ence from the provinces), as Proctor of the Military Gates and of » the Office for the rules and regulations issued by the Board of War; » promoted three degrees, and subsequently raised one degree higher, — » reveres (the deceased) by knocking his head against the ground, » and has selected these characters (*i. e.* composed this document).

» His unlearned younger brother Sié K'ien-heng, Literary Gra- » duate of the highest rank in actual service of the State, on whom » the honorary title of the fourth rank has been conferred; Assistant » Secretary in the Board of Punishments for employ in Fung- » t'ien (Mukden); officer on duty in the Council for the General » Management of the autumnal revisions of sentences and in the » Great Council of State; Assistant Director of the Military Record » Office; who has sat in the Committee of Examiners for the » highest literary degree in the Metropolis in the year keng-suh; » promoted three degrees, and subsequently raised one degree more, — » worships the deceased by knocking his head against the ground, » and has written this document in red upon the stone, and prepared » also the archaic characters for the cover.

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1 In daily intercourse, friends are accustomed to style each other brothers.

» Among the many inhabitants of the Island of the Herons » (Amoy), Mr. Yang Sien-tan displayed more wisdom and sagacity » than any in managing his business with an able hand, and in » earning his livelihood with skill. Long ago the fame of his name » reached my ears, but even to this day I have not fathomed the » whole extent of it.

» In the year wu-wu I had set my ink-stone in the Yuh pʿing » college [1], when one Mr. Yang Kiai-mei sent me his servant » Yang Khin-wen, to ask me whether I would like to learn from » him a calling. I asked him about his family and descent, and » learned that he was a son of Yang Sien-tan, and that Yang Kiai- » mei was a scholar of good principles; that his father understood » the art of fostering friendship, had headed the business as a wise » man for a long time, and possessed all the ways and demeanour » of a scholar. On his death, his son, out of veneration for his » father's character, knocked his head before me on the ground and, » melting with tears, entreated me to make a stone inscription that » might be placed in the grave. It was not until then that I learned » many more details about his father's actions and conduct, which » I have collected and placed on record.

» His personal name, which may not be pronounced, was Tsi- » chʿwen, his cognomen Chʿang-tʿwan, and his appellation Sien-tan. » His ancestry lived in the village of Tʿing-chen, situated to the » south of the capital of the department; his father, Tʿien-hi, and his » mother, Chwang, were the first among them that removed to Amoy. » Tʿien-hi begot seven sons, all of whom were outlived by this » Gentleman and his younger brother Yen-siu. He was the third of » them. When still young, his cleverness and parts were unlike » those of ordinary children, for he could recite the Classics by » heart when he had merely perused them once. Owing to the » extreme poverty of his family, he could not pursue the (literary) » profession; therefore he followed his father's calling of retailer.

» At the age of fifteen he lost his father. This increased his poverty » and troubles. The old sire Heu Poh-yuen, his father's equal in » years, had then returned from Luzon, and to comfort him said: » 'Shall you, who were so surprisingly clever when a child, be poor » and of no account when grown up?' He took the lad with him » and, on arriving at Manilla, made him an assistant in his busi- » ness, telling the customers of his house to follow his directions.

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1 In order to write essays to compete for rewards; see page 753.

» The young man proved honest, prudent and careful. Within a » few years he thoroughly understood the spoken language of Ma- » nilla and the foreign writing, and was acquainted with all the » mercantile connections among the natives. In the ten and odd » years during which he assisted Heu, the latter treated him with » great generosity; then he started a business for himself, and from » that moment dates the prosperity of his family.

» He was then thirty years of age, but still unmarried. Without » delay he sent money to his old home to enable his brothers to » marry; and when asked why he did so, he said: 'I want them » to have families as soon as possible, in order that the worship » of our ancestors may be reverently transmitted to their descend- » ants'. Afterwards he returned home, and bought fields for his » clan, destining the proceeds to defray the costs of the ancestral » sacrifices; and all the members of the clan in the village who » appreciated sense of duty, praised him for it with all their hearts.

» In the year ting-szĕ a great dearth of food prevailed in » Amoy. In Formosa, too, the corn harvest was bad; prices ran » higher and higher every day, and when the people began to cry » for help, Lin Khü, a member of the gentry, on returning from » Peking, forthwith took the initiative in erecting a storehouse, in » order to keep up the ordinary trade prices of the rice. But the » evil consisted in this, that no rice was imported from elsewhere. » Therefore, the Gentleman told the foreign merchants to dispatch » their ocean-going vessels with orders to purchase rice in other » countries. Formerly, when peace was restored in Amoy, many » ruffians found refuge in barbarous countries, whence they did » not desist from falsely spreading bad news every day, the people » being thus kept in a state of alarm. The Gentleman there- » fore gave the following advice: 'The people at home being » reduced to extremities because of the prevailing dearth, it is » ten thousand to one that the scoundrels abroad will rise again. » This is really a lurking danger; and so we must not neglect » to bring about a coalition among the foreigners (in this port), » in order that they may protect the sea-coasts on our behalf'. » He arranged this matter with great forwardness. Convoking the » foreign merchants to a meeting in the Southern P^{c}u-t^{c}o Monastery, » he explained to them the dangers of the situation, suggesting to » them that, if they would all warn the people in their service, and » if they would call some men-of-war into the port to guard against » disastrous events from without, those abroad would be kept in

» their usual respectful submission. The minds being thus reverently » united by him in concord, the great dearth of rice, though at- » taining to the proportions of a famine, did not do any harm. It » was in this way that this Gentleman worked and strove; it shows » us what an extraordinary man he was.

» In the year wu-wu, Shang-yiu was infested by rebels. The » Prefect of the department daily devised military measures against » them, but no more contributions for keeping a soldiery on foot » came in from the people. Hence this Gentleman subscribed a sum » at the head of a list; and for thus impelling the people to » subscribe also, he was nominated for an official rank, and endowed » with the dignity of Intendant Expectant of a Circuit with a » promotion of three degrees. Besides, the title of honour of the » second rank was conferred upon him, and the same distinction » was granted to his deceased progenitors of three generations.

» Though the talents and wisdom of this Gentleman surpassed » those of others, he never forced his opinion into the foreground. » Whether his house took the lead in financial matters when » authority was paralyzed, or whether he attended to any business of » his own, his doings, all the same, bore the marks of cool simpli- » city and artlessness. All he did was the fruit of spontaneous » inspiration from his character. The tasteful beauties of poetry and » prose he had thoroughly mastered; he had conformed himself to » the demeanour of scholars and superior men; and men of this » order deserve to be commemorated in stone. He was born in the » period Kia khing, in the year sin-yiu (1801), on the 29th. of » the sixth month, in the third hour; and he died in the Hien » fung period, in the year ki-wei (1859), on the 16th. of the twelfth » month, in the second hour, at the age of fifty-nine. In Manilla » he married a woman of the surname Tsʿai, and in Amoy one » of the surname Lin; besides he had a concubine of the sur- » name Chʿen. They bore eight sons to him; the eldest, the » third, the fifth and the seventh, respectively named Lung-wen, » Teh-wen, Yang-wen and Hwan-wen, were born of Mrs. Lin, » and Teh-wen was given in adoption to the eldest line of the » family (*i. e.* to his oldest paternal uncle). The second son, » the sixth and the eighth, named Khin-wen, Fung-wen and » Tʿung-wen, were all born of Mrs. Tsʿai; the fourth, Fang- » wen, was born of the concubine, and transferred to the » seventh line of the family as an adopted child. His daughters » were six in number, viz. four by Mrs. Tsʿai, and two by the

» secondary wife. His grandsons Ts'ing-hwo and Sung-hwun are sons » of Lung-wen, and P'ing-hwang and Chih-hwai are sons of Khin- » wen [1]. In the year keng-shen of the Hien fung period, on » the 15th. of the eleventh month, he was buried in the village » of Ngan-teu, in the grounds of mount Hu-tsing, where his » grave is situated between the line from E. S. E. by E. to » W. N. W. by W., and that from E. S. E. by S. to W. N. W. by N., » under the influence of Metal.

» The Inscription reads as follows: 'The possession of sufficient » wisdom was granted to him, as also expertness in striving to » cultivate his mental faculties. From a forlorn child he became » a merchant, and yet, what flaw was there in his conduct as a » scholar? Towards uncivilized barbarians he observed loyalty, faith, » honesty and respect. When rebels appeared, he was able to » collect money, and to dispose of it in the locality harrassed by » them. Thus, the unbroken line of his descendants will possess » a groundwork, upon which they may erect virtue and merit'.

» Engraved in stone by the joint care of:
» the sons: Lung-wen, Khin-wen, Yang-wen, Fung-wen, Hwan- » wen and T'ung-wen,
» the sons given in adoption: Teh-wen and Fang-wen,
» the grandsons: P'ing-hwang, Ts'ing-hwo, Chih-hwai and Sung-hwun".

The maternal rights, considered from the standing-point of the children, being not inferior to the paternal power (see p. 550), children are in duty bound to endow their mother with a mo chi-ming, when her husband is entitled to such a distinction. The following is the translation of the mo chi-ming of the widow of a Provincial Governor, herself a native of T'ung-ngan, the district in which Amoy is situated:

» Sepulchral Biography with Inscription of Dame Su Mu, whose » own surname is Kao, on whom the title of Lady of the First Degree » has been conferred by the Imperial Ts'ing dynasty.

» In the winter of the year sin-wei of the period T'ung chi » (1871), Shui-shu, the learned grandson of the grandee Su Ngao- » shih, came from the Metropolis, where he had been invested, at a

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1 The names of the daughters are not mentioned, because they are lost to the family, either having become, or being expected to become, members of other clans by their marriage. For the same reason no mention is made of their children.

» personal audience with the Emperor, as Tao-t'ai of Wu-lin. » Having had intercourse with him during my whole life, I called » on him four days afterwards, to see how he was and to converse » with him; and so I was sincerely attached to him as to a teacher » from whom knowledge is derived. The Lady Mu, surnamed » Kao, was at that time hale and hearty, which was a great » consolation; but not long afterwards suddenly came the announ- » cement of her death. This made me a sorrow-stricken man for » a long time. In this spring, Shui-shu wrote the draft of an » 'Inscription' for the Realm of Darkness, and asked me to write » it out in an elegant style. I have no literary attainments; » but, remembering what I had learned from him as my teacher » when I had to undergo the examination for the lowest literary » degree, it would have been unfair on my part to decline any » request of his. So I have composed the document, carefully » following his draught.

» The family name of the Lady is Kao. She was a daughter of » (Kao) Ch'ao-jen, a graduate of the lowest degree in T'ung-ngan, » and the wife of Mr. (Su) Ngao-shih, late Governor General of the » province of Szĕ-ch'wen, endowed by the Emperor with the ho- » norary title of the first degree. She married him when she was » twenty-one years old. Her husband was at that time a man of » small means. While he was studying the *Shi king* and the *Shu king* » with unremitting zeal, she rendered his task easy for him by drawing » water, pounding rice, and working the spinning-wheel and the » loom with her own hands, whereby she gained a reputation similar » to that of Pao Shao-kiün [1] and Meng Teh-yao [2]. When her hus- » band held with her the series of posts for which he was selected, » the ladies living outside her mansion followed her as her servants » year after year; and still she continued to be capable of per-

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1 Shao-kiün, surnamed Hwan 桓, was the wife of one Pao Süen 鮑宣. They lived in great conjugal harmony at the beginning of our era. Though her own family was wealthy and distinguished, and her husband poor, she cheerfully performed the duties of a woman of humble position, and became famous all around for her exemplary conduct. Her history is narrated in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 114, l. 1.

2 Also named Meng Kwang 孟光. She was an ugly, corpulent woman of great bodily strength, married to one Liang Hung 梁鴻, a scholar of high attainments, with whom she spent a solitary life in the mountains, tilling the ground, spinning and weaving, and showing great devotion to her husband. They lived in the first century of our era. Their history is likewise given in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 113, ll. 8 *sqq.*

» sonally displaying the same spirit of economy and frugality » as was manifested by her husband in wearing (simple) lambskin » garments, and rarely did she depend on the helping hand of her » slave women and domestics in cleaning and washing. The verses of » the South, entitled: 'the Dolichos plants spreading themselves out » over the Ground luxuriantly' [1], might be chanted in praise of her [2].

» Her husband early lost his father and mother. The Lady had » taken good care of them whenever they were in bad health. The » Grandlady Han-chwang, her mother-in-law, having been buried » in *Ka-hó-lí* (Amoy island), she removed the corpse because » termites were eating the grave away, and deposited it in the » *Goā-tsʿing* ward, in the town of Amoy. During the turmoil » caused by the insurgents in the third year of the period Hien » fung (1853), when her husband had already departed this life, » the people became panic-striken; but this Lady thought of the » dead, and, just in time, she crossed the sea in a boat under the » cover of night at the head of her sons, grandsons and clans- » men, and conveyed the encoffined corpse to her native place, so » that, when the rebels took Amoy and some lawless bands searched » for the place where the coffin had been, they found nothing at

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1 These verses, forming the second ode of the *Shi king*, are in celebration of a woman manifesting great industry in weaving and washing her clothes with her own hands. The Chinese think they were composed in honour of the consort of Wen, the founder of the Chou dynasty.

2 皇清誥封一品夫人蘇母高夫人墓誌銘。

同治辛未冬、蘇鼇石夫子文孫瑞書由都門引見捧檄武林道。經四明以世交過訪傾談、欵洽藉悉師。母高夫人康强、慰甚、未幾而凶訃猝來。爲惻然者久之。今春瑞書寓書以銘幽之辭、請彬。不文也、顧念應童試時受吾師知、誼無可辭、謹按狀而述之。

夫人氏高。同安庠生超然女、前四川總督誥授光祿大夫鼇石公室也。年二十一歸。公家方嗇。公銳志詩書、夫人井臼親操紡績佐讀、有鮑少君孟德耀之風焉。及公與館選歷官中、外夫人頻年隨宦、猶能體公羔裘節儉之意、雖澣濯之勞、亦少假手於婢僕。南國葛覃之章可詠也。

» all. Herefore the people extolled her hiao, and the circle of her » acquaintances greatly increased.

» Still in that same year kwei-chᵉeu of the Hien fung » period (1853) the rebels fled. But in the year kiah-tszĕ of » the period Tᵉung chi (1864), the long-haired insurgents attacked » Chang-cheu and conquered it. There was then an urgent need » of infantry and cavalry, and the victuals for the military were » exhausted. Hence this Lady frequently ordered [1] her sons and » grandsons to open their purses, in order to supply the troops » with food, and to subscribe money for the enlistment of soldiers, » thereby to show their gratitude to the Empire. When order was » restored, and the magistracy, with the sublime purpose of pro- » moting the cultivation of literature, proposed to erect college » buildings with an Examination-hall at Tᵉung-ngan, she again » ordered [1] Shui-shu to contribute money and thus to set an » example as a leader and guide to the people. Such was her dis- » interestedness when her own person was concerned, and her zeal » in promoting the public good.

» Strictness and severity were the chief features of her character, » though indulgence formed the nucleus of her mind. In the sum- » mer of the year ki-szĕ, Shui-shu fell a prey to calumny and » slander in consequence of a feud. This caused a good deal of » animosity among those who heard of the matter; but the Lady » admonished the parties to end the quarrel by showing forbearance » and lenity, and constrained them to devise prompt measures » to prevent litigation; and everybody submitted to her will with » a sigh. Whenever in the twenty years which elapsed after the » demise of Mr. Ngao-shih a quarrel arose in the clan, it was » always made up immediately, if the Lady spoke a few words in » the matter.

» In recent years she had grown very old; but her high age did » not cause her to manage matters, as delicate and tender as fine silk » stuffs, without due attention. She still occasionally charged herself » with the difficult work of exhorting her sons and grandsons to » beware of carelessness and remissness. Ah, female apartments

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1 The use of the character 諭 here in the text clearly implies that a widow is entitled to dispose of the possessions of her children and grandchildren, for it really means »to ordain, to command". Compare what we have stated on page 619 about the maxim, that neither sons, nor grandsons can possess any private property while their parents or paternal grandparents are still alive.

» should verily be modelled after this Lady's virtuous conduct[1].

» She was born in the year jen-yin of the period Khien lung » (1782), in the first hour of the 18th. of the seventh month, and » she died in the year sin-wei of the period T'ung chi (1871), » in the ninth hour of the 27th. of the ninth month, having en- » joyed a life of ninety years. She has had six sons. The eldest, Shi- » ying, and the next, named Shi-chun, Prefects of Independent » Districts, were born of her. Then follow Shi-yuh and Shi-lien, » both literary graduates of the lowest degree (siu-ts'ai), Shi-fang, » Examiner of the Salt Department, and Hai-hwui, who died an » untimely death in his youth; all of them were born of concu- » bines. Her daughters are five in number. She has nine grand- » sons in the male line, viz. Shui-shu, who has gained the title » of yiu-kung[2] in the year jen-tszĕ of the Hien fung period, » and is a Brevet Intendant of a Circuit and Substitute Prefect of » a Department in the province of Chehkiang; Shui-lin, literary

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[1] 公早失怙恃。夫人每以不逮事舅姑。爲憾莊太夫人、夫人之姑也、舊葬嘉禾里、以蟻蝕、遷厝厦門外清保。咸豐三年會匪滋事、公已卽世、人心惶惶、夫人顧先、期率子孫族衆星夜航海、舁柩回鄉、迨賊陷厦門、匪徒踪跡柩所已無及。人以是嘉夫人之孝、且多其識焉。

方咸豐癸丑會匪跳梁。同治甲子髮逆陷漳也。戎馬倥傯、兵食支絀。夫人先後諭子若孫推囊助餉、捐資募勇、以報効國家。迨事平、有司雅意修文謀建同安書院考棚、又諭瑞書出資、提倡爲都人士先。其薄於私而急於公類如此。

素性嚴而意實寬。已巳夏瑞書爲怨家所誣。聞者感憤、夫人戒以忍氣息爭、勉圖自奮毋興大獄、咸歎服焉。鼇石公謝世二十年族黨中有交爭事、得夫人數言恒立解。

年近期頤、而羅綺甘鮮不輕御。猶時躬任劬勞示子孫以無逸。嗚呼、夫人懿行洵可以楷模閨壺矣。

2 Granted to some siu-ts'ai for meritorious achievements at the examinations for the second degree (kü-jen), at which they have failed to pass.

» graduate of the lowest degree, salaried from the Treasury of the » department; Shui-yun, Ts'ing-tsun, Ts'ing-fen, Ts'ing-fang, Ts'ing- » hwa, Ts'ing-fuh and Ts'ing-kieh, all of whom equally pursue the » career of a scholar. She has ten granddaughters [1] in the male line. » Further she has six great-grandsons in the male line, viz. the college » student Kw'ei-yih, and Ken-p'an, Ken-shn, Tsu-ngai, Tsu-yin and » Tsu-sheu, who all spend their youth in study; finally, she has six » great-granddaughters [1]. She was buried in the village of Siang-fung » in Ma-hiang, in the twelfth year of the period T'ung chi (1873), » on the 26th. of the first month, at the foot of the hill Fu-ts'o, » where her hüeh (see page 1009) is situated between the line from » S. S. E. by S. to N. N. W. by N., and that from South to North.

» The Inscription reads:

» 'The pictured robe [2] became her well [3]; the fame of her virtues » accrued silently [4]; peerless were her great frugality and her ample » laboriousness.

» The high sense of duty, which she displayed from morn till » eve, was perfected at an early date;

» It may stand as an example to the cap-wearing sex for a » thousand years,

» And spread abroad a sweet-sounding fame which will last as » long as this stone'.

» Her disciple Ku Wen-pin, Literary Graduate of the highest » rank in actual service of the State, titulary Lieutenant Governor » of a Province, and Intendant of the Circuit comprising the depart- » ments of Ning-p'o, Shao-hing and T'ai-cheu in the province of » Chehkiang, with powers of control over the naval and military » forces, worships her by knocking his head against the ground, and » has selected these characters.

» Chang Shi-ch'ang, her brother's unlearned son [5] for years, » Literary Graduate of the highest rank in actual service of the » State, Provincial Commander-in-Chief of the military forces, » Director of Studies for the province of Ngan-hwui, and Reader in » the Han-lin College, worships her by knocking his head against » the ground, and has written it out in red (upon the stones).

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1 Comp. the foot-note on page 1115.

2 The embroidered dress which the consorts of mandarins are entitled to wear.

3 This passage is drawn from the *Shi king*, Odes of Yung 庸詩, 3.

4 Likewise borrowed from the *Shi king*, sect. 大雅, Decade of king Wen, 7.

5 This man thus humbly styles himself in the capacity of a younger friend, allied to the defunct's family by ties of intimacy.

» Cheu Lan, her brother's unlearned son for years, Literary » Graduate of the highest rank in actual service of the State, late » Provincial Commander-in-Chief of the military forces, Director » of Studies for the provinces of Shensi and Kansuh, Second Class » Compiler of the Han-lin College, worships her by knocking his » head against the ground and has prepared the ancient characters » for the cover.

» Graven in the stone by Yiu Wen-chai" [1].

The above translations shows that even careers of little significance, or of no significance at all, may be commemorated in stone in China, if the person concerned has held an official position, and his family has money enough to defray the costs. Consequently, a great many mo chi-ming are devoid of interest for foreign students; but it can hardly be denied that some of them may be useful in

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[1] 夫人生於乾隆壬寅年七月十八日子時、卒於同治辛未年九月二十七日申時、享年九十。子六。長士榮、次士準、俱直隸州知州、皆夫人出。次士毓、次士廉、俱諸生、次士芳鹽大使、次海會幼殤、皆庶出。女五。孫九、瑞書咸豐壬子科優貢、道銜浙江補用知府、瑞霖郡優廩生、瑞雲、清俊、清芬、清芳、清華、清福、清杰、均業儒。孫女十。曾孫六、奎邑庠生、根盤、根樹、祖愛、祖陰、祖綬、俱幼讀、曾孫女六。同治十二年正月二十六日葬於馬巷翔風里、傅厝山之麓、穴坐丙向壬兼午子。

銘曰、象服是宜、德音其貊、克儉克勤匪伊。朝夕大義夙嫻、可風巾幗千載、流徽有如斯石。

賜進士出身、布政使、銜浙江寧紹台海防兵備道、門生顧文彬頓首拜撰文。

賜進士出身、提督、安徽學政、翰林院侍讀學士、年愚姪張世長頓首拜書丹。

賜進士出身、前提督、陝甘學政、翰林院編脩、年再愚姪周蘭頓首拜篆蓋。

郁文齋刻石。

tracing out important matters of Chinese society and family life. It would therefore be very satisfactory if some Sinologist would make a choice selection of such documents, and edit them, after careful sifting, with correct translations and explanatory notes.

Placing eulogistic biographies, engraved in stone, in the graves of the dead is by no means a custom of modern times. The common opinion in China, apparently well founded and supported by documentary evidence, is that it dates from high antiquity, being based upon a usage, frequently mentioned in the Classics, of making eulogies to glorify the dead.

Originally, homage seems to have been done in this wise exclusively to office bearers of considerable rank. We read, indeed, in the *Li ki* (ch. 9, l. 35): »When the Ruler Chwang of the king-» dom of Lu fought a battle against the men of Sung at Shing-» khiu, Hien Pen-fu drove, and Puh-kwoh was the man on his » right. The horse took fright, the rope broke, and the Ruler fell » down. Hien Pen-fu said: 'On no other day did the ropes break; » that such a disaster occurs to-day is owing to my want of courage'. » Forthwith he was killed (by the king?). When the groom was » bathing the horse, a random arrow was found sticking in the » flesh under the flank, on which the Ruler said: 'It was not his » fault', and he forthwith honoured him with a eulogy. The practice » of making eulogies for lower officials dates from this time" [1].

This passage teaches us that the custom in question was in vogue as early as the seventh century before our era; the battle of Shing-khiu being fought, according to the *Ch'un ts'iu* [2], in 683 B. C. This is confirmed by the circumstance that funeral eulogies are, as we shall see on page 1124, mentioned more than once in the *Cheu li*, which ancient constitution dates, according to the prevailing Chinese belief, from the thirteenth century before our era.

In all the works composed during the reign of the Cheu dynasty, funeral eulogies are denoted by the character 誄, nowadays pro-

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[1] 魯莊公及宋人戰于乘丘、縣賁父御、卜國爲右。馬驚、敗績、公隊。縣賁父曰、他日不敗績而今敗績、是無勇也。遂死之。圉人浴馬有流矢在白肉、公曰、非其罪也、遂誄之。士之有誄自此始也. Section 檀弓, I, 1.

[2] The tenth Year of the Ruler Chwang's Reign.

nounced lei. Like the ming, or eulogies proper, on the present mo chi-ming, they were composed of a few lines only; and their commendatory character apparently consisted in that they expressed the profound grief, felt by the survivors, because of the departure of the defunct. They were, in fact, short elegiac encomiums, eulogistic death-dirges. This may be seen from the lei made on the death of Confucius: »On the death of Khung-khiu, which »occurred in the fourth month, in summer, the Ruler (Ngai of Lu) »eulogised him in the following words: 'Compassionate Heaven »vouchsafes me no comfort and has not left me that unique old »man to support and shield me, the One Man, while I am on »the throne. Quite dispirited do I feel, and in great distress. Alas! »woe is me! Oh, Father Ni! there is no one now to guide my »conduct'" [1]. In the *Li ki* (ch. 11, l. 52) this eulogy is given somewhat differently: »Heaven has not left me that old man; there is no one now to prop my throne. Alas! woe is me! Oh, Father Ni!" [2]

The homage, paid to the dead by such panegyrics, chiefly consisting of expressions of grief, it necessarily follows that their value for the dead kept regular pace with the position of the men who composed them. Deceased man could, indeed, not be better honoured than by profound regret being openly expressed, because of his departure, by men of much higher rank. It is therefore natural to read in the *Li ki* (ch. 27, l. 18): »A man in a low posi»tion makes no eulogy for another in a higher, nor does a younger »man compose it for an elder of his family — this is the rule. »In the case of a Son of Heaven, Heaven alone can be applied to »for his eulogy. It is even against the ceremonial institutions for »feudal Princes to eulogize each other" [3] — it appertaining to the Son of Heaven, the only man above them, to do so. Our readers have seen that, even to this day, this rescript is followed in respect of the

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[1] 夏四月孔丘卒、公誄之曰、旻天不弔、不憖遺一老俾屏余一人以在位。煢煢余在疚。嗚呼、哀哉、尼父、無自律. *Tso ch'wen*, the sixteenth Year of the Ruler Ngai's Reign. See also the Historical Records, ch. 47, l. 27.

[2] 天不遺耆老、莫相予位焉。嗚呼、哀哉、尼父. Sect. 檀弓, I, 3.

[3] 賤不誄貴、幼不誄長、禮也。唯天子稱天以誄之。諸侯相誄非禮也. Sect. 曾子問, II.

mo chi-ming, inasmuch as they are composed and written almost exclusively by mandarins and graduates. It does occur, in point of fact, that people of humble position make them; but in such cases the names and titles of officers and literati are, with their consent, paraded on the stone, as if they were really the composers and writers.

It is quite natural that the funereal eulogies in ancient China should have played a part, whenever and wherever it was deemed proper to do homage to the deceased; as *e. g.* when prayers were chanted or recited at his burial, and at the sacrifices presented to his soul on that occasion. In the *Cheu li* we read: »The Great Invoker makes six »sorts of formularies by which intercourse may be kept up with »the beings above and below (*i. e.* of Heaven and Earth), with »the near and remote ancestors, and the spirits afar off and close by; »the sixth sort comprises the funeral eulogies [1]. The Great Annalist »recites the eulogy at Great Funerals on the day when the corpse »is sent away" [2] — that is to say, as the extracts, quoted on pp. 151—152 from the *I li* and the *Li ki*, show, at the farewell sacrifice presented to the deceased before sending him to his last resting-place; — »and at the funeral of a Feudal lord or a Great »officer, a Sub-Annalist delivers the posthumous name and recites »the eulogy" [3]. The eulogies thus evidently being allocutions formally recited, in mournful terms, at the moment when the dead were sent to the tomb, we may style them »mourning addresses" or »funeral addresses".

At Imperial funerals during the Han dynasty they also served this purpose. They were called at that time »elegiac bamboo slips" [4], being, no doubt, scratched or written on bamboo, the usual writing material in those times. The Imperial remains being placed on the bier or hearse, thus we read in the Record of Rituals contained in the Standard History of the Han dynasty, »the Great Annalist, holding the elegiac »bamboo slip on the palms of his hands, places himself behind »the hearse. The Grandmaster of the Sacrifices kneels down, ex- »claiming: 'Come forward!' The Emperor obeys this order; the »Commander of the Army reads off the bamboo slip, engraved

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[1] 大祝作六辭以通上下親疏遠近、六曰誄. Chapter 25, l. 5.

[2] 大史大喪遣之日讀誄. Chapter 26, l. 9.

[3] 小史卿大夫之喪賜謚讀誄. Chapter 26, l. 13.

[4] 哀策.

» with the posthumous name, and places it in a metal box, which » the Emperor inspects, and which is then put away in the ancestral » temple. Now the Great Annalist, carrying the elegiac slip in a basket » of rushes on the palms of his hands, repairs to the grave hill; the » Grandmaster of the Sacrifices kneels down, and exclaims: 'Wail!', » and the Minister for the State Ceremonial having repeated this » order, the fifteen musical instruments stop, those present pour » forth their wailings, and the Grandmaster of Sacrifices performs » the sacrifice of sending the deceased away. All these performances » are gone through in accordance with the rites; and the orders to » wail and to stop wailing are likewise given with observance of » the ceremonial rules" [1].

And on the same day, when the cortege of death had arrived at the entrance to the crypt, »the Great Invoker brought forward must, » and offered it (to the defunct) with observance of the ritual rescripts. » The Minister of the Revenues, falling upon his knees, says: 'Great » funeral car, be pleased to stand still'; and the Great Annalist reads » the elegiac slip from the south side of the bier, turning himself » to the north, during which ceremony those in charge of the » obsequies stand arrayed behind him. Having thus lamented the » dead, he howls. Now the Grandmaster of the Sacrifices kneels » down, exclaiming: 'Wail!' — the Minister for the State Cere- » monial repeats this order, and all those present obey it in accord- » ance with the customary rituals. Then kneeling down, the Minister » of the Revenues says: 'I request Your Majesty to descend from » Your seat', upon which the military officials of the Eastern Park » take the coffin down from the bier. The same Minister having » exclaimed, in a kneeling attitude: 'Please to descend into the » crypt', every one escorts the military officials with the bier into » the crypt, the Minister of the Revenues and the Great Annalist » carrying respectively the slip with the posthumous name and the » one with the elegy" [2] — to deposit them in the grave for ever.

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[1] 太史令奉哀策立後。太常跪曰、進。皇帝進、太尉讀謚策、藏金匱、皇帝次科、藏於廟。太史奉哀策葦篋詣陵、太常跪曰、哭、太鴻臚傳哭、十五舉音止、哭、太常行遣奠。皆如禮、請哭止哭如儀. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 16, ll. 4—5.

[2] 太祝進醴、獻如禮。司徒跪曰、大駕請舍、太

As was the case in times more remote, when, as the above extracts from the *Cheu li* teach us, funeral eulogies were awarded to Feudal lords and Great officers, they were, during the Han dynasty, awarded to the highest nobility. »In the second year of the period »Chung yuen (148 B. C.)", thus it is stated, »the Emperor »(King) ordained that, on the demise of an Imperial Prince of the »highest rank, or on that of an Imperial Prince of lower rank, »recently invested with a fief and departed already to his princi- »pality, the Minister for the State Ceremonial should offer to the »Throne the bamboo slips, inscribed respectively with the posthum- »ous name and the eulogy; further, on the demise of some »other Imperial Prince of lower rank, or of the highest Minister [1] »of a Prince of the highest rank, if he had resigned his functions »not long before, the Minister charged with the entertainment of »Imperial guests should offer to the Emperor the slip with the »posthumous name and that with the eulogy" [2].

That funeral eulogies, mourning addresses, elegiac panegyrics, eulogistic elegies, or whatever our readers may like to call the lei, played an important part among the people during the Han dynasty, is clearly suggested by the fact that the histories of the time make mention of some men of letters who composed a great many of them. Of one Su Shun [3], who lived in the first and second century of our era, we are told that »his poetic disquisitions, »eulogic and elegiac writings and miscellanies formed together »sixteen sections. Among the many men of letters who lived at »that time in San-fu (see page 424), one Ts'ao Chung of Fu- »fung, also named Poh-shi, possessed talent and scholarly attain-

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史令自車南北面讀哀策、掌故在後。已哀、哭。太常跪曰、哭、大鴻臚傳哭、如儀。司徒跪曰、請就下位、東園武士奉下車。司徒跪曰、請就下房、都導東園武士奉車入房、司徒太史令奉謚哀策. *Op. et loc. cit.*

1 T'ai-fu 大傅, the principal among the Three Kung 三公 or high Ministers of State.

2 中元二年令諸侯王薨、列侯初封及之國、大鴻臚奏謚誄策、列侯薨及諸侯太傅初除之官、大行奏謚誄策. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 5, l. 5.

3 蘇順.

» ments, and composed a disquisition on eulogies, in four sections" [1]. And of Chang Shing [2] it is stated that »his poetic eulogies and laudatory epigraphs for stone tablets comprised sixty sections" [3].

Nor did the lei fall into disuse in subsequent ages. It is recorded, for instance, of one Khih Ch'ao [4], who lived in the fourth century, that »on the day of his demise, men of all ranks and conditions grasped » their writing-brushes, and more than forty persons each composed a » eulogy for him: such was the general esteem he was held in" [5]. » And Ho Ch'ing-sui, a native of Ch'i-cheu, who had cured his sick » father by giving him some flesh to eat, which he had cut from his » own thigh, on the old man's death prostrated himself on the grave, » wailed, and stamped his feet without regard to numbers, and died » from emaciation. He was called the filial son of Ts'ing-yang, and « scholars wrote for him a very great number of eulogies" [6].

In books of later times, elegies commonly appear under the name of »sacrificial writings" [7], *i. e.* offertories addressed to the dead during the celebration of the funeral. That this term, in point of fact, already denoted an elegy during the Liang dynasty, is proved by the following extract: »When Sü Fei died while holding the » office of prefect of Tsin-ngan, his corpse was sent back to the » Metropolis (the present Nanking), and his consort then made » a *sacrificial writing* in terms very sad and mournful. Mien (his » father) first intended to make the *elegy* for him; but when » he had seen that sacrificial writing, he laid his writing-brush

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1 所著賦論誄哀辭雜文凡十六篇。時三輔多士、扶風曹衆伯師亦有才學、著誄書論四篇. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapt. 110, first section, ll. 14 *seq.*

2 張升.

3 著賦誄頌碑書凡六十篇 The same work, ch. 110, second section, l. 1.

4 郤超.

5 及死之日貴賤操筆而爲誄者四十餘人、其爲衆所宗貴如此. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 67, l. 22.

6 有何澄粹者、池州人、親病剔股肉進親、疾爲瘳、後親沒伏于墓、哭踊無數、以毀卒。當時號青陽孝子、士爲作誄甚衆. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 195, l. 14.

7 祭文.

» aside" [1]. Ever since, sacrificial writings are very frequently mentioned in the books, and to this day they are generally used at the funerals of people of distinction. Original specimens have been placed before our readers on pp. 147 and 225. Just like the lei of the ancients, they bear the two-fold character of elegy and eulogy, and are recited at the funeral; and the fact that they are thereupon burned (see pp. 149 and 226) also connects them with the lei. Indeed, these latter were, during the Han dynasty, placed in the grave (see pages 1125 and 1131), and, as we have demonstrated on pp. 711 *sqq.*, the ancient custom of burying articles with the dead gradually gave place in later times to offering them up to the manes by converting them into flames and smoke.

Also the songs which, as we have suggested on page 189, were chanted in ancient China by the gagged drawers of the hearse, were, according to the opinion of native scholars, nothing else but elegiac eulogies, and, as such, most closely allied to the lei. The Record of Rites of the Han dynasty [2] states that, during the reign of this House, there were in the funeral cortege of an Emperor no less than three hundred so-called wan 挽 or »car drawers", in six rows of fifty each, who dragged the cumbersome hearse by means of six thick ropes of white silk, thirty chang long. All these men, and also the officials accompanying them, had gags in their mouths to reduce their chanting to a monotonous hum; besides, there were six files of ten singing men, and each file was preceded by eight military officers, carrying clappers. In the third century, while the Tsin dynasty occupied the throne, it was, as we have shown on page 188 by a long extract from the Official History of that epoch, called into question by high servants of the State, whether such singing at the bier-ropes should, on archeologic grounds, be allotted a place among the ritual institutions of the Government, and it was decided to maintain it. No doubt it is to a great extent owing to this Imperial decision that it has kept its place in the institutions of later dynasties. In the Record of the Rites for the Yuen Mausoleum (see page 994) it was prescribed that, at Imperial funerals, »there should be two divisions of men chanting » while drawing the funeral car, and that each division should

[1] 徐悱爲晉安郡卒、喪還京師、妻爲祭文、辭甚悽愴。勉本欲爲哀文、既視此文於是閣筆. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 33, l. 16.

2 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 16, l. 5.

» consist of sixty-four men, in files of eight" [1]; but the Rituals of the period Khai yuen do not mention them in the section devoted to the burial of officers and commoners. The Sung dynasty allotted » thirty-six pulling chanters, in six files, to officers of the first, » second or third rank; sixteen, in four files, to those of the fourth; » eight to the fifth or sixth, and six to the seventh or eighth » degree" [2]. And during the reign of the House of Ming, the Collective Statutes prescribed that there should be » pulling chanters" [3] in the funeral train of officers of the several degrees; but they did not mention such men in their funeral rescripts for the common people.

As to the present reigning dynasty, neither its Collective Statutes, nor its *T'ung li*, make mention of funeral chanters. From this we must infer that, as such men are not explicitly mentioned in the Classics, this dynasty has deemed it incorrect to sanction their presence in funeral corteges. In the numerous burial trains that have passed under our eyes, we never saw any chanters, though many of those corteges were for men and women of high social position and official rank. Yet, the ancient custom, observed during so many centuries, survives in another form. In Fuhkien and some parts of Kwangtung, the elegiac eulogies, instead of being sung at the coffin on the way to the grave, are carried aloft in the funeral train, each of them being inscribed on a large sheet of coloured cloth or silk, hanging down from a horizontal lath which is fixed to the top of a pole. We have spoken of these banners already on page 199. They are specially used when the great Buddhist mass for the repose of the soul has been celebrated; for, this ceremony being specially devoted to enriching the deceased with sacrificial offerings, all friends, kinsmen and admirers avail themselves of it to do homage to his soul by presenting eulogic banners, besides eatables, mock money etc. Sometimes a pair of banners are offered, each inscribed with one line of a

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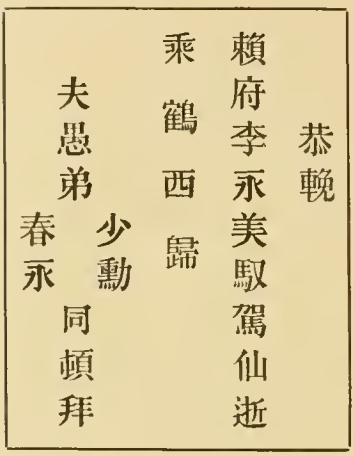
[1] 挽歌二部、各六十四人、八人爲列. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, chapt. 56.

[2] 三品已上挽歌六行三十六人、四品挽歌者四行十六人、五品六品挽歌八人、七品八品挽歌六人. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 124, l. 13.

[3] 挽歌者; ch. 92, l. 8.

distich. Previous to the burial, they are suspended from the walls of the house hall, where the mass is celebrated. We have seen specimens in yellow, black, blue, white and green, but never in red or reddish colours, the use of red things being, as our readers know, carefully avoided in mourning. Their dimensions do not seem to be subject to any rules, but are seldom more than one metre by two. The inscriptions are either painted on the cloth, or stitched on to it. To convey an idea of the arrangement of the characters, we here give a specimen:



»Reverently do we act as hearse drawers to Li Yung-mei, married into the Lai family, who has mounted the car, to depart like a Sien[1]. Bestriding the Crane[2], she returns to the West[3]. Shao-hiun and Ch'un-yung, her husband's unlearned younger brothers, together worship her with their heads on the ground".

These eulogic funeral banners most clearly demonstrate their origin by the names they bear. In literary style they are generally called wan 輓, »car drawers", the same word which, as we have stated on page 1128, during the Han dynasty denoted the men who drew the Imperial funeral car to the mausoleum, and which has ever since denoted them in the dynastic books of rites and in the general literature. Often also the banners are called chuh 軸, a word which denotes the axle of a vehicle, or the axle-arms; that is to say, the instrument by means of which a funeral car is pulled forward. A third name, also in frequent use, is a combination of the two above words into the binomium wan-chuh. As to the inscriptions on these banners, the standard expression by which they are denoted at present, is wan ko 輓歌, »car-drawers' chants", the same term, indeed, which is used in the Books of the Tsin dynasty — viz. in the extract which has been given, with a translation, on pp. 188—189 of this work — and afterwards in the literature of all ages, to denote the songs of the hearse drawers. In literary style, those

1 An immortal being; see page 54.
2 The bird of immortality; see page 57. Compare also page 226.
3 Paradise, see page 124.

inscriptions are, moreover, called wan shi[1] or wan ts'ze[2], »car-drawers verses", and tsi wan[3] or tsi chuh[4], »sacrificial car-drawers or sacrificial car-axles". We must still observe that it is very usual to find in the books the character 輓 interchanged with 挽, which latter is a homonym for the first, or we might say a synonym, having the meaning of to pull or to draw in the general sense.

After this digression we must again fix our attention on the eulogic biographies in stone, placed in the graves. They, too, are representative of a form which the lei of the ancients have assumed in the course of ages.

It has been seen on page 1125 that, at Imperial burials during the Han dynasty, the elegiac eulogy, inscribed on bamboo, was deposited in the crypt. Liu Chao[5], who lived during the Liang dynasty, informs us in the commentary he wrote to the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, that »under the reign of the House of »Tsin, there was found at the foot of mount Sung-kao a slip of »bamboo, inscribed with two columns of frog-shaped characters. »They passed from hand to hand in that table-land and beyond »it, people showing them to each other; but nobody could under-»stand them, until Chang Hwa, Superintendent of Works, con-»sulted the learned scholar Shuh Cheh, who declared he had to do »with the slip that had been placed in the Hien-tsieh Mausoleum »of the Emperor Ming (who died in A. D. 75). On further in-»vestigation this was found to be correct in point of fact"[6].

It was also during the Han dynasty, that there lived a man who, as recorded in the Standard Histories, had an engraved stone put into his grave, which strongly calls to mind the present mo chi-ming. In the fifth century of our era, the grandee »Chang »Yung, on laying open an old grave found near lake Hüen-wu, »discovered upon it a copper peck with a handle. Enquiries »being made about this object among the scholars at Court by »Wen, the Emperor, Ho Ching-t'ien said: 'This is a peck of

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[1] 輓詩. [2] 輓詞. [3] 祭輓.
[4] 祭軸. [5] 劉昭.
[6] 晉時有人鬲高山下得竹簡一枚、上有兩行科斗書之。臺中外傳以相示、莫有知者、司空張華以問博士束晳、晳曰、此明帝顯節陵中策也。檢校果然是. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 16, l. 5.

»authority', conferred upon a buried man just after his death. »During the reign of Wang Mang (see p. 314), the three highest »ministers [1] were all endowed with such pecks by him on their »death, one being placed upon their tomb, and one inside [2]. At »that time, the one among his three highest dignitaries who »resided in the country on the left banks of the Great River, was »Chen Han, Grand Minister of the Revenues; certainly we have »to do with the grave of this man'. Unawares Chang Yung laid »open another grave. A peck was found inside it, and, moreover, »a stone, on which was graven that it was the tomb of Chen Han, »Grand Minister of the Revenues" [3].

From the legend concerning Fei-lien, inserted on page 283, as also from that relating to Ling of Wei, of which we have made mention on page 289, our readers may see that the literature of China contains references to inscriptions placed inside graves in very remote times. But, even though both those myths denote those inscriptions by the same character 銘 ming which has been used, probably from the beginning, as a specific term for the eulogies that form

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1 See the foot-note on page 1126.

2 In the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, in the chapters devoted to Wang Mang and his career, we read (ch. 99, third section, l. 2): »In the eighth month »of that year (A. D. 17) he went personally to the altar in the southern sub»urb, and there cast 'pecks of authority'. These pecks were of copper, weighing »five stones; they resembled the Northern Peck (the Greater Bear constellation) in »shape, and were two feet five inches long. It was his intention to make them »subservient to the subduing of (mutinous) military power" 是歲八月莽親之南郊、鑄作威斗。威斗者以五石銅爲之、若北斗、長二尺五寸。欲以厭勝衆兵. The Northern Peck or Bushel being considered in ancient China the chief ruling power of the Universe (see p. 317), it certainly was not unnatural for Wang Mang to place badges of its shape in the hands of his three highest ministers. It is deserving of attention that, quite near that constellation, there are three stars which anciently bore the name of 三公, »the Three Prime Ministers": — see the Historical Records, ch. 27, l. 1.

3 張永嘗開玄武湖遇古冢、冢上得一銅斗、有柄。文帝以訪朝士、[何]承天曰、此亡新威斗。王莽三公亡皆賜之、一在冢外、一在冢內。時三台居江左者唯甄邯、爲大司徒、必邯之墓。俄而永又啓冢。內更得一斗、復有一石、銘大司徒甄邯之墓. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, chapter 33, l. 25.

part of the mo chi-ming nowadays, yet we have no reason to take for granted that they represent the ancient form of the latter, their tenor, as given by those myths, neither bearing the character of a eulogy, nor of a necrology or biographical notice.

Trustworthy references to eulogistic biographies in stone, buried in the tombs, do not appear in the national literature before the fifth century. Of P'ei [1], consort of the heir-apparent of the first Emperor of the Southern Ts'i dynasty, we read: »In the second »year of the period Kien yuen (A. D. 480) she died. At that »time, the plan of making for her a biography (chi) in stone »being subject to discussion, (the minister) Wang Kien made »the following statement: 'Biographies in stone do not owe their »existence to the (ancient) ritual institutions, and did not come »into vogue until the Sung dynasty, in the period Yuen kia »(424—454), when Yen Yen-chi made one for Wang Khiu. The »(Imperial) clan has not used hitherto any engraved bamboo slips »(for the tombs), and must now act in conformity with the »same line of conduct. Of old its members have conjointly »observed the customs of their ancestors; and if now an extra »usage be observed for this secondary consort, the rules of conduct »that have hitherto been constantly practised, will be renounced. »Anyhow, as an elegiac bamboo slip is used for her, we must »not crack our brains about a biography in stone'. The advice »was followed" [2]. This extract is important for us also in this respect, that it demonstrates that, in those times, there lived men who really considered the ancient bamboo elegies to be intrinsically identical with the then modern biographies in stone.

That the placing of biographies in stone in graves really was in vogue in the fifth century, is confirmed by another passage in the Standard History of that period, which states explicitly, that when Hung [3], the seventh son of the Emperor Wen [4] of the

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[1] 裴.

[2] 建元二年后薨。時議欲立石誌、王儉曰、石誌不出禮、起宋元嘉中顏延之爲王球石誌。素族無銘策、故以紀行。自爾以來共相祖習、儲妃之重禮絶恒例。既有哀策、不煩石誌。從之, History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 11, l. 14.

[3] 宏. [4] 文.

Sung dynasty, had died at an early age in A. D. 458, »the Em-» peror, being very much afflicted at his loss, himself made a mo »chi-ming for him"[1]. In the next century they were evidently used on an extensive scale, being mentioned several times in the histories of that epoch. So, for instance, on the death of the magnate Ch'u Siang[2] of the Liang dynasty, in the third year of the period Ta t'ung (529), »his brother Sié-kü composed his sepulchral in-» scription (mo ming), of which the following is a digest: 'A » man, whose glorious rule cast off so many flowers and seeds » that the size of mount Sung[3] is insufficient to estimate their » quantity by; a man, from whose fame under the moon the pure » harpsichord tunes arise — with such a man, this one may, » according to those who bear him on their lips, be freely com-» pared'"[4]. The Books of the Northern Ts'i Dynasty mention one P'ei Tseu-chi[5], a scholar of great wit and learning, who, »when the » several inmates of the house of Yang Yin were transferred into » other graves, was intrusted with reverently making more than ten » sepulchral biographies (mo chi)"[6]. Finally quoting the Books of the Ch'en Dynasty: »In the third year of the period Ching-» ming (A. D. 589), Lu Kwang-tah lawfully submitted himself » to the House of Sui, and thereupon fell ill for grief, because » the dynasty, to which he had belonged, was overthrown. There was » no cure for his illness, which in the end brought him to the » grave, a victim to his ardent loyalty. He was then fifty-nine » years of age. Kiang Tsung, President of a Board, placed his » hands upon the coffin and howled with great emotion; then he » asked for a writing-brush, and wrote a verse upon the head of » the coffin, which ran as follows: 'Though his bitter grief be » hidden in an embracement of water-springs in the yellow clay,

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[1] 上痛悼甚、自爲墓誌銘. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 72, l. 6. See also the History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 14, l. 17.

[2] 褚翔.

[3] Situated in the province of Honan. It is reputed among the Chinese to be the highest mountain summit in the Empire.

[4] 兄謝舉爲製墓銘、其畧曰、弘治推華子、嵩懸量酒歸、月下風清琴上、論者以爲擬得其人. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 41, l. 5.

[5] 裴諏之.

[6] 楊愔閭門改葬、託諏之頃作十餘墓誌文. Books of the Northern Ts'i Dynasty, ch. 35, l. 2.

» yet his fame shall be spread abroad under the bright sunlight. » This deplored worthy died in consequence of the loyalty that af- » fected his soul; he was not a being indifferent to favours'. Tsung » also made the sepulchral inscription (mo ming) for Kwang-tah" [1].

The *Kwei sin tsah shih*, a work of the fourteenth century (see p. 399), contains the following notice concerning the sepulchral biographies in use before the T'ang dynasty, which shows that they closely resembled those in vogue at present: » According to Chao » Sung-süeh" — a scholar who lived from A. D. 1254 to 1322 — » there are in the North many old graves which date from before » the T'ang dynasty, and so-called sepulchral biographies (mo chi) » are generally placed inside the same. They are square; the front » side bears the 'cover', which is broad below and narrows at the » top, and is inscribed as follows: 'Sepulchral Biography of So-and- » So, such-and-such an office-bearer under the dynasty So-and-So'; » it is the so-called 'inscribed cover'. The two parts, viz. the cover » and the 'bottom', are fastened together by iron bindings" [2]. In more recent times, the mo chi-ming have uninterruptedly played their part as indispensable appurtenances to graves. Among its rules for the burial of officers of every rank and of the common people, the code of Rituals of the Khai yuen period explicitly stated that the »biography in stone" [3] should be conveyed to the grave in a vehicle in the funeral procession, and that »the inscribed banner » (comp. pp. 212—213) and the biographical stone should be placed » within the opening of the pit" [4]. The funeral regulations, enacted

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[1] 禎明三年魯廣達依例入隋、廣達愴本朝淪覆、遘疾。不治、尋以憤慨卒。時年五十九。尚書令江總撫柩慟哭、乃命筆、題其棺頭爲詩曰、黃泉雖抱恨、白日自流名、悲君感義死、不作負恩生。總又製廣達墓銘. Chapter 31, l. 12.

[2] 趙松雪云、北方多唐以前古塚、所謂墓誌者皆在墓中。正方而上有蓋、蓋豐下殺上、上書某朝某官某人墓誌、此所謂書蓋者。蓋底兩間用鐵局局之. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 140, and sect. 文學, ch. 178.

[3] 石誌.

[4] 施銘旌誌石於壙門之內.

by the Sung dynasty, likewise dictated the use of stones bearing a record of the life of the deceased (see page 1079), and Chu Hi prescribed them in his Rituals for Family Life. The rescripts given by this philosopher as to what those biographies ought to contain, are interesting, as they show that for many ages, during which his work has been the common vademecum of the nation, they were composed in much the same way as at the present day. » Two slabs shall be used. The one, forming the 'cover', shall bear » this inscription: 'Grave of Mr. So-and-So, who lived under this » or that dynasty, and was invested with such-and-such an office'; » if the dead man was no office-bearer, it shall bear his cogno- » men. On the other slab, which forms the 'bottom', his official » dignity shall be engraved, with his family name, his personal » name that may not be pronounced, his cognomen, his depart- » ment and district, the name and office of his father, the surname » and honorary title of his mother; further the year, month and » day of his birth; the official posts he has successively been trans- » ferred to; the year, month and day of his demise; the village » or ward where the burial takes place; his age; the name of his » wife and that of her father; further the offices held by his sons, » and the offices and names of the men with whom his daughters » are married. On the day of the interment, the inscribed sides » of the two slabs must be placed upon each other, and the » slabs be fastened together with bindings of iron. Thus they shall » be placed in the fore-part of the grave-pit, at only three or four » feet from the surface of the soil; for if the undulations of » the ground should afterwards have assumed other aspects, the » grave may be disturbed by mistake, in which case these » stones, being first caught sight of, will render the intruders » acquainted with the names, and induce them to cover up the » grave again" [1].

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[1] 用石二片。其一爲蓋、刻云某朝某官某公之墓、無官書某字。其一爲底、刻云某官某公、諱某字某、某州某縣人、考諱某某官、母某氏某封、某年月日生、歷任某處某官、某年月某日終、葬於某鄉某里、年若干、娶某氏某人之女、子男某官、女某適某官某人。葬之日以二石字面相向而以鐵束束之。置之壙前、近地面三四尺間、蓋

The Ming dynasty enacted rescripts scarcely differing from the above. In the fifth year of the period Hung wu (1372) the first monarch of this family decreed as follows: »Two flat bio- » graphical stones shall be used for all the mandarins of whatever » degree. The one, forming the cover, shall be inscribed with the » words: 'Grave of the mandarin So-and-So'; the other, forming » the bottom, shall bear the family name, the name and the » residence of the deceased; his ancestors up to the third genera- » tion; the year of his birth; the month and day of his death and » burial; his sons and grandsons; the location of his grave. In the » case of a married woman, the stone shall bear the title conferred » upon her in accordance with the rank of her husband, sons or » grandsons (comp. page 767). The two faces of the stones shall » be placed against each other, fastened together with bindings of » iron, and buried in the grave"[1]. From a summary, which the History of the Ming Dynasty gives of the rescripts that were in force during that epoch for the burial of members of the gentry, we learn that also for these persons »biographical stones were to be carved, » which were to be placed in the grave at the interment, together » with the soul banner"[2]. Finally, the edict of the fifth year of the period Hung wu directed that the common people, too, should use »biographical stones in two slabs, made in accordance with the rules in force for mandarins"[3]. Also in the Collective Statutes of the Ming Dynasty »the carving of a biographical stone"[4] is mentioned among the necessary preparations for the burial of officers, and »the placing of such a stone in the grave"[5] among the burial rites for commoners.

慮異時陵谷變遷、或誤爲人所動、而此石先見則人有知其姓名者、庶能爲掩之也. *Kia li*, chapter 6.

1 誌石二片品官皆用之。其一爲蓋、書某官之墓、其一爲底、書姓名、鄉里、三代、生年、卒葬月日、及子孫、葬地。婦人則隨夫與子孫封贈。二石相向、鐵束、埋墓中. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 15.

2 刻誌石、乃窆、施銘旌誌石於壙內. Chapter 60, l. 20.

3 誌石二片、如官之儀. Ch. 60, l. 22.

4 刻誌石. Ch. 92, l. 8.

5 下誌石. Ch. 93, l. 8.

The dynasty now on the Throne has made quite similar rescripts. In the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* we read that, on the death of Princes of Imperial lineage of whose titles we have given a list on page 453, after the coffin is placed in the grave, »the biographical stones shall be concealed in it" [1]; further, in the case of a mandarin of whatever rank, »two stones shall be used for carving the sepulchral » biography, the one inscribed like the stone tablet outside the grave » (see pp. 1147 *seq.*), and the other stating minutely the surname of » the deceased, his personal name that may not be pronounced, » his posthumous name, his cognomen; his district, town, village » and dwelling place; the offices he has held, and the posts to » which he has been successively transferred; further the year, » month, day and hour of his birth and death; the situation of his » burial-place, and the points of the compass denoting the direction » in which it lies; and the sons and daughters he has left. The » stones must be fastened together by means of iron bindings, in » such a way that the characters are turned inside" [2]. Also for the shi [3], that is to say, the officers of the eighth and ninth degree and the gentry, »a sepulchral biography shall be carved, answering to » the rules to be found among the rescripts for the funeral of man- » darins" [4]; and for the common people »there shall be a biography, but no stone tablet" [5].

Knowing now that the eulogic biographies, placed in the tombs of the dead, have been evolved from a sacred institution of the ancients; knowing also that they have been a matter of concern to the State for over a thousand years, rescripts relative to their use having been laid down in the codices of rites of four of the great dynasties that have ruled the Empire since the seventh century — we may be sure the present Chinese, too, consider them of the highest importance in the disposal of their dead. It is remarkable that none of these four dynasties has allotted to such biographies a eulogistic character; indeed, their official rescripts designate them

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1 藏誌石. Chapter 51, l. 7.

2 刻壙誌用石二、一書如碑碣、一詳記姓諱謚字、州邑里居、服官遷次、及其生卒年月日時、葬處坐向、所遺子女。石字內向、以鐵合而束之. Chapt. 52, l. 11.

3 士.

4 刻壙誌、式見官員喪儀. Ch. 52, l. 20.

5 有誌、無碣. Ch. 52, l. 24.

by the terms »stone biographies, biographical stones, or sepulchral biographies" [1], and never by the word m i n g, which, as our readers will remember, denotes the eulogies proper, at present engraved on the stones after the biography. Perhaps this fact is to be ascribed to the circumstance that the most ancient records which speak of the placing of l e i in the tombs, viz. the Books of the Han Dynasty, only mention in this connection the Imperial graves, so that the sovereigns of later times have refrained from depreciating this distinction, appertaining to the ancient ancestors of the Throne alone, by officially allowing it also to mere officials and commoners. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the whole nation has always made the stone biographies serve the purpose of panegyrizing the dead; but this is probably to be attributed to the connivance of the Government.

Chinese authors have preserved in their writings many sepulchral biographies of bygone ages. Some of these documents are from the hand of Chu Hi, the idol of modern scholars, and therefore looked upon with special admiration. Some of earlier date also have found their way into the books; but it is doubtful whether they are all correctly represented as having been placed inside the graves: — many, ndeed, may have been exhibited upon the tombs, on large stone tablets, to which we shall presently devote a few pages. None of the sepulchral biographies of those earlier ages, which we have come across in the books, consisted of both a c h i and a m i n g. But there exists unmistakable evidence that some of that kind were composed when Chu Hi lived. For we are told in the *Yung-chai wu pih* [2], the fifth or last collection of a series of miscellanies published by Hung Mai [3], who lived from 1123 to 1203 contemporaneously with Chu Hi, that in 1197 a stone slab was discovered in the ground, engraved with a notice of the life of one Ts'ao Yin [4], the son of a court-official under the first Emperor of the T'ang dynasty, which notice was followed by a m i n g, reading: »He lived in accordance »with the principles of Heaven, and he died in conformity with »the same; — he having thus thoroughly identified himself with »those principles, why shall we waste any words to mournfully »call back his soul?" [5]. The truth of this tale is subject to

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1 石誌、誌石 or 壙誌. 2 容齋五筆.

3 See the note on page 1078. 4 曹因.

5 其生也天、其死也天、苟達此理、哀復何言.

Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing, sect. 文學, ch. 178.

doubt, quite a similar discovery being recorded by the *T'an chwen* [1], though with a change of names and date; but it is evident that it would not have occurred to the mind of Hung Mai to write such a tale, unless sepulchral biographies followed by a ming did exist in his time. Still we recollect, as stated on page 1134, that an Emperor of the sixth century is said by the books of history to have composed for his own son a chi followed by a ming.

After all, it can hardly escape the reader's notice that the mo chi-ming are allied to the grave stones. Indeed, they contain the same facts as these latter, though in a more elaborate form, and with the addition of many particulars. In some parts of China the similitude is very obvious, for instance in the province of Kiangsi, in the regions around P'o-yang lake. There we have seen many grave stones of the same slate stone of which the mo chi-ming are made, and displaying, in addition to the ordinary inscription, in small-sized characters, the dates of the birth and death of the defunct, and the chief particulars concerning his offspring, his age and the situation of his grave. Of course, these biographical grave stones, as we may call them, are of considerable size, so many characters being engraved on them. We have seen many the tops of which we could scarcely reach with our hands.

Large Sepulchral Tablets of Stone.

We now come to a third category of sepulchral epigraphs, to wit, the so-called pei or pi [2], rectangular slabs of granite, dolomite, marble or other natural stone, high and broad, standing apart, in an upright position, close by the tombs of actual or titular office-bearers and those of their wives, either exactly in the middle of the open ground in front, or a little to the right or left. They display in big characters the names and dignities of the occupant of the grave, or of the occupants, if husband and wife are buried together.

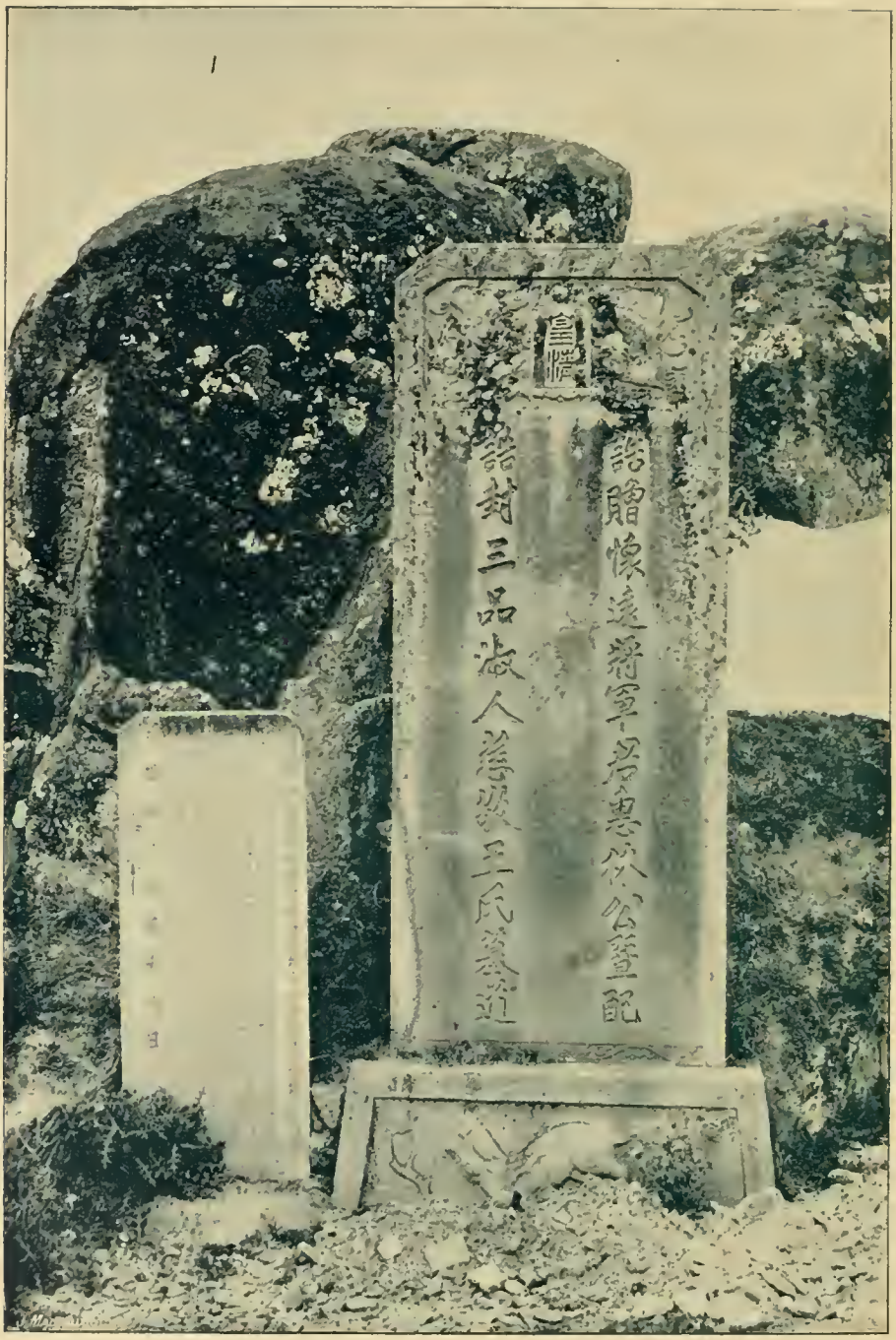
If raised for an officer of one of the three highest ranks, such a tablet stands on the back of a huge tortoise of stone (see Fig. 25), called »a tortoise pedestal" [3]; in all other cases it is fixed in a so-called »square pedestal" [4], which is a monolith, the four sides of which

1 談撰. See *op. et loc. cit.*

2 碑.

3 龜趺.

4 方趺.



Sepulchral Tablet of Stone with a square Pedestal.

gently taper towards the top (see Plate XXXVI). The tablet is generally a single piece of stone, and consists of the »body" [1],

Fig. 25.

Stone Tablet on the Back of a Tortoise.

which bears the inscription, and a border crowning it, called the »head" [2] or »cover" [3], which is ornamented on the front side with some ancient mythological animal or other figure, carved in the stone in mezzo or basso relievo. Of these animals we mention, in the first place, the li [4], a beast referred to already in the *Lü-shi ts^{c}un-ts^{c}iu*, the *Hung lieh kiai* and other ancient works, and of which the *Shwoh wen* says: »It resembles a dragon, but has a yellow

[1] 身. [2] 首. [3] 蓋. [4] 螭.

colour; some say that a hornless dragon is called a li" [1]. In subsequent ages, Chinese authors, especially those of a poetic turn of mind, often refer to this monster, nobody in the Middle Kingdom ever having doubted its real existence since the ancients wrote about it. The *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing* [2] gives the annexed picture of it:

Fig. 37

A Li or Hornless Dragon.

Further, the crowning border of many a pei is decorated with a ki-lin or unicorn, a monster with which our readers are already acquainted (pp. 819, 822 *sqq.*). Finally, some bear a t'ien-luh [3] and a p'ih-sié [4], two mythical animals about the real character of which the Chinese seem to know very little. The t'ien-luh or »celestial good fortune" we have not been able to trace back any further than the standard chronicles of the reign of the Emperor Ling of the Han dynasty: »In the third »year of the Chung-p'ing »period (A. D. 186) they »repaired the Jade Hall »Palace, and cast some t'ien-luh and frogs" [5]. An additional note, drawn from a commentary written under the T'ang dynasty, says: »The t'ien-luh is »a quadruped. The said t'ien-luh and frogs vomitted forth water »outside the P'ing gate. At present there exists in Teng-cheu, in »the north of the district of Nan-yang, a pei for one Tsung Tszĕ,

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1 若龍而黃、或曰無角曰螭.

2 Section 禽蟲, ch. 127.

3 天祿. 4 辟邪.

5 中平三年復修玉堂殿、鑄天祿蝦蟆. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 8, l. 13.

»and at the side of it stands a couple of stone animals, on the »thighs of which characters are graven, viz. tʿièn-luh on the »one, and pʿih-sié on the other; this proves that both these »terms denote quadrupeds. The House of Han possessed a tʿien-»luh corridor, which name was derived from the animal"[1].

In early works, the word tʿien-luh is sometimes written 天鹿, »celestial stag". It is uncertain whether we have here to do with a simple play upon sounds, 祿 and 鹿 both being pronounced luh, or whether »celestial stag" is the correct name and the animal originally denoted a kind of stag, seldom seen, and consequently involved by the people in a cloudy myth. In a »Memoir on the Vehicles and Dresses"[2] used under the reign of the House of Han, which was compiled by Liu Chao, who lived during the Liang dynasty and of whom our readers have already heard on page 1131, we read that the Empresses, when they visited the temples of their ancestors, wore pendants in the shape of bears, tigers, heavenly stags and pʿih-sié from their head-gear[3]. This statement, just as the passage above-cited from the Tʿang commentary on the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, shows that, in the first centuries of our era, the tʿien-luh and pʿih-sié were generally coupled together in the ideas of the nation; and this explains why we find them nowadays conjoined on the crowning borders of the pei.

As to the pʿih-sié, from the name itself it is evident that this animal is a fabulous one. In fact, the word means: »something that wards off evil influences, a charm". Without doubt it was in the capacity of a charm that, as the above-quoted Memoir on the Vehicles and Dresses states, »the Imperial Princesses, the »Princes endowed with a fief, and all those of still higher rank, »were accustomed to wear a buckle to their sash in the shape »of a golden head of a pʿih-sié, adorned with white pearls"[4]. We think that it was likewise on account of the evil-dispelling

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1 天祿獸也。天祿蝦蟆吐水於平門外。今鄧州南陽縣北有宗資碑、旁有兩石獸、鐫其膊、一曰天祿、一曰辟邪、據此卽天祿辟邪並獸名也。漢有天祿閣、亦因獸以立名.

2 輿服志.

3 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 40, l. 13.

4 自公主封君以上皆黃金辟邪首爲帶鐍、飾以白珠. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 14.

attributes of the animal, that stone images of it were often placed upon the tombs. We read, for instance, in the Water Classic Commentary: »South of the river Chi (in the present province of » Honan) is the grave of Cheu Pao, a minister in constant attend- » ance on the Throne, who lived during the Han dynasty. In » front of that grave is a pei; the grave stands against the » city of Kang, and it has four gates, at which stand a couple » of quadrupeds in stone. The tumulus has slipped away, the tomb » is in ruins, and the pei and the animals are lost, or have » been removed. People there have dug out an animal, quite » complete and undamaged, which was very high in stature, the » head being almost over one chang from the ground; it was very » elaborately finished, and on the left shoulder were carved the » characters pʿih-sié. A decorative gate stands out over the moat, » and the stone bridge across this moat has hitherto escaped de- » struction. The inscription on the pei reads, 'Six Emperors and » four Empresses have consulted this man and asked his advice'; » indeed, he held office from the reign of the Emperor Ngan, and » died under the Empress Hwan, (who reigned in the first half » of the second century). At that time, the eunuchs exercised » arbitrary authority, and the five highest nobles oppressed the » nation; they fleeced public and private persons, in order to » serve their own interests both in life and death. Hence the » tumulus raised over his remains exalts the virtuous man, and » the pei extols his merits. Indeed, if not to such servants, to » whom else should we open the prospect of being commemorated » in stone for a thousand springs to come? It would be preferable » to suffer everybody to rot away quickly"[1].

A proof that pʿih-sié of stone were erected on mausolea in the

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[1] 漯水南有漢中常侍太僕州苞冢。冢前有碑、墓西枕岡城、開四門、門有兩石獸。墳傾、墓毀、碑獸淪移。人有掘出一獸、猶全不破、甚高壯、頭去地減一丈許、作制甚工、左膊上刻作辟邪字。門表塹上起、石橋歷時不毀。其碑云、六帝四后是諮是諏、蓋仕自安帝沒于桓后。于時閹閹擅權、五侯暴世、割剝公私以事生死。夫封者表有德、碑者頌有功。自非此徒、何用許爲石至千春。不若速朽. Chapter 31, l. 5.

sixth century, is afforded by the following passage in the Books of the Sui Dynasty: »In the twelfth year of the period Ta tʿung »of the Liang dynasty (A. D. 546), in the first month, two pʿih-»sié were sent to the Kien mausoleum. The two-horned one, »which was to be placed on the left side, duly arrived on the »spot; but the other with one horn, which was to stand on the »right, became unsteady on the car when they were about to move »it forward, and jumped three times, so that both shafts broke »and the car had to be replaced by another. And again, ere the »latter arrived within two miles of the mausoleum, the beast skip-»ped three times, and the men surrounding the car took to their »heels in great alarm, at every motion it made. At three or four »feet from the place of destination, the wheels of the car sank into »the ground to a depth of three inches" [1]. That during the Tʿang dynasty there still stood a pʿih-sié on a grave in Nan-yang, in company with a tʿien-luh, is, as we have seen on page 1143, explicitly stated in a commentary on the Books of the Later Han Dynasty; moreover, another author of that period, viz. Wang Jui (see p. 825), says: »Since the dynasties of Tsʿin and Han there »have been erected, in front of the mausolea of Emperors and »Princes, stone unicorns, stone elephants and pʿih-sié, stone horses »and other images; and before those of mandarins, stone tigers, »sheep, men, pillars, and the like, all serving to decorate the grave-»mound like a body-guard arrayed in front of the living" [2]. We cannot say whether pʿih-sié or tʿien-luh have been erected on tombs in more recent ages, as we find no statements to this effect in native books. Perhaps they have gradually become obsolete, their figures being thenceforth carved in the crowning borders of the pei, as is the case at present.

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[1] 梁大同十二年正月送辟邪二于建陵。左雙角者至陵所、右獨角者將引、於車上振、躍者三、車兩轅俱折、因換車。未至陵二里又躍者三、每一振則車側人莫不聳奮。去地三四尺車輪陷入土三寸. Chapter 22, l. 28.

[2] 秦漢以來帝王陵前有石麟石象辟邪石馬之屬、人臣墓前有石虎石羊石人石柱之類、皆以飾墓如生前之儀衛. See the *Chih kuh tsze luh*, quoted in the *Ku kin tʿu shu tsih chʿing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 140.

It is, we think, doubtful whether the p'ih-sié plays a part in the ornamentation of sepulchral tablets for any other reason than the power of its name, which, as we have seen, means: »to charm evil influences away". It is because of this name, that its image insures absence of dangers and misfortunes from the individual whose names and titles are carved in the »body" of the tablet; and from him the enviable situation thus created passes over to his living offspring, through the intermediacy of the grave. Nor can it be doubted that the t'ien-luh, when carved in a tablet, serves to bring down blessing on the buried man and his offspring for analogous reasons. We have seen indeed that t'ien-luh means: »celestial good fortune". But it also signifies: »blessing or favour bestowed by the Emperor", or »Imperial salary derived from an official position", and, as our readers know, nothing is so much coveted by the Chinese as posts under the Government for themselves and their offspring. Should the name t'ien-luh mean »celestial stag", similar blessings are thereby insured, for, as we have demonstrated on page 56, the stag represents them because of its name, and is, moreover, an emblem of delight and enjoyment. As to the ki-lin, this animal foreboding the appearance of perfect rulers (see page 824), its presence on a pei promises the investment of official dignities to virtuous descendants, as long as their fate is based upon the tomb. A hornless dragon showers down upon the buried man and his offspring all the blessings which dragons generally pour forth upon graves in their capacity of chief bearers of the beneficial influences of the Universe (pp. 949 *sqq.*). Finally, the stone tortoise, which bears the pei, ensures a long life to all, and perpetuates the existence of the family, tortoises symbolizing vital power and longevity (see page 56).

Not all the sepulchral tablets are decorated with animals. If raised on the tombs of officers of the six lowest ranks, they have merely a so-called »round head" [1], that is to say, a crowning border which is rounded at the top. In the country around Peking, where the tablets are especially numerous because this city teemed of old with nobles and dignitaries of every class and rank, such »round heads" are shaped as something like a lily or a lotus, and very thick and heavy, bulging out considerably in front. Elsewhere they are shaped as represented in Plate XXXVI. Tablets of this description have, as a rule, a »square pedestal". Though they are often called pei, their correct name is kieh [2],

[1] 圓首. [2] 碣.

by which they are generally denoted in the books of every age.

The erection of pei and kieh upon the tombs, as well as their construction, dimensions and ornamentation, are defined by the present reigning dynasty in minute rules, couched in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* in the following terms:

»The carved pei at the entrance of the tomb shall bear this » inscription: 'Tomb of Mr. So-and-So, invested with such-and-such » an office'. If for a woman, the inscription shall read: 'Mrs. So- » and-So, on whom such-and-such a title of honour has been con- » ferred. And if husband and wife are buried in the same grave, » the two inscriptions must be engraved on one common pei.

» For nobles of the first, second or third rank, the body of the » pei shall be nine feet high, and three feet six inches broad; the head » shall be decorated with a hornless dragon, the pedestal shall have » the shape of a tortoise, and the height of these two parts shall be » respectively three feet two inches, and three feet eight. For man- » darins of the first degree, the body shall be eight feet five inches, » by three feet four; the head and the pedestal shall be as above, » but their height respectively three feet, and three feet six. For » mandarins of the second degree, the height of the body is eight » feet, and the breadth three feet two inches; the head is decorated » with a unicorn, the pedestal has the shape of a tortoise, and the » height of both these parts is respectively two feet eight, and three » feet four. For mandarins of the third rank, the body is seven feet » five, by a breadth of three feet; the head is decorated with a t'ien- » luh and a p'ih-sié, and two feet eight inches high, and the pedestal » has the shape of a tortoise, three feet two inches high. And for » mandarins of the fourth rank down to the seventh, the height of » the body shall, reckoning from the third rank, be reduced by » five inches for each lower rank, and the breadth by two inches; » the head shall be round, the pedestal square, and the height of » both these parts be gradually reduced by two inches for each » rank lower, likewise reckoning from the third rank[1]. For officials

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[1] 墓門勒碑書某官某公之墓。婦人則書某封某氏。若合葬則並書之。

公侯伯碑身高九尺、廣三尺六寸、螭首龜趺、首高三尺二寸、趺高三尺八寸。一品碑身高八尺五寸、廣三尺四寸、螭首龜趺、首高三尺、趺高三尺六寸。二品碑身高八尺、廣三尺二寸、麒

» of the two lowest ranks and members of the Gentry, there shall » be, at the entrance to the grave, a k i e h of stone with a round head » and a square pedestal, and it shall bear this inscription: 'Grave of » So-and-So, invested with such-and-such an office', or, if no office » was held: 'Grave of So-and-So, member of the Gentry'. And for » the principal wife it shall read: 'Mrs. So-and-So, upon whom » such-and-such an honorary title has been bestowed', or, if she » possessed no title, simply: 'Mrs. So-and-So'" [1].

An easy review of these rescripts is obtained if we arrange them in a tabular form, giving the dimensions in Chinese inches, of which there are ten to the foot:

	Ornamentation and height of the crowning border.	Height and breadth of the body.	Shape and height of the pedestal.
Nobles of the three ranks	Hornless dragon, 32	90 by 36	Tortoise, 38
Mandarins of the 1st. rank	id. , 30	85 » 34	id. 36
» » 2nd. »	Unicorn, 28	80 » 32	id. 34
» » 3rd. »	T'ien-luh and p'ih-sié, 26	75 » 30	id. 32
» » 4th. »	Rounded, 24	70 » 28	Square, 30
» » 5th. »	id. 22	65 » 26	id. 28
» » 6th. »	id. 20	60 » 24	id. 26
» » 7th. »	id. 18	55 » 22	id. 24
» » 8th. »	id. —	———	id. —
» » 9th. »	id. —	———	id. —
Members of the Gentry	id. —	———	id. —

The Ts'ing dynasty did not invent these regulations itself. It simply copied them from the institutions of the dynasty which it

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麟首龜趺、首高二尺八寸、趺高三尺四寸。三品碑身高七尺五寸、廣三尺、天祿辟邪首龜趺、首高二尺八寸、趺高三尺二寸。四品至七品碑身高眡三品遞減五寸、廣眡三品遞減二寸、皆圓首方趺、其高均眡三品遞減二寸. Chapter 52, l. 11. These rescripts are contained also in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, ll. 30 and 31, which work states that they were enacted in the fourteenth year of the period Khang hi (1675). See also the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 714, l. 8.

[1] 士、墓門石碣圓首方趺、勒曰、某官某之墓、無官則書庶士某之墓。婦則稱某封氏、無封則稱某氏. Chapter 52, l. 19.

succeeded on the Throne. We read in the Official History of this House: » At the beginning of the reign of the Ming dynasty a rescript existed, » in virtue of which the Throne was to be requested, on the demise » of a high Minister, either civil or military, to command the offi- » cers of its Han-lin College to prepare an epigraph, and to erect » a pei on the Road of the Soul (the avenue to the tomb). Under » T'ai Tsu (the first Emperor), such an inscription was produced » by the Emperor's own writing-brush in one case, viz. that of Sü » Tah, Prince of Chung-shan. That same regulation determined also » since the third year of the period Hung wu (1370), that for any » rank higher than the fifth, a pei with a tortoise-shaped pedestal » should be used, with a head or crowning border decorated with a » hornless dragon, and for the lower ranks, a kieh with a square » pedestal and a rounded head. In the fifth year, these regulations were » set forth in more minute detail. For officers of merit, endowed with » the title of Prince after their death, the head of the tablet was to » be decorated with a hornless dragon and to be 32 inches high; the » body was to be 90 inches by 36, and the tortoise-shaped pedestal » 38 inches. For mandarins of the first rank, the head was to be » decorated in like manner; for those of the second rank, the head » should bear a unicorn and a phenix, for those of the third, a » t'ien-luh and a p'ih-sié; and for those of the fourth rank down » to the seventh, the pedestal should be square. The size of the » head was to be reduced by two inches for each rank lower, » reckoning from the meritorious officers endowed with the posthum- » ous title of Prince, to the minimum height of 18 inches; the » body was to be reduced five inches in height and two in breadth » for each rank, coming down to 55 by 22, and the gradual reduc- » tion of the height of the pedestal to proceed by two inches, the » minimum height being 24 inches" [1]. Rescripts to exactly the

[1] 明初文武大臣薨逝、例請於上命翰林官製文立神道碑。惟太祖時中山王徐達出御筆。其制自洪武三年定五品以上用碑龜趺螭首、六品以下用碣方趺圓首。五年復詳定其制。功臣歿後封王螭首高三尺二寸、碑身高九尺、廣三尺六寸、龜趺高三尺八寸。一品螭首、二品麟鳳蓋、三品天祿辟邪蓋、四品至七品方趺。首視功臣歿後封王者遞殺二寸至一尺八寸止、碑身遞殺五

same effect are to be found in the Collective Statutes of the Ming dynasty [1].

We must still note that, according to the institutions of the now reigning dynasty, on the death of every nobleman belonging to one of the three highest ranks, and of every mandarin of the first degree, the inscription for the grave tablet is composed by the Imperial Chancery (Nei-koh) or the Han-lin College, in case a posthumous name be conferred upon the deceased by the Emperor [2]. We need hardly say that this honour, just as all others bestowed either by the Son of Heaven, or his chief departments of central administration, is considered by the whole nation to shed a brilliant halo of glory around the memory of the deceased and around his family.

The pei and kieh being generally reared in front of the tombs, they often stand on the spot where the path leading to the grave branches off from the nearest public road. In the island of Amoy and other parts of the Tsʿüen-cheu department, the said path is called *bōng tō* [3], »grave road", and the tablet is also denoted by this word on account of its indicating the place where the paths begins; and it is very common to see there this word carved in the stone, as a part of the epigraph. This for instance is the case with the kieh represented in Plate XXXVI (facing page 1141); its inscription reads: »Road to the grave of Mr. Lin Kiün-hwui, on whom, after his death, the Imperial Tsʿing dynasty conferred the honorary title of General of the Hwai-yuen region; and of Mrs. Wang Tszĕ-king, buried at his side, on whom the Imperial Tsʿing dynasty bestowed, during her life, the female honorary title of the third degree". The words »Imperial Tsʿing dynasty" are placed on the crowning border. This is owing to the consideration, that respect requires the name of the family of the reigning monarch to be raised high above the rest of the epigraph; moreover, the superstitious calculation based upon the quinary division of the human fate (see page 1105), has evidently required the removal of a couple of characters from

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寸至五尺五寸止、其廣遞殺二寸至二尺二寸止、趺遞殺二寸至二尺四寸止. Chapter 60, ll. 16 and 17.

1 Chapter 162, ll. 21 *seq.*

2 *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien*, ch. 54, l. 18, and ch. 84, l. 3. See also the *Ta Tsʿing t'ung li*, ch. 52, l. 9.

3 墓道.

Tablet House of a Tomb.

the body of the tablet, in order to make each column consist of twelve, the number ensuring old age. The same Plate also shows, that stone tablets are sometimes decorated on the front with margins of carved figures reminding us of a wreath of twigs and leaves, and that it is not unusual to adorn the pedestal of a k i e h with some mystic animal [1].

In some mausolea on the Peking plains, the p e i is sheltered underneath a pavilion. But the right of having the tombs thus decorated is, as we shall see on page 1176, a prerogative of Imperial Princes of the two highest ranks, granted them by the written institutions of the State. Consequently, such tablet-houses are very rare in the provinces. Of the only specimen to be found in the environs of Amoy, Plate XXXVII is a picture. It is entirely of granite. The style of honorary gates is here repeated, as may be seen at a glance from the pictures we have given of these monuments in the Second Volume. The inscription on the tablet shows, that it was built for a married couple bearing no higher title of honour than that of the fourth rank. Hence we must infer that a licence to erect it was for some reason or other granted by special favour, or that pavilions of such small dimension and plain construction once were, or still are, connived at by the powers that be. The structure bears some inscriptions. On a tablet upheld by a dragon, placed underneath the highest roof, we read: »Glory conferred by Imperial favour" [2], and on the lintel, under the lower roof: »Imperial favours he has received over and over again" [3]. A distich, placed on the two posts in front, reads:

»If an office-bearer, while maintaining respect (for the authorities) with a firm hand, performs from the very beginning actions which proceed from exemplary virtue,

» His variegated pheasant feathers (symbol of official dignity) shall emit streams of perfumes, and he will for ever carry about him the certificates of investment with dignities by the Emperor's grace" [4].

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1 The small tablet, standing on the right side of the p e i represented in that Plate, has no connection with the grave. It merely bears an edict, issued by the local authorities of Amoy in 1878, exhorting the people against fraudulently encroaching on the graves of others.

2 恩榮. Compare page 784.

3 天寵疊膺.

4 服官揅敬聿推式穀之功、
彩翟流芳永荷寵綏之典。

We have now to give the origin and history of the sepulchral tablets.

The fact that, during the Ming dynasty, the pei and kieh were things of great solicitude, they being subject to minute official rules, leads us to believe, they were in that epoch deemed to date from ancient times, and to deserve, on this account, a place among the institutions of the State, side by side with whatever was of ancient origin. They are, in truth, as old as the Han dynasty, and traced by Chinese authors as far back as the reign of the House of Cheu.

In the *Li ki* (ch. 13, l. 34) we read:

» At the death of the mother of Ki Khang-tszĕ, Kung-shu Joh » was still young. When the body was dressed, Pan (*i. e.* Kung- » shu Joh) asked leave to inter the corpse by means of a mechan- » ical contrivance, and they were about to accede, when Kung- » kien Kia said: 'It may not be done. According to the early » practice in the state of Lu, the ruling House uses for this pur- » pose 'great pei', and the three (principal) families use wooden » posts, arranged in a square. Pan, you have in the case of other » people's mothers made trial of your skill; should you not do so » also in the case of your own mother? Would that distress you? » Bah!' They did not allow him to carry out his plan" [1].

On another page, the same Classic states (ch. 58, l. 44): »In » burying the Ruler of a State, they use four coffin ropes and » two pei; in burying a Great officer, two ropes and two pei, » and in burying an ordinary officer, two ropes and no pei" [2]. It appears from these two extracts, that is was customary during the Cheu dynasty to lower princes and magnates into their graves by means of posts, called pei, planted at the edge of the pit. In the second century of our era, the famous Ching Khang-ch'ing wrote: »The 'great pei' were cut out of large trunks of trees, and » shaped like the pei (tablets) of stone. They were implanted at

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[1] 季康子之母死、公輸若方小。斂、般請以機封、將從之、公肩假曰、不可。夫魯有初公室視豐碑、三家視桓楹。般、爾以人之母嘗巧、則豈不得以其母以嘗巧者乎。則病者乎、噫。弗果從. Section 檀弓, II, 2.

[2] 君葬用四綍二碑、大夫葬用二綍二碑、士葬用二綍無碑. Section 喪大記, II.

» the four corners of the vault, viz. in front and behind. A notch » made in them, served as a pulley, the coffin-ropes being slung » around it while lowering the coffin" [1]. Perhaps, this statement that the great pei were of wood, is not correct, the character 碑, representing this word, having in the *Li ki* the prefix 石, which decidedly means stone.

It is from these wooden or stone posts that Chinese authors unanimously derive the origin of the synonymous stone tablets, which are reared on the sepulchres of noblemen and mandarins down to this day. In the *Shih ming* (see page 267), a vocabulary ascribed to Liu Hi [2], who is supposed to have lived towards the end of the Han dynasty, we read:

» Pei (tablets) are things which began to be erected in the » time of Wang Mang" — that is to say, at the opening of our era (see page 314). » Pulleys were made to them, and the ropes » slung over the same; and in that way the coffin was lowered. » Ministers, wishing to record the merits and praiseworthy feats » of their deceased princes, and sons those of their fathers, in- » scribed them upon those pei; and this was imitated by the » people in later times. The name pei is also given to the tablets » set up without valid reasons in conspicuous places where roads » and streets begin, in order to secure a fame and reputation for » scholarship" [3].

This categorical statement touching the origin of the sepulchral tablets is subscribed to by authors of subsequent times. Li Ch'oh [4], for example, wrote in the ninth century: » Of old there was a » round hole in every tablet. For, whereas the word pei repre- » sents grief [5], the pei were originally placed in burial grounds,

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1 豐碑豎大木爲之、形如石碑。於槨前後四角樹之。穿中間爲鹿盧、下棺以繞繂. Khien lung edition of the *Li ki*, ch. 13, ll. 34 *seq.*

2 劉熙.

3 碑本王莽時所設也。施其轆轤、以繩被其上、以引棺也。臣子追述君父之功美以書其上、後人因焉。無故建於道陌之頭顯見之處、名其文就、謂之碑也. Chapter 3, § 典藝.

4 李綽.

5 Here we have a case of paronomasia or playing upon sound, 悲, which means grief, being likewise pronounced pei.

» four to every grave; at the interment ropes were made to run » through the holes, and thus the coffin was lowered. Such, in » ancient times, was the way to place coffins in the grave by » suspending them from ropes. The *Li ki* says that royal families » used 'great pei', and the three principal families wooden posts » arranged in a square (see above). The people imitated this, and » also wrote the merits of the deceased thereon; thus stone tablets, » serving, as they do, as marks of distinction, have come into existence. » Some tens of years ago, those who set up such tablets in com- » memoration of virtuous magistrates, were still in the habit of » making a round hole therein, entirely unaware of the origin of » the custom; but thereafter some men have become conscious of » it, and have since given up the custom" [1]. In the eleventh cen- » tury, another author, »Sun Ho, wrote: 'Erenow, while abiding » in the Ying region, I have seen old stone tablets of the Siün and » Ch'en families, all of which had a hole in the top that looked » as if it had been made for a rope to run through it. I asked » Chang Kwan, the Recorder of the Emperor's acts and doings, » what he thought of the matter; and he said: 'The Han dynasty » did not stand far off from antiquity, so that the shape of the 'great » pei' was retained during its reign'" [2].

That the sepulchral pei were at an early date made subservient to the purpose of glorifying the dead by carving upon them their commemorative acts and capacities, is placed beyond doubt by the Water Classic Commentary, which states in the passage, translated by us on page 1144, that there was a pei in the mausoleum of Cheu Pao, who lived in the beginning of the reign of the Han dynasty, which pei blazened abroad that no less than six emperors

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[1] 古碑皆有圓空。蓋碑者悲也、本墟墓間物、每一墓有四焉、初葬穿繩於空以下棺。乃古懸窆之禮。禮曰、公室視豐碑、三家視桓楹。人因就紀其德、由是遂有碑表。數十年前有樹德政碑亦設圓空、不知根本甚矣、後有悟之者遂改焉. *Shang-shu ku shih* 尚書故實, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 文學, ch. 167.

[2] 孫何謂、昔在潁中嘗見荀陳古碑、皆穴其上、若貫索爲之者。以問起居郎張觀、觀曰、漢去古未遠、猶有豐碑之遺像. *Kai yü ts'ung k'ao*, ch. 32, l. 9.

and four empresses had frequently consulted him about state affairs. It is almost superfluous to say that the inscriptions on such monuments were closely connected with the same ancient lei that gave birth to the stone eulogic biographies buried in the tombs, to which we have already devoted our attention.

In the first centuries of our era, the erecting of stone pei on the graves of the great of this earth seems to have generally prevailed, being referred to very often in the books of those times. Apart from the sepulchre of Cheu Pao, just mentioned, the Water Classic Commentary states in the passages translated by us on page 446, that there were three such monuments in the mausoleum of Chang Poh-ya, and a like number in that of Yin Kien [1]. Ts'ui Shih, a grandee of whom we have spoken on page 837, is stated »to have sold his »fields and his dwelling on his father's death, in order to build »him a sepulchre and to erect there a pei in his praise; and when »he fell sick himself and died in the period Kien ning (A. D. »168—171), Yuen Wei, Minister of the State Ceremonial, set up »a pei to commend his virtues" [2]. According to an episode from the life of the geomancer Kwan Loh, recounted by us on page 1000, a pei inscribed with a beautiful eulogy stood on the grave of Wu-khiu Kien, a military commander of great repute in the third century. And Liu Hieh [3], a statesman who lived two centuries later, declared explicitly in his writings still extant: »Since the »Later Han dynasty, the pei and kieh have made their appearance »in numbers like unto the clouds, and are cut by gravers of »talent" [4]. We often read also of tablets erected in palaces, temples, streets and public places of every kind; but they need not engage our attention at present.

Also during the Tsin dynasty the erection of honorific tablets upon graves held a prominent place among the funeral customs of the nation. The Standard Histories of the time relate *e. g.* of Luh

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1 We here apologize for a printer's error in the second line from the bottom of page 446, in which we should read »tablets", not »pillars".

2 初實父卒、剽賣田宅、起冢塋、立碑頌、建寧中病卒、大鴻臚袁隗樹碑頌德. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 82, l. 20.

3 劉勰.

4 自後漢以來碑碣雲起、才鋒所斷. *Wen sin tiao lung* 文心雕龍, ch. 3, § 誄碑.

Yun [1], an officer in the fourth century, that, »whereas he had only »two daughters and no sons, the funeral rites were performed for »him by his disciples and former subalterns, who buried him in »Ts'ing-ho; repairing his tomb, they erected a pei upon it, and »sacrificed on the spot in the four seasons" [2]. Of Hi Shao [3], a dignitary of high position, the same work states: »When Yueh, Prince of »Tung-hai (see page 849) marched through Yung-yang, after having »reduced the Hü-ch'ang region to subjection, he passed his grave, »wailed for him with a great display of grief, and erected on it »a pei of carved stone" [4]. It seems that the use of the word kieh as a name for certain stone tablets dates from the reign of the same family, the historical books of that time being the first in which the term occurs in this sense. We read, for example, that when Li Hing [5], a literary man of great renown, »resided in the »prefecture administered by Liu Hung, this dignitary, wishing »to raise kieh to Chu-koh K'ung-ming [6] and Yang Shuh-tsze [7], »told him to prepare the inscriptions for the same" [8].

But the character kieh is considerably older, older, perhaps, than the character pei, for it occurs already in the »Tribute of Yü" [9], a section of the *Shu king* relating to the semi-mythical founder of the Hia dynasty. This document, one of the oldest the Chinese possess, mentions, under the name of Kieh-shih [10], a mountain or hill probably located near the mouth of the Hwang-ho, which at that time emptied itself somewhere in the gulph of Peh-chihli [11].

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1 陸雲.

2 有二女無男、門生故吏迎喪、葬清河、修墓、立碑、四時祠祭. Ch. 54, l. 20.

3 稽紹.

4 東海王越屯許[昌]路經滎陽、過紹墓、哭之悲慟、刋石立碑. Ch. 89, l. 4.

5 李興.

6 A famous politician and general of the third century, to whose skill and sagacity the founder of the Shuh dynasty owed much of his success.

7 A statesman and military commander, who had played a prominent part in establishing the Tsin dynasty upon the throne.

8 興之在[劉]弘府、弘立諸葛孔明羊叔子碣、使興俱爲之文. Chapter 88, l. 4.

9 禹貢. 10 碣石.

11 Von Richthofen, China, I, pp. 308 *seq.*

Though the real meaning of this geographical name may be entirely different from the signification of the characters by which it is denoted, these latter suggest that it meant a rock or bluff (shih) bearing a kieh that may have been a post, column or other object in stone serving as a landmark to navigators, or something else; and Chinese authors do not seem averse from regarding it in this sense, for the author of the *Shwoh wen* wrote: »Kieh »means a stone erected for some special purpose. At the Eastern »Sea there is a mountain, called the Kieh-shih" [1].

Sü Shi-tseng, an author mentioned on page 611, who lived during the Ming dynasty, says: »During the Tsin dynasty and that of Sung, »the sepulchral pei began to be called 'pei of the Road of the »Spirit', because the geomancers at that time were wont to consider »the east and south side of tombs as a road used by the soul, »and the tablets were placed in that part of the grounds" [2]. In point of fact we repeatedly come across this term in the books of succeeding ages. Sometimes also, the tablets are therein named yen pei [3] or yen-tao pei [4], »tablets of the road leading to the grave", and sui pei [5], »grave-tunnel tablets", which terms require no explanation after what we have said on page 425 concerning the meaning of the words yen, yen-tao and sui.

Geomantic wisdom being in its apogee during the dynasty of Tsin (see pp. 1004 *sqq.*), it cannot cause any surprise that the professors of Fung-shui then included also the large sepulchral tablets among the factors on which they built up speculations about the properties of graves. We read indeed in the biography of Kwoh Poh, the great coryphaeus among geomancers of all ages: »In that year, Yü Yih died, and Ping, his son, told Kwoh Poh »to consult the divining stalks on the fate of his posterity. When »the kwa was made, Kwoh Poh said: 'All your sons must »become men of position, and they shall enjoy prosperity; but if the »pei produces metal, it forebodes events that are disquieting for

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[1] 碣特立之石。東海有碣石山.

[2] 晉宋間始稱神道碑、蓋堪輿家以東南爲神道、碑立其地、因名焉. *Wen t'i ming pien* 文體明辯, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 文學, ch. 177.

[3] 羨碑.

[4] 羨道碑.

[5] 隧碑.

» the family Yü'. Afterwards, when Yun, the son of Ping, was » Governor of Kwang-cheu, the pei produced metal, whereupon » he was slain by Hwan Wen" [1]. Let it be remembered that speculations of this sort are not out of fashion at present, various metallic propensities being, as we have seen on page 1108, attributed by geomancy to the grave stones, in connection with their shape.

In the Books of the Han Dynasty no mention is made, so far as we know, of any steps taken by the Government to regulate officially the erection of sepulchral tablets. But in the epoch immediately following the downfall of that House, rescripts to this effect seem to have been enacted, and maintained with a firm hand. » Since the Han dynasty, the dead all over the Empire have » been sent to their graves with extravagant prodigality", thus we read in the Books of the Sung Dynasty. » Stone buildings, stone » animals, eulogic inscriptions carved in tablets, and other monu- » ments were made for them on a large scale. Hence, in the tenth » year of the period Kien ngan (A. D. 205), the Emperor Wu » of the Wei dynasty (Ts'ao Ts'ao), taking into consideration that » the resources of the Empire were being exhausted, issued an » order to the effect that it should no longer be allowed to bury » the dead at great expense, and interdicted the erection of » stone tablets. Under the reign of Kao-kwei-hiang-kung (of the » same dynasty), in the second year of the period Kan lu (A. D. » 257), the Generalissimo Lun, Prince of T'ai-yuen, died, and his » elder brother Tsun composed an essay for the glorification of his » virtues, wishing to put on record the fame he had left behind. » But, apprehending that the statute regulations, enacted for Princes, » did not authorise him to engrave an eulogic essay in stone, he » composed a simple description of the dead man's career, and had » it engraved somewhere on the northern side of the tomb. This » event suggests that the said prohibition respecting stone tablets » was at that time seriously maintained.

» Afterwards, a period of relaxation set in. But under the Tsin » dynasty, the Emperor Wu issued the following decree, in the fourth

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[1] 其年[庾]翼卒、冰又令筮其後嗣。卦成曰、卿諸子並當貴盛、若墓碑生金、庾氏之大忌也。後冰子蘊爲廣州刺史、墓碑生金、俄而爲桓溫所滅. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 72, ll. 12 *seq.*

» year of the period Hien ning (A. D. 278): 'Those stone » animals, and those marks of distinction in the shape of stone » tablets serve for underhand glorification and to exalt feats of no » essential merit; besides, they are more injurious to the people » than anything else because they impoverish it; therefore they » shall be entirely forbidden, and those who presume to transgress » this prohibition shall receive orders to demolish those things, » even in case a pardon be granted them'. — Under the reign » of Yuen, some officers reported in the first year of the period » T'ai hing (A. D. 318) that a former Cavalry Commander and » Archivist, intending to bury Ku Yung, his ancient chief, whose » favours he had enjoyed, had asked leave to erect a tablet to » him; and a licence was granted him by special Imperial edict. » After this the prohibition in question gradually fell into disuse » again, so that Ministers, Chief officers and others all erected such » monuments of their own accord; and this lasted until the period » I hi (405—419), when the Minister P'ei Sung-chi, President of » the Board of Rites, proposed that the prohibition should be again » enacted. From that time it has remained in force to this day" [1].

In fact, on opening the biography of P'ei Sung-chi in the Standard Histories, we read: »Considering that the then custom » of erecting honorific tablets without official authorisation, rested on » a wrong principle, he presented a manifest to the Throne, in » which he expounded his views, giving it as his opinion that,

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[1] 漢以後天下送死奢靡。多作石室石獸碑銘等物。建安十年魏武帝以天下雕弊、下令不得厚葬、又禁立碑。魏高貴鄉公甘露二年大將軍參軍太原王倫卒、倫兄俊作表德論以述倫遺美云。祇畏王典不得爲銘、乃撰錄行事、就刋於墓之陰云。爾此則碑禁尙嚴也。

此後復弛替。晉武帝咸寧四年又詔曰、此石獸碑表旣私褒美典長虛僞、傷財害人莫大於此、一禁斷之、其犯者雖會赦、令皆當毀壞。至元帝太興元年有司奏、故驃騎府主簿故恩營葬舊君顧榮、求立碑、詔特聽立。自是後禁又漸頹、大臣長吏人皆私立、義熙中尙書祠部郎中裴松之又議禁斷。於是至今. Chapter 15, ll. 30 *seq.*

» whoever desired to rear such a tablet, ought to minutely inform » the Throne thereof; which should then grant a licence, after » the Councillors of the Court had given their approval. In this » wise, it would be possible to check those cases of glorification » which were based on doubtful grounds. From that time, such a » measure was everywhere enforced" [1]. Still after the House, under which P'ei Sung-chi lived, was destroyed, tablets were not allowed to be erected, even on the graves of men of the highest rank, except with the Imperial sanction. It is stated, for example, of Siu [2], Prince of Ngan-ch'ing-khang [3], seventh son of the father of the Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, and a man who had held the highest dignities of the State: »Hia-heu Tan and others, his former sub- » alterns, requested the Emperor's leave to erect a pei on his » grave, which request was granted by Imperial edict" [4]. And of Sü Mien, the grandee mentioned on page 1127, a favourite of the same Son of Heaven and likewise invested with high dignities, we read that, on a request being presented to the same effect, » a decree was issued by the Throne, allowing the erection of a pei on his tomb" [5]. It is also recorded that, again under the same Emperor, viz. »in the sixth year of the period T'ien kien (507), » the rescripts bearing upon burial were officially expounded in » this sense, that neither stone images of men or animals, nor » pei, were to be erected on ordinary graves, and that only pillars » of stone might be placed thereon, as also a tablet bearing the » name of the defunct" [6].

The Sui dynasty was, so far as we can make it out by means of the books, the first to allow the entire class of mandarins to erect tablets of stone upon their tombs. Its first monarch stipulated, in the same year in which he began to reign, that »to his officers » in the Metropolis belonging to the three highest ranks and buried

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1 以世立私碑有乖事實、上表陳之、以爲諸欲立碑者宜悉令言上、爲朝議所許然後聽之。庶可以防遏無徵顯彰茂實。由是普斷. History of the South of the Realm, ch. 33, l. 18. See also the Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 46, l. 9.

2 秀. 3 安成康.

4 故吏夏侯亶等表立墓碑、詔許焉. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 22, l. 7. See also the History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 52, l. 4.

5 卽降詔許立碑於墓云. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 25, l. 14. See also the History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 60, l. 20.

6 See page 814.

» at seven or more miles from the city-walls, a pei with a hornless » dragon at the top, and a tortoise as a pedestal, might be erected, » but it should not rise more than nine feet above the pedestal. » To officers of the seventh rank up (to the third), a kieh four » feet high might be raised, with a top resembling that of a sceptre, » and with a square pedestal; and for persons who, though not bearers » of official dignities, had obtained a reputation for perfection in » modest solitude, or for simple and pure filial devotion and sense » of duty, a permit to erect a kieh might be asked of the Throne, » and could be granted by it" [1]. Here we have, I believe, the oldest printed reference to stone tablets with a tortoise as a pedestal and a hornless dragon on the crowning border, and the first passage also, in which such tablets are officially distinguished, by the name of pei, from the kieh with a simple square pedestal.

This distinction between the two sorts has evidently been maintained ever since, and both the pei and kieh constantly made in the same shape, and similarly ornamented, as at present. We read *e. g.*, that in an inscription which Liu Yü-sih [2], a poet who lived between the dates 772 and 842, wrote for the tablet of the grandee Hi Chih [3], this passage occurred: »This crowning » border, adorned with a hornless dragon, and this pedestal, shaped » like a tortoise, record the radiant glory of his virtues" [4]. Sü Shi-tseng states categorically, that »during the reign of the T'ang » dynasty the kieh had a square pedestal and a round head, and » were erected for officers of the fifth rank and those of lower » degree" [5]; and finally we read that the following distich was graven in the kieh of one Yao Sui [6], a grandee of significance during the Yuen dynasty: »Square is its pedestal, and sculptured its » crowning border; the place where the kieh stands in the paved

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[1] 在京師葬者去城七里外三品以上立碑螭首龜趺、趺上高不得過九尺。七品已上立碣高四尺圭首方趺、若隱淪道素孝義著聞者、雖無爵、奏聽立碣. Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 8, l. 7.

[2] 劉禹錫.

[3] 奚陟.

[4] 螭首龜趺德輝是紀. *Pei wen yun fu*, chapter 7, II, l. 149.

[5] 唐碣制方趺圓首、五品以下官用之. *Wen t'i ming pien*, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 文學, ch. 177.

[6] 姚燧.

» avenue to the tomb shall not decay, even when a thousand sacrifices » have been offered to this soul" [1]. That the Ming dynasty sharply distinguished the two kinds from each other, is evinced by its ordinances reproduced on page 1149; and the present reigning dynasty, which, as we have stated, maintained those ordinances without making hardly any modification therein, does the same.

Ordinances of the same tendency having been enacted, by successive dynasties, almost from the very dawn of the custom of erecting such tablets, it is evident enough that the nation and its Rulers have always regarded these monuments as objects of the highest importance for the worship of the dead. Nowadays, the Government certainly does not regard them from a less serious point of view, even going so far as to defray, in the case of certain nobles and public servants, the expenses connected with their erection, apart from the allowances which, as stated on page 1101, it grants for the construction of their graves. »In the second » year of the period Khang hi (1663) it was stipulated that, in » the case of officials to whom a posthumous name was granted (by » the Emperor), the Board of Works should depute an officer to » erect the tablet. And in the fourteenth year of the same period a » proposal was sanctioned, according to which 400 taels should be paid » for that of a nobleman of one of the three highest ranks; for an officer » of the first rank, the same sum as for an Imperial Prince of the » ninth order (viz. 350 taels); for an officer of the second rank, as » much as for a Prince of the tenth rank (300 taels); and for an » officer of the third rank, 250 taels. As for the building of graves » and the erection of tablets: in case officers of the first or second » rank become ill and die, the Board of Rites shall make a pro- » posal to the Throne; and if only half the ordinary allowance be » granted for the burial, no payment shall be made for the tablet. » And if an officer of the third rank, or lower, dies in the service » of Government, the Board of Rites shall take the initiative in » presenting a proposal to the Throne" [2].

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[1] 有方其趺、有剡其首、碣石阡隅千祀無朽. *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 7, II, l. 150.

[2] 康熙二年定、官員曾經與諡者、工部差官立碑。十四年題準民公侯伯各四百兩、一品官與鎮國將軍同、二品官與輔國將軍同、三品官二百五十兩。一造墳立碑、一二品官病故、禮部題

We must now direct attention to the fact, that a small number of these sepulchral tablets also contain an account of the life of the deceased, and for this reason are closely allied with the mo chi-ming. This account is mostly graven on the reverse of the stone. It seems that such biographical tablets did not come into vogue before the sixth century, and that the pei and kieh, previously erected, only displayed the names and titles, either with or without an eulogy; for we have in the national histories the following statement concerning P'ei Tszĕ-yé [1], a Minister who died in A. D. 528: »When he was buried, the Prince of Siang-tung made a mo chi-»ming for him, and placed it in his grave; besides, a sepul-»chral biography (mo chi) was erected by the Prince of Shao-ling »on the path leading to the tomb. From this time dates the custom »of placing biographies in such avenues" [2]. In connection with this passage it may be remarked that, in the early references to the tablets, the epigraphs carved thereon are often called ming or lei, but never chi, and that the rescripts of the present dynasty, quoted on pp. 1147 *seq.*, explicitly declare that the tablets shall only bear the names and official dignities of the dead to whom they are erected. Hence it seems probable, that the scanty biographies preserved in the books as copies from sepulchral tablets of bygone ages, are exceptions, and have appeared on the graves by special Imperial licence.

The pei and kieh the inscriptions on which are commemorative of the celebrity of the dead, are, from the very first, often denoted in the books by the name mo piao [3], »sepulchral marks of distinction". We read, indeed, of Yen Tuh, a dignitary of whom we have spoken on page 639, who lived in the second century of our era: »When he had arrived in the country the adminis-»tration of which was entrusted to him, he erected an eulogic »inscription (ming) as a mark of distinction to the grave of

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請、如止給半葬卽無碑價。三品以下歿於王事者禮部始行題請. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 31; and *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 714, ll. 6—8.

[1] 裴子野.

[2] 及葬、湘東王爲之墓誌銘、陳于藏內、邵陵王又立墓誌、堙于羨道。羨道列誌自此始焉. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, ch. 33, l. 23.

[3] 墓表.

»Kung Sui, and presented a sacrifice on the spot"[1]. That the mo piao did not, however, actually form a distinct species of tablets, we may admit on the authority of Sü Shi-tseng. »The »mo piao", he says, »began to be erected during the Eastern »(Later) Han dynasty, when the Emperor Ngan raised such a »monument, in the first year of the period Yuen ch'u (A. D. »114), to King Kiün, an officer charged with the reception and »entertainment of the guests of the Court. Those tablets bore cha»racters of the same shape as those on the pei and kieh; they »might be made for office-bearers and non-official persons indis»criminately, and were not, like the pei and kieh, subject to »rescripts concerning grade and rank. Being erected on the Road »of the Spirit, they were also called: 'marks of distinction on Spirit»roads'"[2]. Another name for such tablets, likewise of rather frequent use in the books, is pei piao[3]: »stone tablets serving as marks of distinction".

In conclusion, we note that the stone tablets, erected on the tombs, are mentioned in the books of every period by two terms alluding to their origin, viz. »great pei"[4], and »marks of distinction in the shape of wooden posts"[5]. Both these terms are derived from the extract of the *Li ki*, which we have given on page 1152. Even the *T'ung li* of the present dynasty denotes the tablets erected for the principal members of the Imperial Family (see page 1174) by the name of »great pei".

3. The Mausolea of Princes of Imperial Lineage.

Thus far our description of tombs and sepulchral parks has not touched upon the sepulchres of the highest order in China, viz. the mausolea built for members of the Imperial House. A few

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[1] 到官、表襲遂之墓立銘、祭祠. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 94, l. 4.

[2] 按墓表自東漢始、安帝元初元年立謁者景君墓表。其文體與碑碣同、有官無官皆可用、非若碑碣之有等級限制也。以其樹於神道、故又稱神道表. *Wen t'i ming pien*, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 文學, ch. 177.

[3] 碑表. [4] 豐碑. [5] 桓表.

pages we shall now devote to this subject, and show therein that such monuments, even the largest and most gorgeous, are very similar to the sepulchres of the people and of the mandarinate, because they, too, are laid out on the same plan as the dwellings of the living.

The Princes of Imperial lineage are divided into twelve classes, the titles of which are given on page 453 of this work. These classes correspond with twelve generations in the male line of descent. Their mausolea are spread over the vast plains around the Metropolis, and over the hills which bound those plains to the west and north. Some are situate elsewhere in the Empire, but not in any great numbers, as the general custom of conveying the dead back to the place where their ancestors lived and their cradle stood, is observed with special strictness in respect to the members of the Imperial Family.

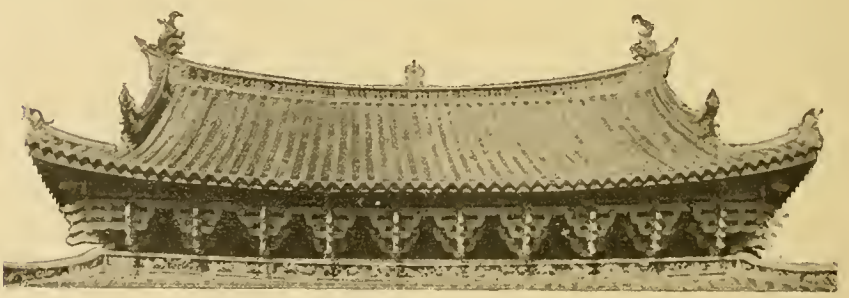
Among those mausolea, the largest and grandest are, of course, those of Imperial sons, Princes of the first or highest rank, entitled Ts'in wang[1], »Princes or Kings of the nearest Generation, or of the nearest Blood". They cover many acres of ground. A vast quadrilateral plot of about two acres in size, surrounded on the four sides by a thick, solid wall, forms the main part, the so-called fen yuen[2] or »grave enclosure". The wall, called wei ts'iang[3], »inclosing wall", is, in many cases, over four metres high. It consists of hard greyish bricks of considerable size. Over its whole length it is covered with a narrow span-roof with glazed tiles of a beautiful green colour, glistening and glaring in the rays of the sun. An idea of the shape of such wall-roofs is conveyed by Plate XLVI, facing page 1217, where the reader can see them to the right and left of the gate. As is the case with the roofs of large temples and palaces generally, a layer of tiles or a ridge of limestone runs over the top, and on both façades the eaves rest on thick wall-plates of white limestone or painted wood. The tiles are of coarse porcelain, very solid and ponderous, and of the same kind and make as the tiles which cover many buildings within the vast Imperial Altar-grounds in the suburbs of the Metropolis and many temples likewise connected with the State religion, located within its walls. They are slightly curved, and arranged in rows, the intervals between which are covered with reversed semi-tubular tiles, so that the roof looks like a file of parallel

[1] 親王. [2] 墳院 [3] 圍牆.

tubes stretched between the ridge and the eaves. The lowermost tile in every row ends in a rounded border, adorned with bossy ornamental figures, these borders together forming a beautiful scalloped edge along the eaves. The reader will better understand such tiling work, if he glance at the roof of the sacrificial furnace represented in Plate XXXIX, opposite page 1170, the dilapidated condition of which shows the construction with special clearness.

Access to the inclosure is gained through a broad roofed gate, called ta men[1]: »great gate, or main gate", exactly in the middle of the side which, either actually or in theory, faces the South. It is of the same type as the chief entrance to large mansions and public edifices. It stands on a raised rectangular substructure of thick slabs of marble or dolomite of considerable length, which greatly aids in bringing out its stately appearance. Both in front and at the back, this stylobate has steps for ascent, protected sometimes by elaborately wrought balustrades of limestone or marble. The gate has three openings, closed by folding-doors of wood, and decorated with paint of many colours. The high span-roof is supported by wooden pillars, and covered with green glazed tiles, similar to those which adorn the walls of the enclosure. The eaves, which project considerably, rest on each side of the gate upon a long row of supports (see Fig. 38), each of which is a structure of wooden

Fig. 38.



Specimen of a Roof resting on a Bracket Frieze.

brackets or cantilevers, piled upon another in the following manner: — a bracket resting crosswise on the wall-plate and projecting from it, carries some other brackets, placed crosswise over the first, one near to its end and the others more backward; over these brackets three others are placed crosswise, jutting out further than the first, and

[1] 大門.

they again support brackets longer than the second and likewise fastened at right angles over them, one lying near to the end; and so on, till the eaves are reached, increased breadth on the top being thus given for the support of the roof. This complicated timber construction is the most ornamental portion of the roof; it is painted in red and other gaudy colours, and the ends of the brackets are adorned with handsome carvings. It produces a massive and at the same time elegant effect, and forms a marked feature of Chinese architecture all over the Empire, all buildings with any pretensions to beauty being adorned with such a peculiar frieze

Passing through the gate, the visitor finds himself immediately in the t'ing[1] or court-yard, on the opposite side of which he perceives an insulated edifice, called the hiang t'ang[2] or hiang tien[3]: the »sacrificial hall" (Consult Fig. 39). A road paved with slabs of marble or stone runs in a straight line from the gate to that temple. Over a small arched bridge of marble, with handsome balustrades, it leads across a Fung-shui tank lined with rectangular blocks of stone, which is situated in the middle of the court. Two lion-like monsters in stone, squatted down on pedestals, watch over this bridge on either side, their jaws being turned towards the gate, as if to drive away all spirits that might attempt to approach the temple or the tumuli with mischievous intent. Pines, cypresses and other trees are planted on the right and left of the court-yard, and enhance the impressive aspect of this abode of death.

The temple is of wood, and rectangular in form. Its fore-front, which faces the court-yard, is considerably longer than its side walls, in some cases almost twice as long, and contains the main entrance exactly in the middle, which is straight opposite the bridge. When seen in front, the temple bears a great resemblance to the »great gate", being built in quite the same style, and likewise standing on a rectangular platform of stone with an ascent of steps in front and at the back; sometimes it is just as broad as the gate, in other cases it is considerably broader. The green-tiled roof, supported by wooden pillars arrayed within the building, and by wooden pilasters set within the walls, towers out considerably above the gate. On every side, the eaves rest on a bracket construction precisely resembling that of the gate. On entering through the main door, the visitor faces an altar which bears

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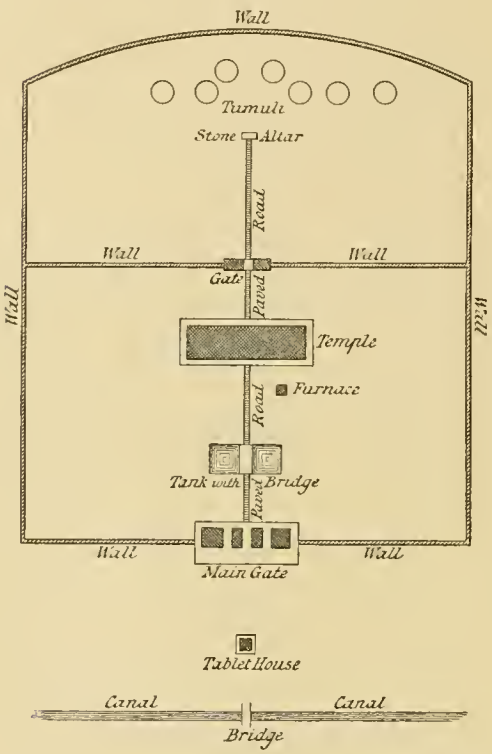
1 庭. 2 享堂 or 饗堂. 3 享殿 or 饗殿.

the soul tablets of the persons buried in the grounds. These tablets are arranged in the same order as the tumuli. An oblong table, standing in front of the altar, bears a set of sacrificial implements, viz. an incense burner, flanked by two candle supporters and two flower vases. There is hardly any furniture worth mentioning in the hall.

Fig. 39.



Sketch Plan of the Mausoleum of an Imperial Prince.

The court-yard is bounded, behind the temple, by a gate, constructed just in the middle of a roofed transversal wall running to the right and left as far as the one which surrounds the whole area. This structure is called liu-li hwa men[1], »gate with glazed ornaments", because of the blue tiles that cover the roof, and the variegated figures in glazed porcelain with which, in some cases, certain parts of its walls are incrusted. Mostly, however, it has a much plainer aspect than the main gate, having only one opening, just in the middle; generally also it is not raised on a platform or terrace, only a broad ledge of stone slabs running along the frontispiece and the rear wall.

A path, paved with slabs of stone, leads through this gate to the hindmost part of the mausoleum, in the back ground of which we perceive the tumulus of the magnate, flanked by those of his consort and principal descendants. This part of the enclosure we need not now describe, as it corresponds to the analogous part of the grave parks of nobles and mandarins, of which a description has been given on page 1095. Sepulchral trees grow luxuriantly to the right and left. The wall at the back of the tumuli is generally slightly curved.

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[1] 琉璃花門.

Tablet House of the Mausoleum of an Imperial Prince.

Now retracing our steps, to take a view of the adjacent parts outside the wall, our attention is attracted to a square, pavilion-like building, raised straight in front of the main gate. It is the p e i t'i n g [1] or »tablet-pavilion", built on a low terrace of brick or solid stone, that has an ascent of a few steps on all sides. The red-plastered brick walls, about six metres long, have each an arched entrance just in the middle, without doors, but sometimes closed by a wooden railing; in many tablet-houses these entrances are formed by a couple of wooden pillars, placed on either side like door-posts, and serving at the same time as supports for the roof (see Pl. XXXVIII). The walls have a massive base of big slabs of limestone, and bear on the top carved plates of limestone, on which the roof rests. This latter is generally double, and the eaves project boldly on all sides. In it the principal attraction of the building is concentrated; indeed, the blue, glazed tiles contrast charmingly with the double wooden architrave, elegantly ornamented with arabesques in paint of variegated colours, and with the bright red of the superincumbent bracket frieze. The marble tablet is visible through all the four entrances, being placed exactly in the centre of the building. It is a large monolith, inscribed with a few characters that state the name and title of the magnate buried in the mausoleum, as, for instance: »Mien Hien, Banner Prince of Shui and Hwai, of the nearest Imperial kin" [2]. The tortoise, on the back of which the tablet stands, is likewise cut out of one single piece of limestone, and of large dimensions. We have seen such stone monsters measuring fully four metres from snout to tail.

The grounds, in the midst of which the tablet-house displays its glistering roofs, constitute a vast fore-yard, planted on all sides with stately evergreens. This yard abuts in front upon an artificial tank or moat, built of stone blocks, and passable by means of a stone bridge which lies exactly in the same line with the tablet-house, the main gate, and the temple. A couple of lions, squatted on their hams, flank this bridge. In some instances, the fore-yard is surrounded by a low wall of simple construction. A large tract, clad

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[1] 碑亭.

[2] 和碩瑞懷親王綿忻. The characters 和碩, h w o-s h i h, represent a Manchu term meaning a banner, and denoting one of the four divisions of the army or the State. Mien Hien was the fourth son of the Emperor Jen Tsung 仁宗, who reigned till 1820. His mausoleum is situate half a day's journey west from Peking.

with cypresses, pines and oaks, the extension of which is not limited by any dynastic laws or rescripts, encloses the mausoleum on all sides.

The royal funeral parks of evergreens, amidst which bright, green-glazed roofs charmingly sparkle in the rays of the sun, do not always answer in every respect to the above sketch. The tablet-house, for example, often stands inside the main gate, and is sometimes adorned with elegantly carved balustrades, extending along the borders of the platform and the four flights of steps. In the court-yard between the main gate and the temple may be seen, moreover, two plain, one-storied buildings of wood, one on either side, the meanness of which, when contrasted with the gate and the temple, proves that they were not strictly erected for the glory of the manes. They serve for the accommodation of the kinsfolk when they visit the place to worship and sacrifice, and are styled, respectively, f a n f a n g [1]: »eating-room", and c h^{c}a f a n g [2]: »apartment to take tea in".

In the same court-yard stands, in many cases, on the left of the temple, a rectangular l i a o l u [3], *i. e.* »an incineration furnace", intended for the burning of silk stuffs and paper mock money which are presented in the temple on sacrificial days; these articles are thrown into it through an arched opening in the front. The solid stone basement and the walls of this structure are, either partly or entirely, incrusted with bricks and plates of glazed porcelain, displaying bossy figures of sundry colours, among which green preponderates. The roof resembles that of the temple and the main gate, being covered with tiles of the same form, colour and dimensions, and even the bracket construction being repeated in porcelain. An adequate idea of such furnaces may be obtained by the reader from Plate XXXIX, though they are by no means always so large and beautiful. The maximum height averages between three and four metres.

Some mausolea of Princes have a couple of stone pillars in front. But at no one have we seen any men or animals in stone, the bridge lions excepted. The clay huts of the warders are in the outer grounds, near a small door contrived in the wall, which they are not easily persuaded to open to foreign tourists. The main gate always remains closed, except when the family visits the place to worship and to sacrifice.

At first sight it would appear that these gorgeous sepulchres of Imperial Princes of the nearest kin differ *toto cælo* from the graves

[1] 飯房. [2] 茶房. [3] 燎鑪.

Sacrificial Furnace
in the Mausoleum of the Emperor Ch'ing Tsu of the Ming Dynasty.

in the South, described in the first section of this chapter. A little attention, however, suffices to convince us that just the contrary is the case, both categories being laid out on the plan of large mansions, palaces and temples. Our readers may easily ascertain this by perusing what is written on pp. 1083 *sqq.* A comparison shows that, but for the tumuli and the tablet-house, a Prince's mausoleum resembles a mansion or a temple almost to perfection, inasmuch as the sacrificial hall corresponds, both in location and destination, to the chief building of a dwelling-house or of an ancestral temple, such a building being likewise furnished with an altar and soul tablets.

Being now acquainted with the mausolea of the highest Imperial nobility of the present day, the reader will be much better able to understand the ancient native descriptions of some mausolea of grandees of the Han dynasty, of which we have given translations on pp. 445 *seq.* Indeed, these descriptions show that those ancient burial-places must have resembled the present mausolea in almost every essential point. Consequently, Chinese monarchs, in building graves for the members of their family have not greatly swerved from the path traced out by their ancestors; and if any novelties have been introduced, they only affect matters of secondary importance. According to the same descriptions, the erection of temples on the graves of high grandees was in vogue at the beginning of our era. But that their origin must be sought for in pre-Christian times, has been stated already on page 388.

The mausolea of Princes of lower rank are generally not so large and beautiful as those of Princes of the first rank. The Government has, indeed, enacted a sliding-scale for their dimensions and adornment. Those of Princes of the four lowest degrees have no temple and, in many cases, no walls, being in consequence hardly distinguishable from those of nobles and mandarins between which they lie scattered about, so that a regular transition from the one category to the other is traceable. They are by no means all kept in equally good and constant repair. We have seen many, the temple, gate and walls of which were but heaps of desolate ruins, overgrown with weeds and entirely bare of trees.

A part of the dynastic ordinances touching the mausolea of Imperial Princes and Princesses was given in a tabular form on page 453 of this work. We give them now in their entirety, arranging them again in a table, to afford an easy survey:

	Divisions of the temple, formed by the pillars supporting the roof.	The main gate.	Divisions or compartments in the tea-room and eating-room.	Tablet-house.	Length of the wall surrounding the mausoleum, in chang.	Number of mausoleum families.
Prince of the 1st. order.	5	Three openings. Ornamented with vermilion oil paint and with gilded figures in five colours [1].	3	1	100	10
Prince of the 2nd. order, and Princess of the 1st. order (born of an Empress).	3	Three openings. Ornamented with vermilion oil paint and with small figures in five colours.	3	1	80	8
Prince of the 3rd. or 4th. order, and Princess of the 2nd. order (born of an inferior consort), or of the 3rd. order (daughter of a Prince of the 1st. order).	3	One opening. Ornamented with vermilion oil paint, but without coloured figures.	3	None.	70	6
Prince of the 5th., 6th., 7th. or 8th. order, and Daughter of a Prince of the 2nd. or 3rd. order.	3	Id.	—	None.	60	4
Prince of the 9th. or 10th. order.	—	—	—	None.	35	2

According to the great collections of dynastic ordinances, in which these rescripts are laid down [2], they were enacted in the first year

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[1] 飾硃紅油、繪五彩金花.

2 The *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 26, under the head of 工部 or Board of Works; the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 714, ll. 5 *seq.*, under the same head. The Rules and Regulations of the Board of Rites give the same ordinances in ch. 163, l. 6.

of the reign of Shi Tsu [1], the first Emperor of this dynasty, that is to say, in 1644. The *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* [2] and the Rules and Regulations of the Board of Rites [3], prescribe that the gate »shall be covered with green glazed tiles" [4] in the case of Princes of the first or second degree, and with ordinary tubular tiles [5] for the lower ranks; further, that the mausolea of Princes of the eleventh or twelfth order shall have a wall of thirty c h a n g. All the above rescripts, except those affecting the tea-room and the eating-room, are also to be found in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* [6], and almost all of them occur in a »Supplementary Revised Edition of the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*" [7], published in 1818.

Sovereigns who, as we have stated on page 1101, have the graves of their Ministers and officers built at their expense, may reasonably be expected to charge themselves with the costs of the mausolea of their own kindred too. We read, indeed, in the collections of dynastic ordinances: »As to the allowances to be paid in behalf of works »connected with the construction of graves: — in the tenth year of »the period S h u n c h i (1653) a proposal, presented to the Throne, »was sanctioned, according to which 5000 taels of silver should be »granted for a Prince of the first rank, 4000 for his eldest son by »the principal consort, 3000 for a Prince of the second order, 2000 »and 1000 respectively for Princes of the third and fourth order, »and 500 for a Prince of the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth rank. »And in the fourteenth year of the period K h a n g h i (1675) »a proposal, duly deliberated upon, was approved, according to »which the same subsidy as for an officer of the first rank should »be granted for a Prince of the ninth order, and for a Prince of »the tenth order the same as for an officer of the second rank [8] —

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1 世祖.

2 Chapter 76, l. 5.

3 Chapter 163, l. 6.

4 覆以綠琉璃.

5 甋瓦.

6 Chapter 51, l. 5.

7 *Shuh siu Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, 續修大清會典 Ch. 48, l. 9.

8 造墳工價、順治十年題準親王給銀五千兩、世子四千兩、郡王三千兩、貝勒二千兩、貝子一千兩、鎮國公五百兩、輔國公同。康熙十四年議準鎮國將軍與一品官同、輔國將軍與二品官同. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 137, ll. 29 *seq.* See also the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 714, ll. 6 *seq.*

that is to say, 500 and 400 taels (see page 1101). »But in the fortieth »year of the period Khien lung (1775) a proposal was approved »and sanctioned, after due deliberation, to the effect that, hence»forth, the subsidy for making the grave of a Prince of the fifth »or sixth order should amount to 500 taels, and for making that »of a Prince of the seventh or eight rank, to 300 taels, and that the »stipulations regarding such allowances for Princes from the ninth »order downwards were abolished" [1].

But the dynastic rescripts are especially elaborate in regard to the stone tablets. This will appear only rational after what we have stated in the second section of this chapter about the great significance these monuments have always possessed in the eyes of the nation. The following table contains a digest of those rescripts, as we find them in the three principal compilations of ordinances [2]:

	Ornamentation of the crowning border, and its height in Chinese inches.	Height and breadth of the body, in Chinese inches.	Shape of the pedestal, and its height in Chinese inches.	Year in which these regulations were enacted.
Prince of the 1rst. order	Dragons curled together [3], 45	90 by 38,7	Tortoise, 45	Tenth year of the period Shun chi (1653).
» » » 2nd. »	id. 39	90 » 38	id. 43	
» » » 3rd. »	id. 36	90 » 37,3	id. 41	
» » » 4th. »	id. 34	90 » 36,6	id. 40	
» » » 5th. »	id. 33	90 » 36,3	id. 39	
» » » 6th. »				
» » » 7th. »				
» » » 8th. »				
» » » 9th. »	Hornless dragon, 30	85 » 34	id. 36	Fourteenth year of the period Khanghi (1675).
» » » 10th. »	Unicorn, 28	80 » 32	id. 34	

»The crowning border of the tablet for a Prince of the 11th. »order", thus we read in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, »shall be

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1 乾隆四十年議准鎮國公輔國公造墳工價入八分公五百兩、未入八分公三百兩、其鎮國將軍以下給價之例停止. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 714, l. 8. Compare also the *T. Ts. t'ung li*, ch. 51, l 5.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 30; *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 714, l. 7; *T. Ts. t'ung li*, ch. 51, ll. 5 *seq.*

3 交龍. This term may, however, mean a dragon of the species called kiao 蛟.

» ornamented with a t'ien-luh and a p'ih-sié, and the pedestal » shall have the shape of a tortoise; the tablet of a Prince of the 12th. » order shall have a round head and a square pedestal" [1] And the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* states: »The dimensions shall be the same as » those fixed for the class of mandarins to whom those Princes are » similar in rank" [2], that is to say, the same as those of the tablets for mandarins of the 3rd. and 4th. degree, as given in the table on page 1148. If we compare this table with the one we have just placed before our readers, we perceive at a glance that the Princes of the 9th. and 10th. order, as regards the sepulchral tablets, are placed on the same line with mandarins of the 1rst. and 2nd. rank. This assimilation of the four lowest classes of Princes with the four highest classes of mandarins is also carried out in respect to the length of the enclosures of their sepulchres, as shown by the data given on pp. 1098 and 1172 *seq.*

The great importance, attached to the grave tablets in general, sufficiently accounts for the reason why the dynastic Ordinances prescribe the paying out from the Treasuries of subventions for their erection in the mausolea of Princes, and why these subventions are exceedingly high as compared with the sums granted for their graves (see page 1173). »As to the allowances for such tablets, in the » tenth year of the period Shun chi (1653), it was proposed to » the Emperor and sanctioned by him, that for a Prince of the first » order 3000 taels of silver should be paid, 2500 taels for the » eldest son of such a Prince born of the principal consort, and 2000 » for other Princes of the second order; 1000 and 700 taels re- » spectively for Princes of the third and fourth order, and 450 for » a Prince of the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth rank. In the four- » teenth year of the period Khang hi (1675) a project to the following » effect was approved, viz. that for Princes of the ninth and tenth » order the allowance should be 350 and 300 taels respectively [3].

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[1] 奉國將軍天祿辟邪首、皆龜趺、奉恩將軍圓首方趺. Chapter 76, l. 5. See also the Supplementary Revised Edition of the same work, ch. 48, l. 10.

[2] 奉國奉恩將軍如其品. Chapter 51, l. 6.

[3] 碑價、順治十年題準親王給銀三千兩、世子二千五百兩、郡王二千兩、貝勒千兩、貝子七百兩、鎮國公四百五十兩、輔國公同。康熙十四年

» But in the fortieth year of the Khien lung period (1775) » these subsidies were fixed at 450 taels for a Prince of the fifth » or sixth order, and at 250 for a Prince of the seventh or eighth, » while the stipulations existing on this head for Princes of the » four lowest ranks were abrogated" [1].

In most mausolea of Imperial Princes, the stone tablet stands unsheltered in the open air, it being a fundamental rescript, laid down in the Collective Statutes of the dynasty, that »a tablet- » house may be erected only for a Prince of the second or of a higher » degree" [2]. Generally, the inscription for the tablet of a Prince of one of the eight highest orders is, like that for a high nobleman or a mandarin of the first degree (see p. 1150), composed by the Han-lin College [3].

Special mausolea for Princesses must be rare, it being, as our readers know, an old established custom to bury women by the side of their husbands. It must further be noted, that not every son and daughter of an Emperor repose in a mausoleum built in accordance with the general statutory rules. Occasionally, special ordinances have been issued for their sepulchres by the Throne, fixing the dimensions of the temple, the gates, the furnace and the apartments for the warders, and regulating some other points on which the statutory rules are silent. The length of the wall of the enclosure was in nearly all these special cases fixed below the standard maximum length of a hundred chang; but a length of 130 chang was prescribed for the wall of the mausoleum in which Twan Hwui [4], heir-apparent of Kao Tsung, was buried in 1742 [5], so that this sepulchre belongs to the largest

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題準鎮國將軍三百五十兩、輔國將軍三百兩. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 31; also the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 714, l. 8.

[1] 乾隆四十年議准鎮國公輔國公碑價、入八分公四百五十兩、未入八分公二百五十兩、其鎮國將軍以下給價之例停止. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 714, l. 8. Comp. also the *T. Ts. hwui tien*, ch. 53, ll. 11 *sqq.*, the Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 163, l. 5, and the *T. Ts. tung li*, ch. 51, l. 5.

[2] 惟郡王以上得建碑亭. *Ta Tsing hwui tien*, ch. 76, l. 5.

[3] *Ta Tsing hwui tien*, ch. 53, ll. 11—15. See also the *Ta Tsing tung li*, ch. 51, l. 5.

[4] 端慧.

[5] See the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 349, l. 21, and the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 41. This beautiful cenotaph is situate in the north-eastern part of Shun-t'ien, viz.

that have been built during the present dynasty for any Prince or Princess [1].

4. The Imperial Cemeteries of the Ming Dynasty.

From the mausolea of Imperial Princes, the highest magnates in the Empire, we naturally pass to those of the Sons of Heaven, the only sepulchral monuments surpassing them in size and grandeur. Apart from those of the Ts'ing dynasty, now on the throne, which, as being the dwelling-places of Imperial ancestors on the assistance and favours of whom the weal and woe of the Crown and the Realm depend, are, of course, kept in good repair with pious solicitude, only those of the House of Ming, which was dethroned by that of Ts'ing in 1644, can bear a description, being still in such a condition as enables us to obtain an adequate idea of their original shape and magnificence. All those of earlier times have either been swept out of existence, or reduced to a mere shadow of what they once were, only some parts of them being patched up by the present Government, in conformance with the example set by previous dynasties. The bare fact that only those Ming tombs have outlived time so well, fully entitles them to an elaborate description in this work.

But still they claim description for other reasons. The greatest conservatism in matters of religion, ceremonies and rites having dominated the Chinese race through all ages, we are justified in our belief that those sepulchres were built on the same plan which had been transmitted to one another by successive dynasties as a heirloom from the ancients, so that they hold up before our eyes a clear image of the Imperial tombs of every epoch, beginning with that of Ts'in and Han. This fact, to which we have already drawn attention on page 441, stamps them as monuments the historical and archæologic value of which it is hardly possible to overrate. The dynasty now reigning having taken them as a proto-

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in mount Chu-hwa 朱華山, in the department of Ki-cheu 薊州, thirty Chinese miles east of its chief city; see the Memoirs concerning the Department of Shun-t'ien, ch. 26, l. 42

1 These ordinances are laid down in ch. 714 of the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ll. 4 *seq.*, and in ch. 137 of the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ll. 11—14.

type of her own mausolea, which are inaccessible to foreigners and in consequence very insufficiently described, the Ming tombs are a valuable means to gain a good idea of the shape and construction of the same. Descriptions are, moreover, urgent. Indeed, their preservation merely depends on the whims of the present Government, established, as the whole world knows, on a worm-eaten, tottering throne. Their decay and ultimate ruin in consequence of Imperial indifferentism, stinginess or financial troubles, is a constantly lurking danger. Besides, seditions, or political considerations based on the Fung-shui theories, may at any moment entail their demolition, or, at any rate, reduce them to such a condition as shall for ever render it impossible to describe them properly.

T'ai Tsu [1], the founder of the Ming dynasty, was buried without the walls of Nanking, which city was, during his reign, the residence of the Court and the Metropolis of the Empire. His mausoleum cannot be of any service as a model for description, being entirely in ruins, except the avenue of stone figures, of which we have given a short account on page 821. As such a model we must take the mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu [2], the third monarch, who, having removed his seat to Peking, was buried almost due north from this city, in the department of Ch'ang-p'ing [3]. His burial-place there became the centre of a vast family cemetery, in which, in the course of more than two centuries, twelve other Emperors, all direct descendants from him in the male line, were consigned to eternal rest in separate cenotaphs, built in the same style, but in smaller dimensions and with less gorgeousness; besides, a much greater number of Empresses, Imperial Concubines and Princes were interred there.

For the second Emperor of that dynasty, known in history by the name of Hwui [4], no mausoleum has ever been built. He was a grandson of T'ai Tsu, and the son of the Heir Apparent I Wen [5] who died in 1392 [6], six years before he could be called to the throne by his father's death. Four years after Hwui had ascended the throne in obedience to his appointment by his grandfather, his fourth paternal uncle, who was enfeoffed with the principality of

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1 太祖. 2 成祖.
3 昌平州. 4 惠.
5 懿文.
6 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 3, l. 10, and ch. 115, l. 4.

Yen [1] in the present province of Peh-chihli, raised the banner of revolt, and boldly marched on Nanking. »This Metropolis", says the historian, »fell into his hands; a conflagration broke out in the »Palace, and it is unknown how the Emperor perished. The King »of Yen delegated some court-servants to recover the remains of »the Emperor and his Consort from the fire, and he buried them »eight days afterwards; but some say that the monarch effected »his escape through an underground passage. In the fifth year »of the period Ching t'ung (1440), a Buddhist priest travelled »from the province of Yun-nan to that of Kwangsi, and there »gave out to be the Emperor of the Kien wen period (*i. e.* »Hwui). Ch'en Ying, prefect of the department of Sze-ngen, »apprised the Court thereof; he was put to trial, and turned out to »be one Yang Hing-siang from Kiün-chcu, a man over ninety years »old. He was sent to jail for further examination, and died in »the fourth month of that year. Twelve priests who had been his »accessories in the plot, were banished to Liao-tung. Since that time »there have been traditions rife among the people in Tien (Yun-»nan), in Khien (Kwei-cheu), and in Pa and Shuh (Szĕ-ch'wen) »as to the time when that Emperor is supposed to have lived there »as a priest. — In the periods Ching teh (1506—1521), Wan »lih (1573—1620) and Ch'ung ching 1628—1644) it was »requested by high officers that titles of honour should be confer-»red upon the descendants of that Emperor, and that a posthumous »name might be bestowed on him to call him by in the ancestral »temple; but those proposals, though they were all forwarded to »the Boards for discussion, were never carried into execution" [2].

The *Suh wen lien t'ung khao*, recounts the same particulars

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[1] 燕.

[2] 都城陷、宮中火起、帝不知所終。燕王遣中使出帝后屍於火中、越八日葬之、或云帝由地道出亡。正統五年有僧自雲南至廣西、詭稱建文皇帝。思恩知府岑瑛聞於朝、按問乃鈞州人楊行祥、年已九十餘。下獄閱、四月死。同謀僧十二人皆戍遼東。自後滇黔巴蜀間相傳有帝爲僧時往來跡。正德萬曆崇禎間諸臣請續封帝後、及加廟謚、皆下部議、不果行. History of the Ming Dynasty, chapter 4, l. 8.

concerning the said priest with slight variations in the details, and says he declared he was prompted by no other desire in divulging his origin at so high an age, than that his remains might find a last resting-place in the soil in which his family was buried. » On his » arrival in Peking", that work adds, » a meal was placed before » the priest even ere the Court had made out who he was. The » eunuch Wu Liang, who was a servant in the Court already in the » Kien wen period, was then ordered to have a look at the old » Buddhist. On seeing him, he said immediately: 'He is not the » Emperor'; upon which the priest retorted: 'When I cast slices of » meat upon the ground in the Imperial side building, you crouched » over the ground and ate them up; why do you now presume to » say that I am not the Emperor? I hear that Yang Shi-khi still » lives; may he come out and see whether he recognizes me?' Wu » Liang feigned not to know that such things had happened. Report » was made of what had come to pass, whereupon there came an » order to immediately consign the old Buddhist somewhere in the » Western Palace. When he ended his days, he was buried in the » Western Hills; and no mound was made on his grave, nor were » any trees planted thereabouts" [1].

Whatever may have been the final fate of Hwui, there existed reasons enough for Ch'ing Tsu and his successors to deprive him for good of the honour of being buried in an Imperial mausoleum. First of all, filial piety and the laws of ancestor-worship never prescribed that an uncle should bury his nephew with the same honours as everyone has to bestow upon his own father. And subsequent Emperors never regarded Hwui as a lawful heir to the throne, as their stubborn refusal, mentioned above, to grant titles of nobility to his descendants, proves. In this respect Ch'ing Tsu had set the example, even going so far as to disavow the name of Kien wen [2], which Hwui had adopted to designate his reign.

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[1] 及至京、朝廷未審何人、以尚膳。太監吳亮建文時內使也、使之審視老佛。亮見卽曰、不是、曰、我昔御便殿時棄片肉於地、汝伏地餂食之、何謂不是。聞楊士奇尚在、能出一認乎。亮佯爲不知。已而復命遂取老佛入西內。壽終葬西山、不封不樹. Chapter 133, f. 12.

[2] 建文.

We read indeed, that already in the month after that in which he had dethroned this unfortunate monarch, »he decreed that the »current year should be chronicled as the thirty-fifth of the period »Hung wu, and the next should be styled the first of the period »Yung loh" [1].

In the fourth year of his reign (1406) Ch'ing Tsu took the first steps for the removal of the Court to Peking, the capital of his former principality, »delegating some of his high mandarins to Szĕ- »ch'wen, Hukwang, Kiangsi, Chehkiang and Shansi, there to collect »timber for the construction of palaces in that city" [2]. And when, three years afterwards, in the third month, the transfer had become a fact by his own arrival in Peking [3], one of the very first matters he attended to already in the fifth month of that year, was »to measure out a place for his mausoleum in the Yellow Clay »Hills in the district of Ch'ang-p'ing, and to bestow upon those »hills the name of T'ien-sheu Shan: 'Hills of Imperial Longevity'" [4]. He was prompted to such speed by the circumstance that his consort Jen Hiao [5], the mother of the Heir Apparent, had departed this life in 1407 [6] and was still unburied, she having to be placed in his own tomb, in accordance with ancient Imperial usage. »Four years after- »wards the mausoleum was finished, and they buried the Empress »in it" [7], one month after the arrival of her encoffined remains from

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1 詔今年以洪武三十五年爲紀、明年爲永樂元年. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 5, l. 7.

2 建北京宮殿分遣大臣採木於四川湖廣江西浙江山西. The same work, ch. 6, l. 5.

3 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 7. It lasted, however, till 1421 before the transfer of the capital was officially regarded as an accomplished fact. The official history of the dynasty states: »The Emperor decreed in the ninth month of »the eighteenth year of his reign that, beginning from the following year, the »capital of the Empire should become the Southern Metropolis (Nanking), and Pe- »king the Metropolis proper" 十八年九月詔自明年改京師爲南京、北京爲京師. Chapter 7, l. 6; comp. also ch. 40, l. 3.

4 七年營山陵於昌平縣黃土山、封其山爲天壽山. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 8, and History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 8.

5 仁孝.

6 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 6, and ch. 113, l. 8.

7 又四年而陵成、以后葬焉. *Op. cit.*, ch. 113, l. 8.

Nanking [1]. She was accordingly the first personage buried in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery. Nearly a dozen years were to elapse before her husband's corpse and manes joined her there.

It pithily characterizes the boundless sway Fung-shui exercises over the Chinese nation, that even this Imperial burial ground was selected under the guidance of geomantic experts. Yeh Shing [2], an author and statesman of extraordinary mental abilities, who lived from 1419 to 1474, relates in one of his works: »Wang »Hien, a native of Ning-yang (a department of Yen-cheu [3], in the »province of Shantung), made acquaintance in his youth with an »extraordinary individual, whose assistant he became and who, »when he became an officer of the third degree, gave him the »Book of the Blue Bag [4]. The occult arts of this work he there»upon studied thoroughly, and when, in the seventh year of the »period Yung loh (1409), the Emperor Ch'ing Tsu had the »tortoise-shell consulted with respect to his longevity mausoleum, »the officers singled out a felicitous ground, eighteen miles north»east of Ch'ang-p'ing, conformably to the suitable indications of »Wang Hien. The old name of that locality was Tung Cha-tszĕ »Shan ('Eastern Mounts where seeds are pressed'?); but the name »of Imperial Longevity Mounts was conferred on it when the »mausoleum was finished. Wang Hien afterwards filled several »offices, and even attained to the dignity of prefect of the »department of Shun-t'ien (in which Peking lies)" [5].

Tsiao Hung [6], another distinguished scholar and official, who

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1 See leaf 3 of the *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki* 昌平山水記: »Description of the Mountains and Waters in Ch'ang-p'ing", an elaborate geographical and archæological sketch, written about the beginning of the reign of the present dynasty by Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613—1682), the learned author to whom we are indebted also for the interesting *Jih chi luh*, so often quoted by us in this work. We shall frequently have to cite from that useful little book in the following pages.

2 葉盛. 3 閱州.

4 Comp. pp. 1001 and 1003.

5 寧陽人王賢少遇異人、相之、當官三品乃授以青囊書。遂精其術、永樂七年成祖卜壽陵、有司以賢應命於昌平東北十八里選得吉壤。舊名東榨子山、陵成封曰天壽。賢後累官、至順天府尹. *Shui tung jih ki* 水東日記, quoted in *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 9.

6 焦竑.

lived between 1541 and 1620, states that the selection of those grounds was the work of an adept of the Kiangsi school of geomancy. »In the seventh year of the period Yung loh", he writes, »the »Empress Jen Hiao not yet being buried, Ch'ing Tsu selected a »place for his longevity mansoleum. During a long time no felicit- »ous ground was discovered, whereupon Chao Kung, President »of the Board of Rites, took Liao Kiün-khing, a professor of »Kiangsi province, to the district of Ch'ang-p'ing, where they »ransacked the mountains all around and discovered that the Yel- »low Clay Hills, in the east of the district, were suitable for the »purpose. Without delay the Emperor travelled to the spot to view it. »He conferred the name of Imperial Longevity Hills upon it, »ordered Wang T'ung, a nobleman of the third rank for military »virtue, to superintend the workmen [1], and conferred an official »dignity on Liao Kiün-khing" [2].

Our readers might readily be tempted to believe that the mountain range was thus dubbed by Ch'ing Tsu with the object of increasing, by the power of the name, its capacity to bestow, through the graves to be laid out at its foot, longevity upon his line of descendants and to thus perpetuate the dynasty. But his intention did not extend so far. »The name Mounts of Imperial Longevity", says Sü Hioh-mu [3], »dates from Ch'ing Tsu. When he sojourned in that locality, he held »a drinking-bout; and as the day happened to be his birthday, so that »all his ministers offered him their good wishes for the prolongation »of his life, those mounts were thus named by him. The fiction, cur- »rent nowadays, that that appellation was given to those hills because »they were to serve for the burial of Imperial corpses, is erroneous" [4].

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1 This statement occurs also in the biography of this grandee, given by the History of the Ming Dynasty in chapter 154; l. 21.

2 永樂七年仁孝皇后尙未葬、成祖擇壽陵。久未得吉壤、禮部尙書趙狂以江西術士廖均卿至昌平縣、遍閱諸山、得縣東黃土山。成祖卽日臨視。封天壽山、命武義伯王通董役、授均卿官. *Hien ching luh* 獻徵錄, quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 9. Most of the above information is also recorded in the *Ming t'ung ki*: see the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 禮儀, ch. 66. Comp. also the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 133, l. 15.

3 徐學謨.

4 天壽山名始於成祖。蓋嘗駐蹕於此飮酒、是

» Up to that time, the mausoleum-grounds had been an estate of » the family Khang. A mound of earth covering the grave of one » Khang Lao, who lived before the reign of the dynasty, was » located at a hundred and odd pu east of the Ch'ang ling » (Ch'ing Tsu's mausoleum). When the Emperor Wen (Ch'ing Tsu) » selected this ground by divination, there to make his tomb, he » said: 'To ensure the rest of the dead is a common feeling of man- » kind', and ordered that this grave should not be removed" [1].

As stated on page 1177, the mausolea of the Ming dynasty owe their preservation exclusively to the care of the now reigning House of Ts'ing. It has, since the conquest of the Empire, included them among the numerous sepulchres of Rulers, statesmen, sages and other paragons of the nation, which it raised to the rank of objects of attention for the State, respect forbidding their being left a prey to ruin and obliteration. The very first Emperor, Shi Tsu [2], already on his accession to the throne in 1644 » ordained that an Inspector and mausoleum-families should be » appointed for the twelve tombs of the Ming dynasty in the Ch'ang- » p'ing department, and that an end should there be made of » the gathering of fuel and the pasturing of cattle" [3]. Three years later he issued another edict, stating therein that, on his visit to the tombs, he had noticed that the edifices and walls were in a deplorable state of dilapidation and great havoc had been made among the trees; for which reason he ordered the Board of Works to undertake their thorough repair, and that the gathering of wood should for ever be forbidden, that the number of families for the guarding of those monuments should be increased, and that the magistracy of Ch'ang-p'ing should carefully see to their being kept in a proper

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日適萬壽之期、群臣上壽、故名天壽。今之傳譌者謂爲御體所藏名天壽者非也. *Shi miao shih yü luh* 世廟識餘錄, quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 12.

[1] 陵故爲康家莊。長陵之東百餘步有土一邱、康老葬焉、康老者國初以前人也。文皇帝卜斯地而作山陵也曰、安死者人之同情也、命勿去. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 14.

[2] 世祖.

[3] 順治元年定昌平州明代十二陵設內監陵戶、禁止樵牧. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 32.

condition [1]. The *Shing hiun* contains a decree of the same contents and wording, published in the sixteenth year of Shi Tsu's reign [2].

Shing Tsu [3], the next Emperor, in the fourteenth year of his reign (1675) ordered the Board of Rites, by special edict, not to be remiss in having the mausolea carefully [4] looked after. That his successor, Shi Tsung, likewise took their preservation seriously to heart, the reader may see from the decree issued by him in 1729, of which we have given the translation elsewhere (see page 932). Edicts in pursuit of the same object were promulgated in 1786 and 1787 by Kao Tsung [5]; and succeeding Emperors, down to this day, have followed the example.

Perhaps the question rises on the lips of our readers: Were not such measures for the preservation of those sepulchres very dangerous to the dynasty that took them, as, indeed geomancy teaches that graves create and promote the fortunes of the descendants of those who lie buried therein? Did not that dynasty entertain a fear that they might endanger its throne by causing obscure descendants of the former House to foment rebellions, and that seditious attempts at re-establishing the Ming family might be crowned with ultimate success by the powerful help of those tombs?

The answer is, that the Manchu conquerors could not but feel convinced that the Fung-shui of those sepulchres was incurably maimed, nay, killed for ever, by the destruction of a considerable number of buildings and trees within their precincts. Besides, the very dethronement of the Ming dynasty had proved to them either that the geomantic operation of its chief cemetery was entirely gone, or, at any rate, that no spiritual power of significance issued therefrom anymore. It was, no doubt, because of these considerations that in 1699, during a temporary stay in Nanking, Shing Tsu did not refrain from ordering the descendants of the extinct family to be traced, that he might appoint one of them as chief sacrificer at its tombs and invest him with an official dignity [6]. In 1724 he endowed the man elect, a certain Chu Chi-lien [7], with

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1 Memoirs concerning the Department of Shun-t'ien, ch. 26, l. 27.

2 Among the Edicts of Shi Tsu, ch. 4, l. 3.

3 聖祖.

4 Memoirs concerning Shun-t'ien, *loc. cit.*

5 高宗. See the same work, ch. 26, l. 28.

6 See his edict to this effect in the *Shing hiun*, ch. 56, l. 2.

7 朱之溎.

the hereditary rank of Hen of the first rank [1]; and his descendants still live in Peking at the present day [2].

Before the dethronement of the dynasty the Emperors of which lie buried therein, the Ming tombs in Ch'ang-p'ing undoubtedly formed one of the largest and most gorgeous royal cemeteries ever laid out by the hand of man. They yield the palm to the Egyptian pyramids in point of bulk, but certainly not in that of style and grandeur. The several palatial buildings, erected within their precincts, are highly interesting for our knowledge of the architectural attainments of the Chinese more than five hundred years ago. No wonder that they have formed one of the great attractions for travellers and globe-trotters of every nationality, ever since European cannon and diplomacy made the country generally accessible. Foreign tourists mostly visit them on their excursion to the Great Wall where it is nearest to Peking and easiest to reach, viz. at the Nan-khao Pass, the tombs being situate only a few miles north-east of the southern extremity of this defile. Having there passed the night in the village of Nan-khao [3], the visitor may reach them in a few hours, and put up for the next night at Ch'ang-p'ing, a small walled town due south of the cemetery, forming the capital of the department of the same name which embraces within its confines the whole valley containing the tombs.

Those Ming tombs having so often been visited, they have also been often described in books, periodicals and magazines. Unfortunately, these descriptions are generally the fruits of hasty visits, some even of no visits at all, and, consequently, extremely defective, superficial and inaccurate. None of them convey a clear and accurate idea of the appearance of the Cemetery and its various details, but merely give, in a very few pages, a bare enumeration of some of the principal buildings and structures belonging to the Ch'ang ling, the mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu, the oldest and largest of all. But,

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1 一等侯. See the Memoirs concerning the Department of Shun-t'ien, ch. 26, l. 29.

2 Dr. Edkins states, that the present reigning dynasty has erected geomantic walls north-west of Peking, in the Kin-shan, viz. in the hill sides facing north-north-east, on the way to Heh-lung T'an 黑龍潭 from the Metropolis, thinking thereby to check the pernicious influences from the power that watches over the last resting-place of the Ming. See The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, IV, p. 292.

3 南口.

what is worse, even those short accounts teem with misstatements, arising from the double fact that the authors have not seriously tried to find out the meaning and *raison d'être* of the various parts of the mausolea, and that their personal observations *in loco* have not been guided by what the Chinese books have to say of those monuments. Never, moreover, has any attempt been made at constructing an image of the Cemetery in its original shape by making use of data afforded by native authors. In short, all those descriptions have the purest flavour of dilettantism about them; they are without any real use for science and, for the most part, even of little value to the general reader [1]. So it cannot be said that we do superfluous work in giving in these pages a more elaborate account of the tombs than has hitherto been published, an account which, we trust, may be useful as a guide to whomsoever might undertake a further study of those invaluable relics ere the destructive hand of men or vicissitudinous time reduce them to ruins, or sweep them out of existence.

The thirteen Imperial mausolea lie in a wide valley, bounded on the north, the west and the east by a range of hills, and accessible on the south through four passes or defiles, separated from each other by clusters of hillocks of slight elevation. Under the Ming dynasty the official approach to the tombs was the road leading

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1 The account of M. W. Lockhart in his »Notes on Peking and its Neighbourhood", which were published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for 1866, vol. 36, pp. 150 and 151, and that of William Simpson in a paper on »the Architecture of China", inserted in the Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects for 1873, pp. 36—38, are, no doubt, among the best that have been written; but they are extremely concise and contain many misstatements. The sketch given by Dr. Edkins in Williamson's Journeys in North China, vol. II, pp. 386—389, is a little more elaborate; but, confused and hazy as it is, and even somewhat fantastic in many points, no good notion of the cemetery in general, nor of the thirteen mausolea in particular, can be formed from it, unless the reader has been himself on the spot. The notes inserted by Dr. Bretschneider in his valuable essay on »Die Pekinger Ebene und das benachbarte Gebirgsland" (see »Petermanns Mittheilungen" of 1876, Ergänzungsheft n°. 46) are too short and insignificant to be called a description. More details are contained in a paper of M. Camille Imbault-Huart, entitled: »Les Tombeaux des Ming près de Peking", published in the »T'ung-pao" for 1893, vol. IV, pp. 391—400, and illustrated with three zincographical reproductions of photographs. It is to be deplored, however, that this author has substracted much from the value of his paper by wildly mixing up his personal annotations *in situ* with extracts, often mistranslated, from Ku Yen-wu's *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*. — Such second-hand accounts of the mausolea as occur in semi-scientific periodicals like the »Globus" and the »Tour du Monde", are too insignificant to deserve attention, and therefore left unnoticed here.

from Ch'ang-p'ing city, in a somewhat north-western direction, through the second defile from the west, which is very broad and was marked by several buildings and structures, most of which are still extant at the present moment. It is along this route that we shall conduct the reader on a visit to this imposing vale of death. This vale has the mausolea in the northern back ground, where they lie scattered over the spurs of the T'ien-sheu Mounts and the hills on the right and left of this chain.

Before commencing our description, it will be useful to insert a list, containing the names of the mausolea, those of the Emperors and Empresses buried therein, and such chronological items as the reader may want as guides to the historical statements gleaned from Chinese authors, with which our description is interspersed. It has been carefully compiled by us from original Chinese information, collected in the main from the biographies of Emperors and Empresses which are contained in the official History of the House of Ming.

Names of the Mausolea.	Temple Names of the Emperors.	Title and Duration of Reign.	Year of the Burial.	Imperial Consorts buried in the Mausolea.
1. Ch'ang ling 長陵	T'ai Tsung 太宗, or, since 1538, Ch'ing Tsu 成祖.	Yung loh 永樂 1403—1424.	1425	Jen Hiao 仁孝. Empress, mother of Jen Tsung. Married Ch'ing Tsu before his accession. Died in 1407, and was buried in the Ch'ang ling in 1413.
2. Hien ling 獻陵	Jen Tsung 仁宗, eldest son of Ch'ing Tsu.	Hung hi 洪熙 1425.	1425	Ch'ing Hiao 誠孝. Empress, mother of Suën Tsung. Married Jen Tsung before his accession, and was buried in the Hien ling on her death in 1442.
3. King ling 景陵	Süen Tsung 宣宗, eldest son of Jen Tsung.	Süen teh 宣德 1426—1435.	1435	Hiao Kung 孝恭. Putative mother of Ying Tsung. Was raised to the dignity of Empress in 1428, and buried in the King ling on her death in 1462.

Names of the Mausolea	Temple Names of the Emperors.	Title and Duration of Reign.	Year of the Burial.	Imperial Consorts buried in the Mausolea.
4. Yü ling 裕陵	**Ying Tsung** 英宗, eldest son of Suën Tsung.	Ching t'ung 正統 1436—1449, and T'ien shun 天順 1457—1464	1464	**Hiao Chwang** 孝莊. Was raised to the dignity of Empress in 1442, and buried in the Yü ling on her death in 1468. **Hiao Suh** 孝肅. Concubine, mother of Hien Tsung. Was buried in the Yü ling on her death in 1504.
5 Meu ling 茂陵	**Hien Tsung** 憲宗, eldest son of Ying Tsung.	Ch'ing hwa 成化 1465—1487.	1487 or 1488	**Hiao Ching** 孝貞. Empress during the whole of her consort's reign. Died and was buried in 1518. **Hiao Muh** 孝穆. Concubine, mother of Hiao Tsung. Died in 1475, and was transferred into the Meu ling in 1488, on her son's accession to the throne. **Hiao Hwui** 孝惠 Concubine, grandmother of Shi Tsung. Died in 1522, the year after her grandson's assuming the reins of government, and was transferred in the next year into the Meu ling.
6. T'ai ling 泰陵	**Hiao Tsung** 孝宗, third son of Hien Tsung.	Hung chi 弘治 1488—1505.	1505	**Hiao Khang** 孝康. Empress, mother of Wu Tsung. Married Hiao Tsung before his accession, died in 1541, and was buried in this mausoleum in the same year.
7. Khang ling 康陵	**Wu Tsung** 武宗, eldest son of Hiao Tsung.	Ching teh 正德 1506—1521.	1521	**Hiao Tsing** 孝靜. Empress. Was buried in this mausoleum on her death in 1535.

Names of the Mausolea	Temple Names of the Emperors.	Title and Duration of Reign.	Year of the Burial.	Imperial Consorts buried in the Mausolea.
8. Yung ling 永陵	**Shi Tsung** 世宗, grandson of Hien Tsung. Wu Tsung, who had no male issue, bequeathed the throne to him.	Kia tsing 嘉靖 1522—1566.	1567	**Hiao Kieh** 孝潔. Empress from her consort's accession till her death in 1528. Was transferred from her grave into the Yung ling in 1567. **Hiao Lieh** 孝烈. Empress from 1534 till her death in 1547. **Hiao Khoh** 孝恪. Concubine, mother of Muh Tsung. Died in 1554, and was transferred from her grave in the Kin-shan into this mausoleum on her son's accession.
9. Chao ling 昭陵	**Muh Tsung** 穆宗, third son of Shi Tsung.	Lung khing 隆慶 1567—1572.	1572	**Hiao I** 孝懿. Chief consort. Died in 1558, before Muh Tsung's accession, was buried in the Kin-shan, and transferred into this mausoleum in 1572, when Shen Tsung had mounted the throne. **Hiao Ngan** 孝安. Second chief consort; married Muh Tsung in 1558, became Empress by his accession, and was buried in the Chao ling on her death in 1596. **Hiao Ting** 孝定. Concubine, mother of Shen Tsung. Was buried in the Chao ling on her death in 1614.
10. Ting ling 定陵	**Shen Tsung** 神宗, third son of Muh Tsung.	Wan lih 萬歷 1573—1620.	1620	**Hiao Twan** 孝端. Was raised to the dignity of Empress in 1578, and buried in the Ting ling on her death in 1620. **Hiao Tsing** 孝靖. Con-

Names of the Mausoleum.	Temple Names of the Emperors.	Title and Duration of Reign.	Year of the Burial.	Imperial Consorts buried in the Mausolea.
				cubine, mother of Kwang Tsung. Was buried somewhere in the T'ien-sheu Mountains on her death in 1612, and transferred into the Ting ling in 1620, on her son's accession.
11. Khing ling 慶陵	**Kwang Tsung** 光宗, eldest son of Shen Tsung.	T'ai ch'ang 泰昌 1620. Reigned only a month.	1621	**Hiao Yuen** 孝元. Chief consort. Died in 1613, and was transferred into this mausoleum in 1621 by Hi Tsung. **Hiao Hwo** 孝和. Concubine, mother of Hi Tsung. Died in 1619, and was buried in the Khing ling by Hi Tsung, on his accession. **Hiao Shun** 孝純. Concubine, mother of Chwang Lieh. On her death, in 1610, she was buried in the Western Mountains, and transferred into the Khing ling by her son, on his assuming the reins of government.
12. Teh ling 德陵	**Hi Tsung** 熹宗, eldest son of Kwang Tsung.	T'ien khi 天啟 1621—1627.	1628	**I Ngan** 懿安. Was raised to the dignity of Empress in 1621. Strangled herself in 1644, at the capture of Peking by the insurgent leader Li Tsze-ch'ing 李自成; was buried in the same year in the Teh ling by the care of the Manchu Sovereign, on his expulsion of the insurgents from the capital.
13. Szĕ ling 思陵	**Chwang Lieh** 莊烈, fifth son of Kwang Tsung.	Ch'ung ching 崇禎 1628—1644.	1644	**Min** 愍. Empress. At the capture of Peking committed suicide, together with the Emperor.

The reasons why the sovereigns of the Ming dynasty gave their mausolea the above names, are unknown to us, the native books consulted by us containing no information on this head. Hence we do not venture at an attempt to render those names into English. The only thing we can ascertain is, that all of them have been borne by sundry Imperial sepulchres of former dynasties. Perhaps we must infer from this fact that the monarchs of the House of Ming, in fixing names for their tombs, were guided by the well-known spirit of imitation of ancestral acts, which has characterized the Chinese race in every epoch and under every dynasty. The following is a list of synonymous mausolea of older date, with the names subjoined of some Emperors who were buried therein. Other names of sovereigns might be added; but we think it is mere loss of time to ransack the Standard Histories for more —

Ch'ang ling. Kao Tsu, the founder of the Han dynasty, † 195. B. C. (comp. page 423). Hiao Wen [1] of the Wei dynasty, † A. D. 499.

Hien ling. Kao Tsu [2], the founder of the T'ang dynasty, † 626.

King ling. Süen Wu [3] of the Wei dynasty, † 515. Hien Tsung [4] of the T'ang dynasty, † 820.

Yü ling. Hien Tsung [5] of the Kin dynasty. † 1185.

Meu ling. Wu of the Han dynasty, † 87 B. C. (comp. page 424).

T'ai ling. Hüen Tsung [6] of the T'ang dynasty, † 761.

Khang ling. P'ing [7] of the Han dynasty, † A. D. 6, and Shang [8] of the same House, † A. D. 106.

Yung ling. Shi Tsu [9] of the Kin dynasty, † 1090.

Chao ling. T'ai Tsung [10], the second Emperor of the T'ang dynasty, † 649.

Ting ling. Hiao Ming [11] of the Wei dynasty, † 528. Chung Tsung [12] of the T'ang dynasty, † 710.

Khing ling. Shi Tsung [13] of the later Cheu dynasty, † 959.

Teh ling. Süen Tsung [14] of the Kin dynasty, † 1223.

Szĕ ling. Hi Tsung [15] of the Kin dynasty, † 1149.

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1 孝文. 2 高祖. 3 宣武.
4 憲宗. 5 顯宗. 6 玄宗.
7 平. 8 殤. 9 世祖.
10 太宗. 11 孝明. 12 中宗.
13 世宗. 14 宣宗. 15 熙宗.

Stone Decorative Gate at the Approach to the Ming Tombs.

On leaving the northern gate of Ch'ang-p'ing city, an unpaved road, extremely muddy in rainy weather, but covered with dust in the dry season, takes us over a flat country, gently rising, the monotonous, dreary aspect of which is broken by nothing whatever that attracts attention. The inquisitive eye instinctively turns to the north, continually expecting to descry the first stages of the Imperial Cemetery; but the rising of the ground, though hardly discernible, intercepts every prospect on that side. Our impatience is not, however, put to a trial. In about half an hour the first monument on the road leading to the Ch'ang ling fascinates the eye. It is a large, five-span decorative gateway, standing out stately against the blue sky, right in front of us, where the horizon is bounded by a rise in the ground.

This gate (see Pl. XL) is entirely of solid natural stone. It rests upon six square pillars, placed in a straight line and connected at the tops by lintels or architraves resting on stone corbels that jut out from the flanks of the pillars, five passages or portals being thus formed of different height. The middlemost portal is the highest; those on the right and left of it are just so much lower as the thickness of the lintel, and the two outmost portals again are lower than the latter in the same proportion. Over each lintel is a frieze, over which is placed a second lintel, bearing a roof. All those lintels, as also the tops of the pillars, are uniformly sculptured with lineal basso-relievo figures; the five friezes, being exclusively intended for decoration, are graven with seven square figures in bold mezzo-relievo, and give great prominence to the ornamentation of the monument. Every pillar, every lintel, every frieze is a monolith. Each portal is covered with a roof, the shape of which, including the underlying bracket construction, answers to the description we have given on pp. 1166 *seq.* of the roofs of mausoleum buildings in general. But, on closer inspection, we see that each roof, apart from a ridge of stone placed over the top, is one monolithic mass of the same white, marble-like stone of which almost the whole monument is composed. Elevation is given to each roof by another frieze, likewise enriched with mezzo-relievo ornaments of sculpture and framed in stone; and as these friezes are shorter than the width of the spans over which they stand, room is left by them for smaller roofs with bracket construction to crown the pillars.

The square pedestals of the pillars are very attractive for the fine bossy sculpture with which they are adorned. They are the only

parts of the gate which are not of white, marble-like limestone; they are of a deep-blue kind of stone, nicely polished, and very hard and durable, the sculpture bearing no trace of decay or of the operation of the atmosphere. They measure 15 decimetres in breadth, on all sides. Those supporting the two outermost pillars are sculptured on each of the four faces with two lion-like animals, ramping and playing with a ball; the four other pedestals display, on every face, an Imperial Dragon, soaring in the midst of the usual emblems accompanying this divine distributor of fructifying rains, namely clouds and stars. Each pedestal has a cornice carved with figures that represent a lotus flower and bearing, on either façade of the monument, a quadruped couchant on all fours, which faces the central portal. Of these twelve animals, those resting on the two innermost pedestals appear to represent unicorns; the others are lion-like beasts with collars around their necks, from which hangs a globular instrument like a rattle-bell.

The two façades of the gate are exactly alike in shape and ornamentation, as is, in fact, the case with honorary gates in general (see page 779). As there is no inscription on the monument, it was not, we think, erected for the glorification of the Imperial occupants of the mausolea; indeed, we have demonstrated elsewhere (pp. 786—788), that the p'ai-fang or p'ai-leu often bear the character of decorative monuments. There may, however, have formerly been some laudatory inscription painted over the central portal, on the highest frieze, this latter being perfectly smooth in the middle [1].

Though the architectural style of this quinquepartite gate is not likely to suit our European taste, it never fails to make an impression on the visitor because of its size and stateliness. Its entire length is only a few inches under thirty-four metres, which conveys a sufficient idea of the bulk and weight of the enormous blocks of which it is composed. Its solidity is above suspicion. Indeed, though it was erected in 1540, during the reign of Shi Tsung [2], it is perfectly intact; the blocks are not in the least worn out of joint,

1 Of a similar gate, decorating the tomb of Confucius, we have given a picture on page 788, which our readers may place side by side with Plate XL for comparison.

2 See the *Yen-tu yiu lan chi* 燕都游覽志, »Account of what I saw on an Excursion to the Capital of Yen (Peking)", by Sun Kwoh-mi 孫國敉. This work contains a short account of a visit paid to the Ming tombs before the dethronement of the dynasty, which is reprinted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 12.

nor have they visibly suffered from atmospherical influences. That the fine, white dolomite is not even browned by the weather, suggests that it has been kept during many ages under a layer of paint, some faint traces of which are still discernible in the ornamental sculpture. The latter was probably decked out in gaudy colours, this being (see page 787) still nowadays the case with similar monuments at the entrance to some Imperial Altars and government buildings in Peking.

The ground underneath the monument is carefully paved with large rectangular slabs of white limestone, forming a broad platform with a slanting ascent of blocks on both sides. The square scalloped plinths of the pedestals of the pillars rise a few inches above the level of the platform, and are the tops of foundation-stones, sunk in the earth, no doubt, to a considerable depth. Probably there has been a time when the platform was larger than it is now, many slabs having, as people aver, been carried away from the mausolea under the now reigning dynasty for the construction of sundry Imperial edifices in and about the Metropolis.

Beyond this monumental entrance to the outer avenue of the mausolea, the plain slopes almost imperceptibly, so that the platform commands a wide prospect to the north, allowing us to catch a first glimpse of the T'ien-shou Mounts, dimly portrayed against the horizon. The several mausoleum-parks along the foot of this chain may be kenned from here as sundry black spots upon a yellowish background of barren, treeless slopes.

In his Description of the Mountains and Waters in Ch'ang-p'ing, Ku Yen-wu states that »to the north of the gate there was a triple bridge of stone" [1]. No vestiges of this structure now remain, but the gully still exists over which it was built. Having waded through it, an unpaved path, either dusty or muddy according to the state of the weather, takes us through a flat country, well cultivated in summer, but offering a dreary, desert-like aspect during the dry winter season. Hardly a single tree now breaks its monotony; but when Sun Kwoh-mi visited it, there stood, says he, »two »stately pines south of the bridge; towards the north the eye »descried the flowing brook, and several pines and cypresses »planted in six rows on either side, so that the visitor, having »passed through the decorative gate, walked in the shade of pine »trees for more than three miles, until he reached the Red

[1] 又北有石橋三空. Leaf 3.

»Gate"[1]. This building forms the entrance proper to the Cemetery, and is about one kilometre distant from the decorative gate. It is a rectangular structure of massive masonry, thirty-seven metres long and eleven metres broad, pierced by three arched, tunnel-like passages, and placed upon a platform of large rectangular blocks of limestone. The span-roof is covered with yellow glazed tiles, just as the gates and edifices within the Palace-grounds in Peking, and many Imperial buildings inside and outside this city. Stone sockets or hinges, inserted in the masonry, indicate that each passage used to be closed inside, not far from the back outlet, by means of folding-doors, of which now no trace is left. The central passage is more spacious than those on the right and left, being five metres and three tenths in width.

In a short summary given in the History of the Ming Dynasty of the several parts of this Imperial Cemetery[2], this gate is called Hung men[3]: »The Red Gate". By this name it is also denoted, both officially and popularly, at the present moment. It is, in fact, covered on every side with a coating of red plaster, and red is the colour predominating in the bracket construction that supports the eaves[4]. On either flank, a low wall covered with yellow tiles is connected with this gate. These walls are now only a few metres in length; but they may once have extended much farther, or, maybe, they had a prolongation in the shape of palisades, the closable Red Gate evidencing that the Cemetery was inaccessible on this side. It may even be supposed that such fences extended as far as the hillocks that flank the defile in the midst of which the Red Gate stands; but no vestiges testifying to the correctness of this suggestion were discernible to the view.

As the Red Gate marked the boundary of the sacred grounds, deference for the Imperial manes obliged all servants of the Crown to dismount before entering it. To remind them of this duty, two stone tablets stood in front of it, a few paces off, with this inscription: »Public functionaries and other persons, dismount

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[1] 橋南二喬松、北瞰流泉、松栢左右列各六行、自坊內行松陰中三里許、至紅門.

2 Chapter 60, ll. 6 *seq.*

[3] 紅門.

4 We have considered it unnecessary to insert an illustration of the Red Gate, as Plate XLVI, facing page 1217, represents a gate of nearly the same shape, standing within the mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu.

here" [1]. These tablets are still in a perfect condition, but the present dynasty has, perhaps, restored them from time to time. It is a general custom for the Government to place such inscriptions at temples and altars dedicated to the worship of State divinities, a custom apparently based upon an ancient maxim, laid down in the *Li ki* (ch. 13, l. 40) in these words: »Tszĕ-lu (a »disciple of Confucius) said: 'I have heard that, in passing by a »grave, a man should make bows, and in passing by a place »of sacrifice, he should dismount" [2]. During the Ming dynasty it was strictly forbidden to pass by or through the Red Gate without obeying the command expressed on the tablets, for »in the »twenty-sixth year of the period Hung wu (A. D. 1393) it »was ordained, that those passing by the mausolea in carts or on »horseback, as also the officers and subjects charged with the care »of the mausolea who might intend to enter the same, must alight »before within a hundred pu, and that transgressors of this ordi»nance should be sentenced for great irreverence" [3]. The Ts'ing dynasty has, with respect to its own Imperial tombs, the same law in its Code in precisely the same wording, with the addition that the punishment shall be one hundred blows with the long stick [4].

The scanning eye scarcely discerns any human dwellings in these dreary, sparsely populated plains. A few mean huts on the right and left of the road north of the Red Gate form the only hamlet visible, as far as the eye can reach. Perhaps its inhabitants are the descendants of the families which were once appointed by Imperial command to live on the spot as gate-keepers and mausoleum-warders, and who have ever since earned their livelihood by tilling such parts of the adjacent land, outside or inside the gate, as were singled out for their support.

From the above-mentioned summary which the History of the Ming Dynasty gives of the structures contained in the Cemetery, we

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[1] 官員人等至此下馬.

[2] 子路曰、吾聞之也、過墓則式、過祀則下. Section 檀弓, II, 2.

[3] 洪武二十六年令車馬過陵者、及守陵官民入陵者、百步外下馬、違者以大不敬論. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 8. See also the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 3, and the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 133, l. 19.

[4] *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, ch. 23, § 盜園陵樹木.

learn that, on behalf of its visitors »there was within the Red »Gate a shi-chih tien or 'Hall temporarily entered', which was »a place for their carts and horses, at the same time serving »as a convenience for changing dress"[1]. »On reaching the Red »Gate", says Sun Kwoh-mi, »the visitor alights, and on entering »it on foot, he has on his left a building for brushing away »the dust (from the clothes of the visitors); it stands within »an immured enclosure, and consists of a two-storied main hall »and several apartments containing over sixty pillars. It is here »that the Emperors who visit the mausolea change their dress. »Hwui trees are planted on both sides. There are also two halls »with a back chamber, surrounded by a set of chambers con- »taining more than five hundred compartments between the pil- »lars"[2]. Of none of these edifices does now a trace remain; and we surmise that they were effaced already at the commencement of the reign of the present dynasty, as Ku Yen-wu does not mention them.

The unpaved avenue now takes us for about half a kilometre over level ground, in the same straight direction, to a colossal tablet-house with a double, yellow-tiled roof, resting on a wooden bracket frieze and jutting out considerably beyond the walls (see Pl. XLI). In 1890, on our last excursion to the Cemetery, it had suffered much from wind and weather, and the timber was in an advanced state of decay; many rows of tiles were dislocated, and most of the ornamental figures rising above the gable corners and the upper stone ridge had tumbled down. The building is square, and measures twenty-six metres on each side; its four façades are exactly similar. It stands on a low platform of white limestone, and has a massive basement of red-veined marble or dolomite, which, wherever visible, that is to say, on the four façades and in the tunnel-like passages which run crosswise through the building, shows, like the pedestal of a column, a plinth-like base, a die and a cornice. The walls are of large-sized bricks and covered with red plaster, which has, however, in many places scaled off

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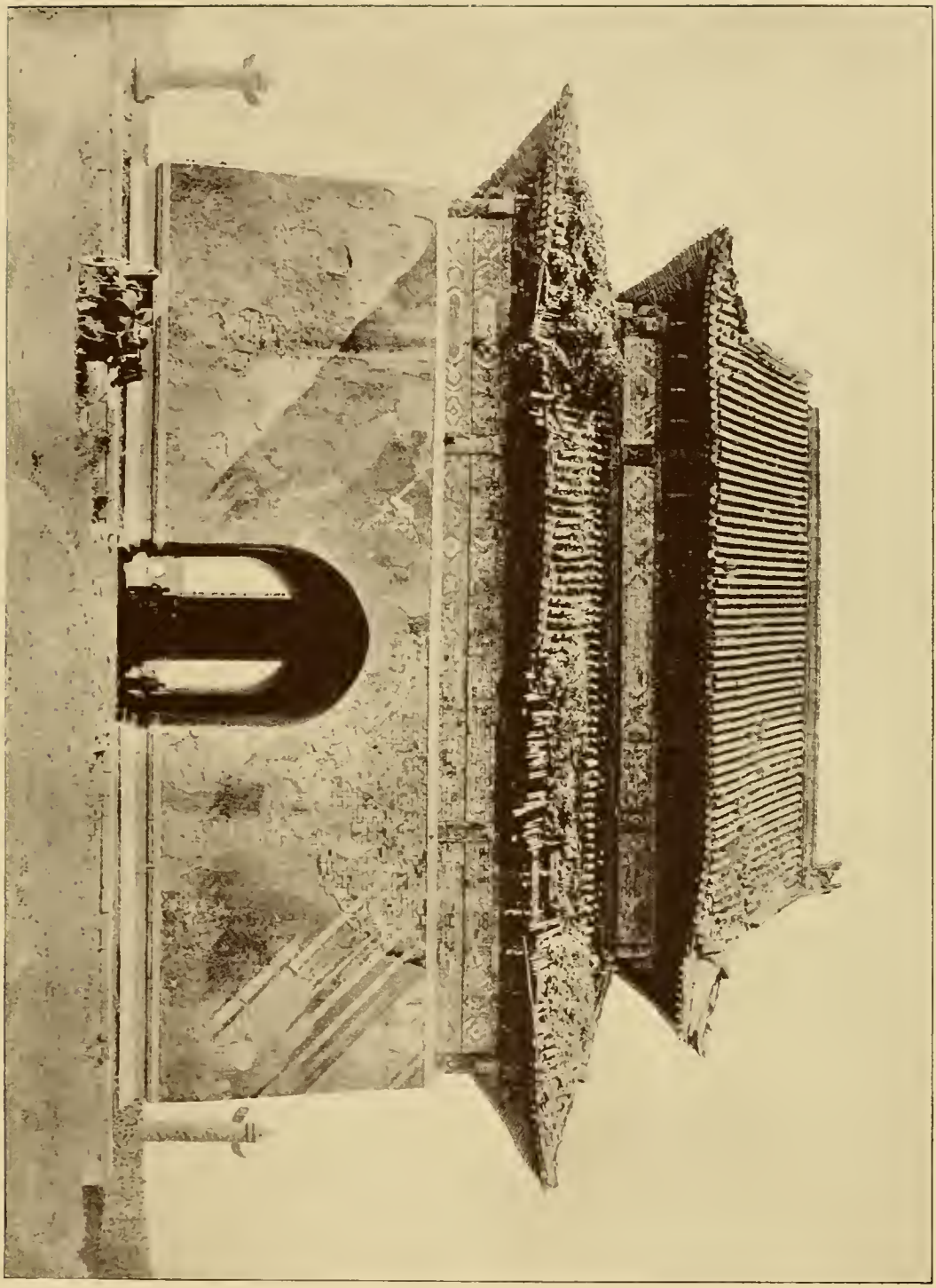
[1] 門內有時陟殿、爲車駕更衣之所. Ch. 60, l. 7.

[2] 至紅門下馬、步入、門內左爲拂塵殿、圍墻正殿二層、群室六十餘楹。皇帝謁陵至此更衣。左右槐樹。正寢二殿羣圍房各五百餘間. *Yen-tu yiu lan chi*, quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 12.



Tablet House in the Avenue to the Ming Tombs.

» the stone images of men, horses etc. at the east and west of » the Imperial avenue. In the tenth month, on the day ki-yiu, » was erected also the tablet at the Ch'ang ling for the comme- » moration of the divine feats and sage virtues of the occupant. » At that time twenty-three years had elapsed since the Empress » Jen Hiao was buried, and eleven since the interment of T'ai » Tsung, the Emperor Wen; but it was erected so late because no » ruthless use was made of the labour of the people" [1]. Without placing any trust in this pathetic vaunt of the generosity of those despots in respect to the statute labour imposed upon their people, we learn from this passage, that even their unlimited command of the bodies and lives of everybody under the sky could not save them from a dearth of manual labour in that sparsely populated region.

Under the heading: »Thirty elegiac rhymes touching the Ming tombs" [2], the reverse of the tablet displays a series of poems which, according to an inscription placed at the end, are of recent date, viz., the fiftieth year of the Khien lung period (1785). Several of the mausolea, if not all, are therein alluded to. We are inclined to believe these verses to be by Kao Tsung's own hand, whose long and brilliant reign embraced that epoch; indeed, like his two predecessors, Shing Tsu and Shi Tsung, he was a man of high attainments in the poetic art, and produced large collections of verses and rhymes highly esteemed by the literati. The presence of those poems on Ch'ing Tsu's grave-tablet is especially worthy of notice, as it strongly characterizes the spirit of reverence entertained by the Emperors of the present reigning dynasty for the manes of the family dethroned by them.

The Ming dynasty is not the first to offer an instance of grave-tablets commemorative of »the divine feats and sage virtues" of an emperor. We read in the History of the Liao Dynasty, that a certain statesman and scholar Li Hwan [3] lost the favour of his

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[1] 宣德元年四月辛酉修長陵獻陵、始置石人石馬等於御道東西。十月己酉建長陵神功聖德碑。是時仁孝皇后之葬二十有三年、太宗文皇帝之葬亦十有一年矣、然而始立者重民力也. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, leaf 4.

[2] 哀明陵三十韻.

[3] 李澣.

Tablet House, flanked by Columns, in the Avenue to the Ming Tombs.

sovereign and was relegated by him to a monastery; and after he had endured there hardship and misery for six years, »it hap-» pened that the Emperor wished to raise a tablet in commemora-» tion of the feats and virtues of T'ai Tsung (937—946), and one » Kao Hiun memorialized the Throne, stating that none but Li » Hwan was competent to hold the writing-brush for such a pur-» pose. The Emperor decreed that this proposal should be executed"[1]. It is also recorded in the History of the Kin Dynasty that Han Fang[2], a learned statesman of high repute, in the twelfth century »composed the tablet commemorating the sage virtues and divine » feats of T'ai Tsu, and that this product of his hand was highly » commended at the time"[3]. These two instances almost warrant the assumption that such peculiar tablets also ornamented the mausolea of other Imperial families, and the more so, as it is a fact sufficiently evidenced in the second section of the present chapter, that commemorative tablets have ranked in China among the most important sepulchral monuments ever since the beginning of our era.

As Ch'ing Tsu's sepulchral tablet bears an account of his feats and virtues, and thus embodies his Imperial life and career, it is no wonder that its erecters should have respectfully surrounded it with the emblems of the Imperial dignity, that is to say, with images of the god of clouds and rains, who, by fructifying fields and grounds, blesses mankind with food and raiment in profusion. There stand, indeed, four insulated lofty columns in the prolongation of the diagonals of the tablet-house, at equal distances from its corners (see Pl. XLII), and the shaft of each is sculptured with a gigantic dragon, coiling itself around it as if climbing the skies. These monuments, similar in shape and dimensions, are octangular monoliths of white marble. During the Ming dynasty they were officially known as king-t'ien chu[4], »columns bearing the sky"; indeed, their height being considerable, they appear to be holding the dome of heaven over the Imperial tablet-house. Contemplating one of those columns more attentively, we find that it has a

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[1] 會上欲建太宗功德碑。高勳奏曰、非李澣無可秉筆者。詔從之. Chapter 103, l. 6.

[2] 韓昉.

[3] 作太祖睿德神功碑、當世稱之. Chapter 125, l. 3.

[4] 擎天柱.

broad octangular pedestal, composed of a plinth and base, a die and a cornice. The upper border of the plinth and the lower border of the cornice being worked all around into a row of leaves, the pedestal is evidently moulded upon the lotus-throne of the Buddhas, indicating Buddhist influence in architecture. Its eight façades are sculptured with small dragons soaring in the midst of clouds, and clouds are also carved on the shaft, wherever it is not covered by the dragon. The column is crowned by a capital which consists of two horizontal stone disks, of a diameter larger than that of the shaft; and upon this capital is superposed a dragon-like animal, squatting on its hind legs. Under the capital we behold two flat pieces of stone, perforated, and enriched with carved figures of straight and curved lines; they stand out to the right and left like a pair of wings, the broadest of which points towards the tablet-house. They represent, we think, the imaginary clouds produced by the dragon on the shaft.

The marble decorative gate, the Red Gate and the tablet-house exactly face the same southern direction, and the central openings in all these structures are placed precisely in the same straight line along which is traced the avenue across which they stand. The openings in the tablet-house not being destined to serve for passages, the avenue forks out in front of it and, running along the two flank façades, re-unites at the back of the edifice, to form there what the History of the Ming Dynasty designates by the name of Tsung shen-tao[1], »the Spirit's Road for the Mausolea in Common". As we have seen on page 1157, the author Sü Shi-tseng states that the term »Spirit's Road" was already in use in the fourth century of our era; but it is to be traced to a much older time. We read, namely, in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty that, when the nobleman Ki Sin-ch'ing[2] »was found guilty of an offence in the »fifth year of the period Yuen shen (118 B. C.), the Minister »Tsung, Grand Master of Sacrifices, adjudged his Spirit's Road to »be forfeited, and degraded him to the rank of an inferior official"[3]. And of the famous Minister Hwoh Kwang, of whom our readers have heard before (pp. 409 *seq.*), it is recorded in the same work, that his consort »erected a gate with three exits (on his grave), and there

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[1] 總神道. [2] 季信成.

[3] 元狩五年坐、爲太常縱丞相侵神道爲隸臣.
Chapter 16, l. 57.

made a Spirit's Road" [1]. Another term denoting such avenues is shen lu [2], which has exactly the same meaning.

The Road of the Spirit is one of the most interesting features of the Ming Cemetery. At the tablet-house the inquisitive visitor perceives in the distance two long parallel rows of figures of animals and men, the hindmost of which are so far off that their forms are hardly discernible by the naked eye; a little further on a dead wall with three openings (see Pl. XLIII) closes this curious alley. First we pass, at three hundred and fifty paces from the tablet-house, between two hexagonal columns of white stone, which flank the road; they are perfectly similar in shape and size, and each is raised on a sexangular pedestal adorned with a cornice. The monolithic shafts taper slightly upwards, and are crowned with a summit, the profile of which is represented by the annexed figure. These

summits are, we think, intended to represent a flame; for, as our readers know (see page 1088), the object of these grave-columns is probably no other than to light the disembodied soul along its path, and to intensify its vitality. The History of the Ming Dynasty [3] calls them wang chu [4], »columns to look at". They stand in the same lines as the animals, so that they may be said to form the southern terminus of the avenue of images.

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1 起三出闕、築神道. Chapter 68, l. 14.

Avenues to tombs are sometimes denoted in the books by the characters 阡 or 仟 ts'ien. In the beginning of our era, they merely signified, as the *Shwoh wen* teaches us, »a road lying from south to north" 路南北爲阡; and that many authors use it in the first-named sense, seems to be owing to an episode recounted in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty in the following words: »When Ts'ao, the Governor of the Metropolis in the reign of the Emperor Wu »(140—87 B. C.), was buried near the Meu mausoleum, the people called the »road leading towards it: the Ts'ien of the Metropolis. Yuen Sheh, coveting a »similar honour (for his father), purchased a plot of ground (near the grave of »the latter), constructed a road in it, and erected a sign-board on the spot, inscribed »with the words: 'Ts'ien of Nan-yang' (*i. e.* the country of which his father had »been Governor). But the people would not give way, and simply called that road »the Ts'ien of Sir Yuen": 初武帝時京兆尹曹氏葬茂陵、民謂其道爲京兆千。[原]涉慕之、迺買地、開道、立表、署曰南陽仟。人不肯從、謂之原氏仟. Chapter 92, l. 14.

2 神路. 3 Chapter 60, l. 6. 4 望柱.

A description of this avenue, illustrated by Plates XIII, XX and XXI, has been given in the Second Volume of this work (pp. 818—820). Plate XIII, facing page 452, affords a general survey of its southern part, as viewed from the crouching unicorns. At this point the avenue diverges from the straight line in which the decorative marble gate, the Red Gate and the tablet-house lie, and it trends slightly eastward, probably on account of the principle that straight lines may exercise a nefarious influence upon the abodes of the dead (comp. page 977). The total length of the avenue, measured from the tablet-house to the above-mentioned wall with three openings that bounds it on the north, exceeds eleven hundred metres. According to Ku Yen-wu, the erection of the stone images was begun in 1435 (see page 1200). The same author says: »The Road of the Spirit remained un-» paved, until Shi Tsung, on visiting the mausolea in the fifteenth » year of the period Kia tsing (A. D. 1536), gave orders for it » to be done [1]. Now the pavement has partly fallen into decay" [2]. This being written more than two hundred years ago, we cannot feel surprised at seeing that, at present, not a single stone of the pavement is in its original place and nothing but some stray debris give evidence of its former existence. The prescriptive rules on the subject of the Imperial tombs, as we have found them in a copy of a curious edition of the *Ta Ming hwui tien* preserved in the library at the British Museum, state that the human images at the northern end of the Road of the Spirit represent »two pairs of » generals, with a sword at their girdle, holding a bludgeon in » their hand, and wearing a helmet and a coat-of-mail; two pairs » of civil officers attired with gown and cap as prescribed for Im-» perial audiences; and two pairs of military officers similarly » dressed" [3].

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1 This Emperor paid the mausolea no less than three visits in the course of that year. No doubt they chiefly affected his own sepulchre, for the construction of which he had given orders in the fourth month of the very same year: see the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 17, l. 11. It was laid out on a very grand scale, and our readers will see on page 1232 that it was second only to that of Ch'ing Tsu in size and beauty.

2 神道自嘉靖十五年世宗謁陵始命以石甃。今稍殘缺. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 4.

3 帶刀執瓜盔甲將軍二對、朝衣冠文像二對、朝衣冠武像二對. Chapter 203.

Triple Gate in the Avenue to the Ming Tombs.

At about ninety paces from the last pair of images, the Road of the Spirit abuts on a dead wall with three openings, depicted in Plate XLIII. It is of very large bricks and covered with red plaster which has scaled off for a great deal, and was originally roofed with yellow tiles, as some bits, scattered over the ground on both sides, unmistakably indicate. The basement, considerably thicker than the wall itself, is covered on the top, both on the front and the back of the wall, with smoothed slabs of white stone. The three openings are exactly alike in shape and dimensions, and constructed as follows. Two square pillars of white stone are fixed in the wall like a couple of door-posts, and rise above it considerably. They are connected by a square cross-beam of stone, the extremities of which are firmly fitted into square holes, pierced through the pillars a little way from the top. On this cross-beam stands, just in the middle, a lotus-shaped socle, supporting an oval piece of stone pointed at the top and carved all over with florid ornaments apparently representing a peach, the symbol of longevity (see page 56). As hinges, still extant, show, the passages used originally to be closed by folding-doors. Hence there is in each of them a door-case of stone with a sill of the same material; the lintel of this door-case bears an architrave, the space between which and the aforementioned cross-beam is filled up by a frieze, carved with linear figures. All the parts thus passed in review are solid pieces of limestone. The same as the four columns that flank the tablet-house, the six gate-posts all bear, close to the top, a pair of stone clouds pointing to the right and left like wings; moreover, the top of each post is covered with a square block of stone, sculptured with clouds, and crowned with a dragon cowering on a socle which exactly resembles those bearing the stone peaches; each pair of these monsters face the passage over which they are placed. Finally, each pillar is strengthened at the base, on both sides, by a square stone counterfort, resembling the pedestal of a column, as it is composed of a plinth or base, a die and a cornice. It bears an upright slab of white stone, which has the shape of a right-angled triangle; the vertical side of this slab is let into the pillar, and the hypotenuse is cut out with undulations, some of which form parts of volutions graven in the two flat sides of this stone.

This curious triple gate is called Ling-sing men[1], »Linteled Star Gate", probably because the passages, not being roofed,

[1] 欞星門.

stand open to the starred sky. The History of the Ming Dynasty does not mention it in its enumeration of the structures in the avenue; but from Ku Yen-wu we learn that it positively existed in his time, and that »it was then popularly styled Lung-fung men: Dragon-and-Phenix Gate" [1]. Specimens in the same style and shape, either single or triple, are a common feature of almost all the Altar-grounds of Peking connected with the Religion of the State, as those for the worship of Heaven, Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Gods of Land and Grain, etc. They generally stand to the four points of the compass, being parts of the single or double enclosures immediately surrounding the Altar.

Before the dethronement of the House of Ming, the Road of the Spirit cannot have failed to make a deep impression on the mind of visitors, it being then flanked by stately evergreens, quite a forest of which covered also the circumjacent grounds to their farthest limits. The tablet-house with the four columns probably stood in a vast, open square or yard in the midst of that park, offering a comfortable halting-place to the Sons of Heaven and the Magnates of the Empire when visiting the tombs; indeed, Ku Yen-wu wrote! »There has been a travelling-mansion on the east side, but it has now disappeared" [2]. At present, of that vast forest not a trace remains, and during the cold season there is hardly anything for the eye to rest on in any direction, save land and sky, and a chain of barren hills in the distance. It is then but one dreary extensive plain, in which not a blade of living grass is to be seen. But in summer it is covered with an immense expanse of food plants, such as wheat, barley and tall millet, as also sorghum growing so high that a horse and rider is lost to sight in the midst of it, the plough doing its work every year quite up to the heels of the stone animals and men.

The destruction of those forests was effected already at an early date; indeed, Ku Yen-wu wrote in the beginning of the reign of the present dynasty: »Several hundred thousands of azure pines and »green cypresses, that studded the inner grounds beyond the great »Red Gate in numbers which even imagination cannot grasp, have »now disappeared, being felled to the last" [3]. So they shared the

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[1] 俗名龍鳳門. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 3.

[2] 其東有行宮、今亡. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[3] 自大紅門以內蒼松翠栢無慮數十萬株、今翦伐盡矣. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 4.

fate of the sepulchral trees of former Imperial families, about which the statesman Teng Jun-fu [1] stated in the eleventh century, in a memorial addressed to the Throne: »Our ministers, utilitarians as they are, have » proposed that the people ought to be granted their wish to hunt in » the mausolea of the Emperors and Princes of the former dynasties, » and to employ those grounds for agricultural pursuits; and our » Minister of Agriculture has attached his approval thereto. As a con- » sequence, the mausolea of the T'ang dynasty are now totally stripped » of vegetation, and the stately trees in the mausoleum of Chao of » the family of Liu (*i. e.* Kao Tsu of the short-lived Han dynasty, » who died in 947) have been felled to the last" [2].

The avidity with which the people seized upon the trees of the Ming tombs for timber and fuel — two articles ever precious in those woodless regions — as soon as the downfall of the House of Ming gave them a chance to do so unpunished, accounts for the rigid measures which this dynasty took for their protection during its rule. »In the » second year of the period Ching t'ung (1437) the Court of » Censors was informed by the Throne, that those who might presume » to cut or fell trees in the mausolea grounds of the T'ien-sheu » Mountains and in those of the ancestors of the reigning House, » should be subjected to heavy punishments, and their families » should be relegated to a distant region for perpetual banishment. » Placards should be forthwith issued to forbid such crimes; the » officers of the Guards with Embroidered Uniforms should make » tours of inspection over the grounds; and officers of the Board of » Works, in concert with those of the Board of Astronomy, should » set out land-marks all around, only outside which the people » might collect fuel" [3]. Among the penal laws of the Ming dynasty

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[1] 鄧潤甫.

[2] 興利之臣議前代帝王陵寢許民請射耕墾、而司農可之。唐之諸陵因此悉見芟、劉昭陵喬木翦伐無遺. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 343, l. 7.

[3] 正統二年諭都察院、天壽山祖宗陵寢所在敢有翦伐樹木者治以重罪、家屬發邊遠充軍。即出榜禁約、仍令錦衣衛官校巡視、工部同欽天監官環山立界、界外聽民樵采. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 9. See also the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 3, and the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 133, l. 20.

we find an article, running as follows: »Those who steal trees that » grow in the Imperial mausolea, shall altogether be punished with » one hundred blows with the long stick and banishment for three » years. And if trees are stolen that grow in a sepulchral ground » belonging to others, the perpetrators shall receive eighty blows with » the long stick. Should the theft of things of the same value as the » stolen trees have to be punished more severely (according to law), » the punishment that is prescribed for the theft of such an amount » of spoil shall be inflicted, with an increase of one degree" [1]. That this article is still in force at the present day for the mausolea of the Ts'ing dynasty, that House having adopted it verbatim in her Code of Laws, our readers may see on page 902.

The Road of the Spirit runs between the two clusters of bluffs which, as we have stated on page 1196, flank the tract of flat ground that forms a broad natural entrance into the valley in the back ground of which the mausolea are built. Thus, this entrance was properly guarded by stone men and animals, and barred on the southern extremity by the Red Gate, and on the north by the Linteled Star Gate. Beyond this latter, the treeless plains, gently sloping up, afford an unobstructed view on the row of mausolea scattered along the foot of the mountain-chain, and the yellow glittering roofs of the walls and edifices are now perfectly discernible amidst dark green trees. Not all the thirteen grave parks are visible, a few being hidden from view by others.

A march of more than half an hour is still to be made before we reach the Ch'ang ling, the oldest mausoleum, and the most gorgeous of all. The path, strewn there and then with the debris of a pavement of large stone slabs, leads us over the stray remains of marble bridges, through three brooks coming from the west and north, which converge further on, to form a tributary of a rivulet called Sha-ho [2] or Sand River, which discharges itself into the Pei-ho in close proximity to T'ung-cheu [3], a walled borough at half a day's travelling distance eastward from Peking. Those bridges have been totally destroyed, evidently by rain floods. The ruins show that the piers and arches were of large rectangular blocks of

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[1] 凡盜園陵內樹木者皆杖一百徒三年。若盜他人墳塋內樹木者杖八十。若計贓重於本罪者各加盜罪一等. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 130, l. 3.

[2] 沙河. [3] 通州.

white stone, and that the superstructure was flanked by finely wrought balustrades of the same material. Ku Yen-wu says: »One mile and »a half north of the Linteled Star Gate there is a slope, westward »from which, a little towards the south, stood 'the old travelling-»mansion', of which the enclosure of earth still remains. A mile »to the north of that slope there is a five-span stone bridge [1], and »two hundred paces onward we have the principal stone bridge, »which has seven spans. Somewhat more than one mile distant »therefrom, to the north-east, stood the 'new travelling-mansion', »which had a 'hall for emotional reflections'; but this edifice »has now disappeared, and the sheds for the Board of Works, »as well as the head office for the Inspectorates of the mausolea, »which stood south-east of the mansion, have shared the same »fate. Beyond the chief stone bridge, two miles due north there-»from, there is another fivefold bridge; and proceeding two »miles further, we arrive at the gate which gives access to the »temple of the Ch'ang ling [2]. On the right (or west) side of »this gate stood a hall where the ceremonial dresses were made »ready, being a building with five divisions, facing the east and »surrounded by a wall. South of this wall stood five marble troughs »of an oblong square shape, called 'sparrow troughs', because »water was put into them to drench the sparrows" [3].

If we have succeeded in giving the reader a right idea of the mausolea laid out under the present reigning dynasty for Princes of the nearest Imperial kin (pp. 1165 *sqq.*), he will not find it

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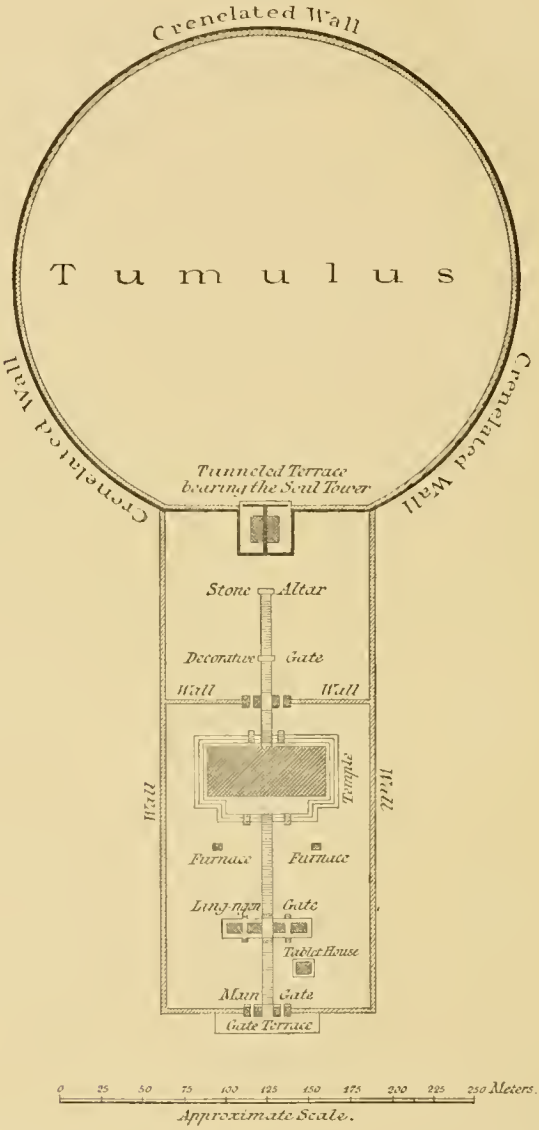
1 This expression does not mean that the bridge was built over six pillars placed in a single row, but that it consisted of five arches, placed abreast. Each of these arches was probably flanked by balustrades, this being generally the case with bridges of the kind still extant nowadays.

2 櫺星門北一里半爲山坡、坡西少南有舊行宮、今存土垣一周。坡北一里有石橋五空、又北二百步有大石橋七空。大石橋東北一里許有新行宮、宮有感思殿、今亡、宮東南有工部廠及內監公署、今竝亡。大石橋正北二里有石橋五空、又二里至長陵殿門. *Ch'ang p'ing shan-shui ki*, leaf 4.

3 長陵門右則有具服殿、五間、東向、有周垣。垣南有白石槽五、方而長、名曰雀池、貯水以飲雀. The same work, l. 12.

difficult to acquire also an adequate idea of that magnificent Ch'ang ling. Indeed, it is almost identical with these mausolea in plan, consisting of a rectangular space, walled in on the four sides and

Fig. 40.



Sketch Plan of the Mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu of the Ming Dynasty.

divided by a transversal wall into two courts, the foremost of which contains a temple in a detached situation. The other court abuts on a round wall, encircling a much larger plot which contains the tumulus (comp. Fig. 40).

The approach to the mausoleum, paved for a considerable distance with slabs of stone, leads the visitor straight on to a triple main gate, built exactly in the middle of the roofed wall which forms the front of the enclosed area. This gate has a single span-roof, covered with yellow tiles, bearing on the top a ridge of white limestone and closely resembling the roof that covers the walls over their entire length, but exceeding it considerably in breadth and height. The three gateways are closed by wooden folding-doors. A square platform, very long and broad, extends in front of the gate; this platform is built up of rectangular slabs, and ascended at the front-side by a broad incline of the same material. On the right and left, several dozen majestic cypress trees vividly call to mind the antiquity of the mausoleum, many of them unmistakably being remnants of the forests which once covered the whole Cemetery. Some mean huts of clay here form a hamlet, inhabited by the families which, as is expressed in the Imperial edict translated elsewhere in this volume (p. 932), »are charged with strictly keeping the place in good condition, with offering sacrifices there, and preventing people from gathering fuel and timber, and to whom fields are assigned for their sustenance". The brickwork of the gate and that of all the walls immuring the two courts is pargeted on both the outer and the inner façade with red plaster, and it rests everywhere on a high base of rectangular blocks of limestone.

The breadth of the courts is a little over one hundred and thirty metres. The main gate opens upon a yard more than forty metres deep, bounded on the opposite side by another triple gate of stately appearance. This is the Ling-ngen men[1], »Gate of Blessings and Favours", thus styled because the blessings and favours, sent forth from the temple behind this gate by the manes of the occupants of the mausoleum, were expected to find their way through it straight unto their heirs to the throne. A wooden tablet affixed under the eaves, over the middlemost passage, is inscribed with the three characters which represent that name. The sculptured frame of this tablet juts out considerably on either side and over the top and represents a dragon, intimating that it is from an Emperor the blessings and favours emanate which the inscription alludes to. The Ling-yen men has a single roof, covered with tiles of the Imperial yellow colour. It is placed upon a rectangular platform of white stone with three flights of steps

[1] 稜恩門.

for ascent, lying abreast of each other and also of marble-like stone. The middlemost flight is the broadest; it has steps on both sides, separated by an inclined plane, which is a large monolith of marble sculptured with several Imperial dragons in the midst of clouds. This curious ornamentation, illustrated by Pl. XLIV, intimates, we think, that only the Sons of Heaven are entitled to use this flight. The two other flights are evidently for the grandees following in the retinue of their Imperial master. The three flights have all finely wrought marble balustrades of the same form and style as those which are found at most Imperial buildings and Altars erected under the Ming dynasty and the present reigning House; Plate XLIV may convey an adequate idea of their shape and beauty. Similar balustrades extend around the whole platform on which the gate is built, and also along the three stone ascents that are placed, in a corresponding position, on the side that faces the temple and which have the same shape as those in front.

But, before descending by these steps into the open space which separates the gate from the temple, let us cast a backward glance into the court we have just crossed. On both sides it is planted with evergreens and other trees, among which we observe a few of considerable size. Our attention is attracted to the east side by a beautiful tablet-house, covered with a double yellow-tiled roof. It contains an upright marble tablet, reposing on the back of a marble tortoise and bearing, both in the Chinese and the Manchu character, an edict of the first Emperor of the present dynasty, relating to repairs to be made in the mausoleum, and to some repressive measures to take against any injury to the trees. Though this edict is dated the sixteenth year of the period Shun chi (1659), yet the tablet-house may already have existed under the Ming dynasty, as Ku Yen-wu makes mention of it. »Within the (main) »gate", says he, »stands a 'kitchen for the manes' on the east, »and a 'store-house for the manes' on the west; both buildings con- »sist of five compartments. In front of the kitchen stands a tablet- »house, facing the south, inside which is a stone tablet, the »crowning border of which is carved with a dragon and which has »a pedestal in the shape of a tortoise, but bears no inscription"[1].

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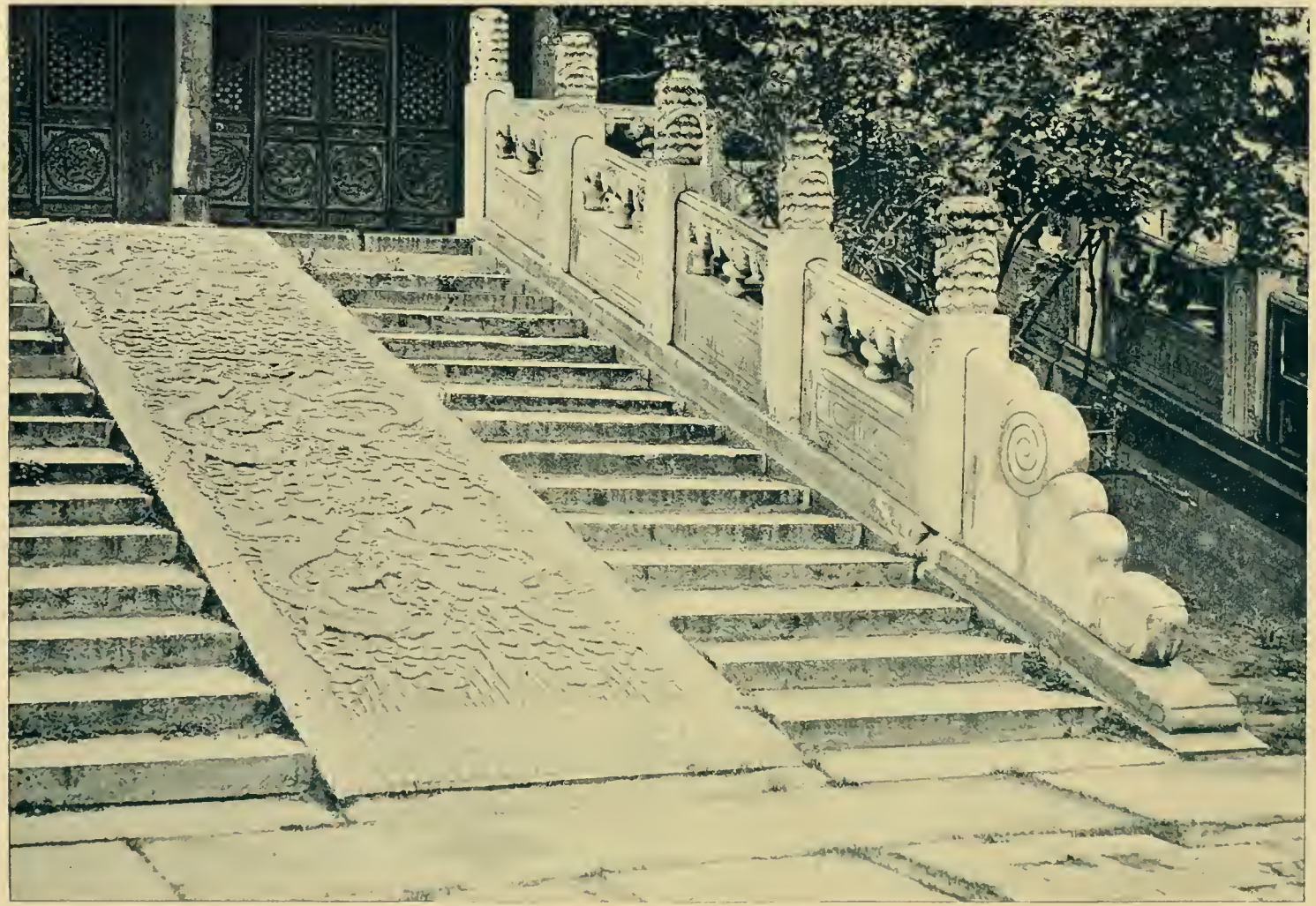
[1] 門內東神廚五間、西神庫五間。廚前有碑亭一座、南向、內有碑、龍頭、龜趺、無字. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, leaf 4.



Marble Flight of Steps to an Imperial Temple.

»Ch'ang ling and all the Imperial mausolea built after it, as »also a garrison, and an Office for Sacrificial Services" [1].

Passing through the Gate of Blessing and Favours, we immediately behold, straight in front, the whole frontispiece of an enormous rectangular temple, the most imposing feature of the whole Cemetery. It is built on a rectangular terraced platform of white stone, consisting of three stages which diminish in dimensions by two metres and a half on each side. Each stage or terrace exactly resembles the platform of the Gate of Blessing and Favours, being protected by balustrades of the same shape, and ascended, both in front and at the back of the edifice, by three flights of steps placed abreast, the middlemost of which has an inclined plane of stone, sculptured with dragons, in its centre. There are five steps in the flights of the two highest terraces, and eight in those of the lowest. To carry off the rain-water, which flows freely from the eaves of the temple, stone gargoyles representing monstrous heads of animals are contrived all around each stage, one gargoyle jutting out at the foot of each baluster.

The temple covers the whole upper surface of this platform, save a narrow passage between its walls and the balustrades, and a broad space before almost the whole frontispiece, the platform having there a rectangular projecture of about a dozen metres, which brings forward the triple tiers of steps, and much enhances the stateliness of the whole structure. The picture in Plate XXII, which we have placed as frontispiece at the head of this Volume, will scarcely convey an adequate idea of the grandeur of this finest and largest specimen of Chinese architecture, the elaborately wrought balustrades of beautiful marble being too small in the picture to produce an effect, and the red colour of the walls and the bright yellow of the roofs being lost.

The length of the temple exceeds that of the transept of Westminster Abbey, being over sixty-eight metres. It is somewhat more than thirty metres deep, and consequently has about half the length and breadth of Cologne cathedral. The double yellow-tiled roof is carried out several feet from the walls, and is crowned with a marble ridge bearing a voluted ornament at each end;

[1] 正德間定長陵以下諸陵各設神宮監并衛及祠祭署. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 4; see also the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 3.

Interior of the Temple in the Mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu.

it is of the same shape as the roof of the great tablet-house at the avenue of animals, and the eaves rest upon a similar timber construction, placed on architraves. The three entrances in the frontispiece of the temple correspond with the three flights of steps, and each can be closed with a wooden folding-door; over the principal entrance, which is exactly in the middle of the frontispiece, a wooden tablet is affixed under the eaves of the upper roof, bearing the inscription Ling-ngen tien[1], »Temple of Blessing and Favours". Like the tablet suspended over the Ling-ngen men, it has a frame representing a dragon. Let it be noted in passing, that this name of the temple and of the gate dates from 1538, it being recorded that »in the seventeenth year of the period »Kia tsing the appellation Mausoleum Temple was changed for »that of Ling-ngen tien, and the gate was styled Ling-ngen »men"[2]. The frontispiece for the rest consists of a series of wooden lattice-windows, unglazed, but pasted over the inside with white paper, so that, when the doors are closed, only a very dim light can penetrate into the edifice.

As is the case with the main gate, the Gate of Blessing and Favours, and the walls surrounding the courts, red is the conspicuous colour of the temple. Its side walls and the back one are of red-plastered brickwork, and have a strong basement of white stone of considerable height. On entering the edifice, we behold twenty-four bulky wooden pillars of a round shape, supporting the upper roof (see Pl. XLV), all cut out of one trunk, and averaging three metres and seventeen centimetres in girth. They are placed in three straight rows parallel with the long sides of the temple. At either end of each row another wooden pillar of smaller diameter is inserted in the side wall like a pilaster and serves as a support for the lowermost roof. A fourth row of ten round pillars supporting this roof forms, so to say, the framework in which the cases of the doors and windows of the frontispiece are fixed, and they are visible on the outside of the latter. Consequently we count inside the hall forty pillars in all.

The construction of the timber frame of the roof we cannot describe, it being entirely hidden from view by a wooden ceiling of small square panels, each painted with a circular figure in

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[1] 祾恩殿.

[2] 嘉靖十七年改陵殿曰祾恩殿、門曰陵恩門.
History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 5.

variegated colours. This ceiling rests upon tie-beams running crosswise over the pillars and fixed in notches cut in the tops of the latter. In the middle of the back wall of the temple is a plain square exit, screened from view inside the hall by an extra brick wall plastered red, raised upon a base of white stone, and crowned with an ornamented cornice of timber reaching as high as the ceiling. This wall was perhaps intended to prevent nefarious influences, coming from the north, from entering the temple. It extends tolerably far on both sides, thus forming along the back wall, with which it runs parallel, a narrow passage; open at both ends. The floor of the hall is paved with large square slabs of white stone. The pillars rest on big groundstones, the tops of which, chiseled out in the shape of circular plinths, just peep out from the floor, the wood being thus perfectly preserved from the damp of the soil.

The Imperial manes are represented in the temple by a wooden tablet of simple make, bearing the inscription: »Ch'ing Tsu of the Ming Dynasty, the Emperor Wen"[1]. It is placed under a square dais of carved wood, which forms the roof of a so-called n w a n k o h[2] or »warm porch", *i. e.* a shrine or tabernacle, open in front with a wooden ascent of a few steps with balustrades. This shrine is now red, but may originally have been decked out with the Imperial yellow colour. It stands in the middle of the hall, towards the back wall, straight opposite the central entrance; the space between the pillars there is somewhat larger than in any other part of the edifice, and the ceiling a little higher. A red square railing of wood surrounds the shrine. In front of this railing, just in the centre of the middlemost row of pillars, stands a large sacrificial wooden table, bearing an incense burner flanked by two flower vases and candle supports, all likewise of wood. For the rest there is in the hall no furniture of any kind.

According to Ku Yen-wu, »the four central pillars (in front of »the shrine) were decorated with gold lotus flowers, and all the »others were lacquered red"[3]. Time has now effaced the last traces of paint, but they look as sound as if they were a few score years old. Edkins says, they were brought from the Yunnan and Birmah teak forests, and according to Lockhart they are all of teak-

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[1] 明成祖文皇帝. [2] 煖閣.

[3] 中四柱飾以金蓮、餘皆髹漆. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, leaf 4.

Gate behind the Temple in the Mausoleum of Ch'ing Tsu.

wood brought from Pegu, through Yunnan, and thence overland to Peking; but these authors do not adduce any grounds for this assertion. Bretschneider suggests they may be of the so-called nan-muh [1], a durable, undecaying variety of the *Laurus*, growing in the southern provinces; and indeed we have seen on page 1181 that Chʿing Tsu commissioned some high officers to collect timber in Szĕ-chʿwen, Hukwang, Kiangsi, Chehkiang and Shansi. But certain indications with respect to the origin of those columns are totally wanting.

The temple having from the beginning served for the presentation of sacrifices to the Imperial manes, there are in the court between it and the Gate of Blessing and Favours, two furnaces, one on either side, for converting into smoke and ashes the silk and mock money offered. They are of yellow glazed porcelain, and roofed with yellow glazed tiles. Inside there is no grate, the articles being simply burned on the stone floor, which is on a level with the sill of the arched opening in front. Both structures are exactly of the same shape and dimensions, nor do their ornamentation and colours differ in the least. One of them is represented in Plate XXXIX, opposite page 1170; we also refer the reader to the description given in that page of such fire-places in general. The said Plate will show that those of the Chʿang ling are very elegant pieces of workmanship, from the Chinese point of view of course. The court in which they stand measures about sixty metres between the platform of the temple and that of the gate, and is planted on both sides with pines and cypresses. A broad stone path connects the middlemost ascents of the two platforms and is exactly of the same width, and its centre is laid with cross flags that are just as long as the breadth of the slopes carved with dragons.

Leaving the temple by the above-mentioned outlet in the back wall, a path similarly paved, twenty-five paces in length, leads us to a broad yellow-tiled gate bounding the temple-court on the north (see Pl. XLVI). This building has three tunnel-like passages, five metres and six tenths deep, which correspond in situation with the three tiers of steps in the rear of the temple platform; its walls are plastered red, and its basement is of white stone. A transverse red wall, covered with yellow tiles, is connected with the gate on either side, and extends as far as the wall which surrounds the mausoleum, the temple-court thus being entirely separated from the

[1] 楠木.

second great court. This gate is called Ling-tsʿin men[1], »Gate of the Tsʿin of the Mausoleum". To understand this term, we must remember that the word tsʿin anciently denoted the apartment in a house situated behind the main hall (comp. Plate I, opposite page 16), and that this »back chamber" performed — as many passages cited by us from the *Li ki* and the *I li* have shown — a most important part in the rites and ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead. Remembering further that graves are planned like human dwellings, and that a mausoleum-temple with its Imperial soul tablets corresponds in consequence with the main hall at home in which the family tablets are worshipped, it is self-evident how the name tsʿin has come to be applied to the court behind the temple, to which the gate in question gives access.

The aspect of this court is impressive. It is planted with stately evergreens and other trees, the gnarled trunks of many of which bear evidence of great age. A solemn silence reigns in these sacred precincts of death, and nothing is heard but the chirping voice of some solitary bird and the whispering of the wind through the foliage. The court is about eighty-five metres deep. Emerging from the Ling-tsʿin men, the eye is attracted to a decorative gate abont twenty metres off, across the marble-paved path which leads straight on to the tomb. It is in thoroughly ruinous condition, the roofs having entirely disappeared, hardly anything remaining of it but two square marble pillars, connected by two horizontal cross-pieces of wood, which formerly bore the roof. In another mausoleum we found such a monument perfectly preserved, and we place a picture of it before our readers in Pl. XLVII. The two pillars bear each on the top a scaled quadruped resembling a unicorn, and, as is the case with the Linteled Star Gate, they are strengthened at their base by means of voluted counterforts of stone. The two cross-pieces, between which a frieze is inserted, are of wood and painted with figures in various colours; the triple, yellow-tiled roof, suspended over them between the pillars, resembles in shape the roofs of the other buildings and gates in the Cemetery, and the wooden bracket construction recurs thrice in it. The tiles on the lowest eaves are considerably larger than those of the other two roofs. There being no transverse fence whatever on the right or left of this beautiful gate, the visitor is tempted to conclude that it has served for decorative purposes only. But, considering that

[1] 陵寢門.

Decorative Gate in an Imperial Mausoleum of the Ming Dynasty.

the passage between the two pillars is closed by a folding-door flanked by two wooden panels, it is more probable that the gate was also intended to intercept obnoxious influences moving towards the sepulchre. Indeed, the stone path that passes through it, leads straight on to the mouth of the tunnel forming the only entrance into the crypt, and it will not have slipped from the memory of our readers, that it is an established geomantic principle that roads running in a straight line towards a tomb may exercise very nefarious effects on it.

Beyond this gate we for the first time obtain a full view of the curious tower-like building, the yellow-tiled double roof of which, standing out above all the other buildings and the surrounding foliage, we had frequently caught a glimpse of, while approaching the mausoleum (Pl. XLVIII). It is the so-called Ming leu [1] or »Soul Tower", erected on the top of an unplastered terrace of bricks, built before the gigantic tumulus under which the Imperial remains repose and entirely hiding it from view. This terrace is exactly square and slightly tapers upwards; on the top it measures thirty-one metres on every side. It has a base of white blocks, precisely resembling that of the tablet-house which stands at the beginning of the avenue of stone images; the top, which is about fourteen metres from the ground, has along the front and the flanks a crenelated parapet or ch'ing tieh [2], composed of bricks measuring half a metre in length. In the centre of the top stands the Tower: a square, red plastered building sheltering the grave-stone. It may be described as a massive piece of masonry, reared on a marble platform, and pierced at right angles by two arched tunnels, in the intersection of which the grave-stone is raised, thus resembling in nearly every respect the tablet-house aforementioned; but it is considerably smaller, being only eighteen metres long and broad. A wooden board, inscribed with two characters expressing the word Ch'ang ling, was formerly suspended to the frontispiece, under the eaves of the higher roof [3], and has now disappeared; but in many of the other mausolea a corresponding object is still to be seen in the corresponding place.

The grave-stone is an enormous vertical monolith of fine marble, not less than ninety-four centimetres thick, one hundred and sixty-two centimetres broad, and rising high into a vaulted cupola made in the ceiling. The front, which precisely faces the southern direction

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1 明樓. 2 城堞.

3 *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 5.

in which the temple and the several gates lie, bears, exactly in the middle, a perpendicular column of seven large characters, deeply cut in the stone, meaning: »Grave Hill of Ch'eng Tsu, the Emperor Wen" [1]; dragons are sculptured in the two vertical margins, and the crowning border displays, in so-called chwen writing [2], the inscription: »The Great Ming Dynasty" [3], encircled with the windings of a dragon carved in the marble. The »square pedestal", eleven and a half decimetres high, is likewise of marble, but quite smooth and unornamented, and without any inscription. Ku Yen-wu says, that »the characters were filled with gildings and the tablet was adorned with red paint" [4]; and stains of this colour are, in fact, still visible on it, giving the stone at first sight the aspect of red-veined marble.

The most interesting part of the terrace on which the Soul Tower stands, a part riveting more than anything the curiosity of the visitor, is the yung tao [5] or »earthed road", a vaulted tunnel through which the Imperial remains were introduced into the crypt. It is pierced straight through the terrace, exactly coinciding with the longitudinal axis of the mausoleum. It is three metres thirty-five centimetres wide, and the mouth is arched with large pieces of limestone, behind which some debris of a wooden folding-door still hang in socket-like hinges of white stone. In front of the mouth we see, at about thirty paces off, an altar, standing quite open to the sky in the middle of the court, straight across the marble paved path, on a broad floor of marble which is partly in good preservation. It is an oblong table of white stone, measuring six metres and six tenths by one metre eighty-three centimetres; it is worked all around in the same style as the pedestals of the »sky-bearing" columns that stand around the great tablet-house, namely, with a plinth and base, a die and a cornice; and the base and cornice are likewise carved with a row of leaves, in imitation of a lotus flower. This altar bears five large sacrificial implements of stone, all rudely worked, arrayed in a single row at regular distances from each other, to wit: an incense urn, flanked by two candle supports and two flower pots. There being, as we have

[1] 成祖文皇帝之陵.

[2] 篆書. The most ancient style of writing, used almost exclusively in ornamental inscriptions and in seals.

[3] 大明.

[4] 以金填之、碑用朱漆. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 5.

[5] 埬道 or 甬道.

The Soul Tower of Ch'ing Tsu's Tomb, with Altar in Front.

seen, a temple in the mausoleum-grounds, appointed for sacrificing to the Imperial manes and thus rendering this altar superfluous from a practical point of view, we think the latter is merely indebted for its existence to religious conservatism, grave-altars having, as we have demonstrated in the Second Volume (page 385), played an important part in the ancient Religion of the Dead. The implements it bears are, indeed, unfit for use, being massive monoliths.

On entering the tunnel, we perceive it is entirely lined and paved with naked grey bricks and rises at a gentle incline. Our steps resound mysteriously in the dim background, which, as our eyes become accommodated to the darkness, turns out to be a brick wall totally closing the tunnel, and marring our hopes of making our way to the crypt. Formerly there was, according to Ku Yen-wu, »a yellow glazed screen in the tunnel" [1], but we saw no trace of it. This cave-like passage called up thoughts of ancient China, reminiscences of the mystic tombs of the monarchs before and during the Han dynasty, which likewise had an underground passage giving access into the crypt (see page 425).

At its bricked-up extremity the tunnel branches off at right angles on either hand, forming two other tunnels of quite the same construction, one metre and seventy-five centimetres wide by two metres and a half in height, which lead at a sharp incline up to the crenelated top of the terrace. On emerging from these passages, we find ourselves nearly on a level with the top of the grave hill, and perceive at a glance that this eminence consists of a high wall of grey bricks, crowned with a crenelated parapet of the same material, and encircling a vast area entirely filled with earth which lies against the wall as high as the foot of the parapet, rising from thence towards the centre, so as to form a top with gentle slopes entirely clad with little cypresses and other young trees. The tumulus wall starts at right angles from both flanks of the terrace at about four metres from the back of this latter, and the crenelles crowning both structures form together an unbroken, uniform row, being all of the same shape and dimensions. At the two points where the wall starts from the terrace, it slopes down immediately at a considerable declination, about four metres and a half in all; subsequently it describes an irregular circle nearly twelve hundred paces long, or almost a kilometre, so that the diameter of the tumulus is much longer than twice the breadth of the two large courts in front.

[1] 甬道內爲黃琉璃屏一座. *Op. cit.*, l. 4.

When seen from the outside, the crenelated, unplastered wall resembles in every respect a Chinese fortress, and the Soul Tower the gate of such a structure; indeed, city walls in China, too, are generally of large greyish bricks and have crenelated parapets of that material, as also gates upon which roofed edifices tower. Under the Ming Dynasty the tumulus wall of an Emperor was called Pao ch'ing [1], »City of the Precious Relics". We may here call to mind, that already during the Han dynasty the Imperial mausolea bore the character of strongholds, being formally intended for an armed defence of the sacred remains from sacrilegious attacks (see pp. 427 *sqq.*).

Making our way along the parapet of the tumulus wall through thorny brambles and impeding shrubs, we perceive that this wall in reality consists of two parallel concentric walls, two metres distant from each other, the outer one of which bears the parapet. No dilapidated or impaired spots could we discover, that might enable us to ascertain whether the space between those walls consists of masonry, or whether it is merely filled with earth. Only the top of the inner wall peeps out all around from the tumulus, showing that it is as thick as the length of the bricks of which it is composed, viz. five decimetres. The earth of the tumulus lies thick against the back of the terrace of the Soul Tower, there covering, perhaps, an underground passage connecting the tunnel with the crypt. But maybe there is no such passage at all, and the earth may have been placed there subsequent to the burial of the Imperial corpse and the bricking-up of the tunnel. This suggestion is raised by the fact that in the King ling, the mausoleum of Süen Tsung, the mound stands quite detached from its wall and the Soul Tower, and the tunnel is bricked up in quite the same way as it is in the Ch'ang ling, without any earth covering its outlet. Nor has the crypt of that mound a visible entrance, so that there can be no doubt that the opening affording access to it was blocked up with earth after the burial.

Ch'ing Tsu's tumulus standing on a low spur of the T'ien-sheu chain, in undulating ground, it is uncertain whether it has been entirely raised by human labour. Perhaps it is a natural eminence, modified more or less by the hand of man; but no statements whatever on this head have we found in the books. Nor is it certain whether the Imperial couple, buried underneath,

[1] 寶城.

occupy one crypt. Nor can we say anything about the shape of their underground dwelling-place, nor of its construction, depth, and dimensions. The names commonly given in the books to Imperial crypts are: hüen kung [1]: »obscure dwellings", hüen t'ang [2]: »obscure halls", t'i kung [3]: »underground dwellings", kwang-t'ang [4]: »grave-pit halls", etc.

Herewith we may finish our description of Ch'ing Tsu's enormous and stately tomb. The only point we still have to touch on, is that formerly there stood somewhere in front of it a building, or set of buildings, for an Inspectorate created during the reign of Wu Tsung, and officially styled: Inspectorate for the Dwellings of the Manes (see page 1213). »For each of the twelve » mausolea", says Ku Yen-wu, » there was such an Inspectorate, » established at its foot, either on the right or the left. It had » two gates, the one in front of the other, followed by a main » hall and apartments occupied by officers connected with the » interior parts of the mausoleum. At the Yung ling, the Chao » ling, the Ting ling and the Khing ling, the number of » divisions in those buildings amounted to more than three hun- » dred. A Captain was appointed for the interior of each mauso- » leum as Inspector-in-chief, as also a Seal-keeper of the Inspec- » torate, and twelve Inspectors" [5]. From the extract given on page 1209, it seems that the several inspectorates had a common head-office somewhere in front of the Ch'ang ling. Besides, »every mausoleum had an audience chamber at its foot, either on » the right or the left" [6].

No doubt there was a time when the Ch'ang ling was surrounded by quite a park, some stately trees, now growing outside the walls of the courts and around the walled tumulus, evidencing it. It is even almost certain that the whole Cemetery once formed a vast forest, big trees being also to be seen around many of the other mausolea. At present, the valley is under cul-

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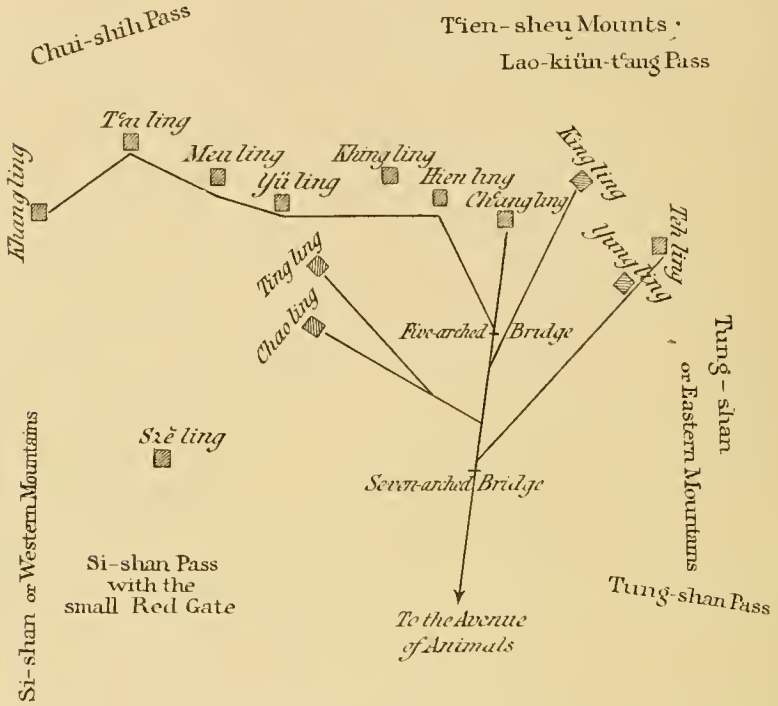
1 玄宮. 2 玄堂. 3 地宮. 4 壙堂.

5 十二陵各有神宮監、在陵下、或左、或右。有重門廳室、內臣居之。永昭定慶四陵多至三百餘間。設內守備太監一人、神宮監掌印、太監十二人. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 12.

6 各有朝房、在陵下、或左、或右. *Op. et loc. cit.*

tivation in many places, and huts of country people lie scattered or in small groups amidst the mausolea. The relative situation of the latter may be seen from the following sketch, in which we give, however, the distances quite approximately, as we could not make any regular measurements on the spot.

Fig. 41.



Approximate Sketch of the Situation of the Ming Tombs and their Spirit's Roads.

The thirteen mausolea cover an area more than an hour's walk from east to west. From their distribution over the valley we see at a glance that they form no cemetery laid out in strict accordance with the old orthodox rules of the *Cheu li*, which we have translated on page 421, as they are not arranged in the order of family descent. No doubt we must ascribe this fact to the circumstance that for every Emperor the Fung-shui doctrines have required a burial-place located in the midst of configurations of hills and brooks specially congruent with his horoscope. It is, probably, also for this reason, that not all the mausolea are on the southern exposure. The Khang ling, having the protecting mountains on the west, almost faces due east; the Ting ling and the Chao ling have a south-eastern aspect, the King ling and the Yung

ling a south-western, the Teh ling a western. The hills in the rear of the mausolea, though collectively styled the T'ien-sheu Mounts, are distinguished by sundry names. The Ch'ang ling, the Hien ling, the Khing ling and the King ling are considered to be placed in the T'ien-sheu Mounts proper; the Yü ling reclines against the Shih-men Shan [1] or »Stone Gate Mount"; the Meu ling against the Tsü-pao Shan [2] or »Mountain of Accumulated Valuables"; the T'ai ling against the Pih-kia Shan [3] or »Pencil Stand Mount", which is thus called because of its shape and also bears the name of Shi-kia Shan [4], »Mount of the Shi family". The Khang ling has in its rear the Kin-ling Shan [5] or »Mount of the Gold Range"; the Yung ling the Shih-pah-tao Ling [6] or »Range with Eighteen Roads, which name was changed officially into Yang-ts'ui Ling [7], »Range of the Southern Kingfisher (?)" in 1536, when orders had been issued for building this mausoleum. The Chao ling and the Ting ling respectively stand against the Ta-yuh Shan [8] and the Siao-yuh Shan [9], or »Great Valley Mount and Small Valley Mount"; the Teh ling against the T'an-tszĕ Yuh [10] or »Valley of the T'an Trees", and the Szĕ ling against the Kin-p'ing Shan [11] or »Decorated Screen Hills" [12].

Each mausoleum had its own special Spirit's Road, branching off either directly from the great one leading to the Ch'ang ling, or from that of the mausoleum nearest it, as is pointed out approximately by lines in Fig. 41. Most of those roads have now entirely disappeared, the farmers having obliterated them in tilling the ground, and some have become narrow foot-paths. Almost every mausoleum has also a special tablet-house, resembling that which stands south of the stone images, but of much smaller dimensions, being hardly larger than those now to be seen in front of the mausolea of Imperial Princes (see p. 1169). It stands straight in front of the main gate, at a short distance from it, and has a double yellow-tiled roof. In most cases, if not in all, the tablet

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1 石門山. 2 聚寶山. 3 筆架山.
4 史家山. 5 金嶺山. 6 十八道嶺.
7 陽翠嶺. 8 大峪山. 9 小峪山.
10 檀子峪. 11 錦屏山.

12 See the *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, ll. 4 *sqq.*; the Memoirs concerning the Department of Shun-t'ien, ch. 26, ll. 24—26, and the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 山川, ch. 11.

of fine white stone does not bear any characters and is supported by a tortoise and adorned with a crowning border on which dragons are engraved. In a few instances, the tablet stands under the open sky, the building once sheltering it having disappeared in consequence of vandalism or want of care, or because no such building has ever existed.

Apart from the Szĕ ling, of which we will speak later on, the smallest and plainest of all the mausolea is the Hien ling. The monarch buried in it occupied the throne for no more than nine months. It is recorded, that »it was being built when (his » son) Süen Tsung mounted the throne, and that this new monarch » then desired to observe economy in regard to it, in obedience » to his father's last will. He consulted Kien I and Hia Yuen-kih » on this point, and both these men praised him enthusiastically » for it, saying: 'This plan of Your Majesty is sublime and lofty; » it is a product of filial piety of the highest order, which will » bear fruit during ten thousand generations'. The Emperor him- » self designed the plan of the mausoleum; it was finished in » three months, and did not come up to the Ch'ang ling in » beauty. Succeeding Emperors followed his example and took that » mausoleum as a model; but when Shi Tsung made the Yung » ling, extravagant prodigality again began to be indulged in to » a much greater extent"[1]. This passage may account for the fact that the court between the temple and the Soul Tower of the Hien ling is not levelled down, but still contains a broad elevated piece of ground, so that the pathway connecting those two buildings trends westward.

The King ling, the sepulchre of Süen Tsung, though larger than the Hien ling, likewise ranks among the smaller mausolea. As we have noted on page 1222, the grave-hill stands quite detached from the wall that surrounds it, and does not cover the bricked-up outlet of the tunnel; which may perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that it was never raised to the height originally

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[1] 宣宗卽位方修獻陵、帝欲遵遺詔從儉約、以問[蹇]義[夏]原吉。二人力贊曰、聖見高遠、出於至孝、萬世之利也。帝親爲規畫、三月而陵成、宏麗不及長陵。其後諸帝因以爲制、迨世宗營永陵始益崇侈云. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 149, l. 2. See also some short notices on this matter in ch. 58 of the same work, l. 8.

designed. The tunnel arouses curiosity for being bricked up not only at the outlet, but also inside, somewhere in the middle, behind a wooden folding-door that turns there in large stone hinges fixed in the walls. We cannot explain the reason why it is thus doubly barred, the mysteriousness of the matter being enhanced by the fact that access to the hill is quite free on either side of the Soul Tower, through a small gate contrived there in the tumulus wall. We venture to suggest that the tunnel may conceal between those partitions the implements and articles which custom required to be buried with the Imperial corpse, or even the bodies of some of those who were assigned to accompany the Imperial manes into the other life.

The Yü ling is interesting as being the first mausoleum in which more than one empress were buried. »Ying Tsung's Em-» press, Hiao Chwang", thus it is chronicled, »bore the family-» name of Ts'ien, and was a native of Hai-cheu; she was raised to » the dignity of empress in the seventh year of the period Ching » t'ung (A. D. 1442). The Emperor regretting that her clan was » poor and obscure, wished to ennoble its members; but she » humbly and respectfully declined this honour, so that her family, » by exception, received no letters-patent of nobility. When Ying Tsung » was engaged in warfare in the north of the Empire, she sacri-» ficed all the treasures of the Central Palace to redeem him and so » to help him to come back; during the night she invoked Heaven, » wailing and weeping; when tired, she slept on the ground, so » that she injured a thigh; and by her wailing and weeping she » impaired the sight of one of her eyes. And when Ying Tsung » (had returned, and) resided in the Southern Palace (as dethroned » sovereign, comp. page 1233), so that she could not exercise any » functions as an empress, it was she who remained the Emperor's » consolation in the wrong done to him.

»She had no sons; but the first-rank Concubine of the family » name of Cheu had a son, who was appointed Heir Apparent. » When Ying Tsung's death was imminent, he made a testamentary » disposition to this effect: 'The Empress Ts'ien shall lie with me » in the same grave for more than a thousand autumns and ten » thousand years'. On Hien Tsung's accession, honorary titles to be » bestowed on the two Imperial widows were submitted to him, and » he sent them to the Court Councillors for consideration, the result » of which was that both women were allotted an equal rank and » dignity, and endowed with the title of empress. When the Yü ling

» was being made, (the Grand Secretaries) Li Hien and P'eng Shi » proposed that a treble crypt should be constructed therein, and » their suggestion was referred to the Court Councillors for discus- » sion. But as (the eunuch) Hia Shi advised that this should not » be done, the matter was dropped and remained undecided. In » the fourth year of the period Ch'ing hwa (A. D. 1468), in the » sixth month, the Empress Dowager Ts'ien departed this life. The » Empress Dowager Cheu was not disposed to have her buried » in the same grave with the Emperor; but P'eng Shi urgently » insisted on her being buried in the Yü ling beside the Em- » peror, on his left, and on the vacant dextral place being reserved » for the Empress Dowager Cheu. Now memorials contesting the » correctness of such a measure being presented to the Throne by » the High Ministers, and sent by the Emperor to the Court » Councillors as before, with orders to deliberate on them, ninety- » nine Councillors were convoked by Li Ping, President of the » Board of Civil Office, and Yao Khwei, President of the Board of » Rites, and all unanimously supported the request of P'eng Shi.

» The next day, however, the Chief Supervisor of Instruction » Ko Ts'ien, the Supervising Censor Wei Yuen and others me- » morialized the Throne on the subject; and, one day after theirs, » the memorial of Yao Khwei and the others was presented to the » Emperor. These documents were likewise discussed, but in the mean » time the Emperor declared that he would issue orders to select else- » where a burial ground for the deceased Empress Dowager. Now the » office-bearers conjointly prostrated themselves outside the Wen-hwa » Gate and wailed; they were ordered by the Emperor to retire, » but they knocked their heads against the ground, declaring that » they dared not go unless the Emperor took another decision. They » had to wait from the sixth hour till the ninth (about 10 A. M. — » 4 P. M.) ere their request was granted; they then retired, exclaim- » ing: 'May Your Majesty live ten thousand years!' These matters » are treated also in the Traditions about P'eng Shi and Yao khwei [1].

» In the seventh month of the same year the Emperor confer- » red on the deceased Empress Dowager the posthumous title » of Hiao Chwang, and in the ninth month she was deposited » in the Yü ling, at the side of her pre-deceased consort. A » separate underground passage had been made for the purpose

1 Viz. in chapter 176 of the History of the Ming Dynasty, ll. 12 *seq.*, and chapter 177, l. 17.

» at some chang distance from Ying Tsung's crypt and it was now » blocked up with earth inside, so that only the passage giving » access to the vacant dextral resting-place reserved for the Empress » Dowager Cheu remained accessible.

» The Empress Dowager Cheu breathed her last in the seven- » teenth year of the Hung chi period (A. D. 1504). Hiao Tsung » then took a map of the Yü ling from an Imperial side hall, » and showed it to the Grand Secretaries Liu Kien, Sié Ts'ien and » Li Tung-yang, saying: 'There are two sorts of underground pas- » sages in the mound, they being either blocked up with earth, or » accessible. Both kinds have at different times been constructed under » former dynasties by the officers of the Court; but this cannot » be quite consistent with the proper rules. The Astrologer-in- » Chief states that the open passage exerts a nefarious influence » from above upon the crypt of the defunct Emperor, and he » apprehends that it agitates the pulses of the Earth. But Ourself » have, in a personal interview with him, refuted this assertion; » indeed, if the passage is closed, the influences of Heaven and » Earth are shut out, while, if it is open, the winds can freely » circulate through the mound'. Liu Kien and the others enthusi- » astically praised these words . . . . Though the Emperor thus » wished that the underground passage (for the Empress Dowager » Cheu) should remain accessible, he desisted because of the opposi- » tion of the geomancers" [1].

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[1] 英宗孝莊皇后錢氏海州人、正統七年立爲后。帝憫后族單微、欲侯之、后輒遜謝、故后家獨無封。英宗北狩、傾巾宮貲佐迎駕、夜哀泣籲天、倦卽臥地、損一股、以哭泣復損一目。英宗在南宮、不自得后、曲爲慰解。

后無子、周貴妃有子、立爲皇太子。英宗大漸遺命曰、錢皇后千秋萬歲後與朕同葬。憲宗立、上兩宮徽號、下廷臣議、乃兩宮並尊而稱后。及營裕陵、[李]賢[彭]時請營三壙、下廷議。夏時復言不可、事竟寢。成化四年六月太后崩。周太后不欲后合葬、時力請合葬裕陵左、而虛右以待周太后。已復與大臣疏爭、帝再下廷議、吏部

The statement, contained in this long extract, that for the three corpses deposited in the Yü ling separate underground passages were made, is a strong indication that there are also in some other mausolea two tunnels, or even more. But by no means dare we take this for granted. The considerations raised by the Imperial geomancers of that time against the construction of accessible entrances, are likewise worthy of attention, as they seem to solve the question why in some mausolea the tunnel is bricked up, or, as in the case of the King ling (see p. 1226), has no continuation behind the Soul Tower. They even explain why some mausolea have no tunnel at all. This is the case, for instance, with the Yung ling, the gorgeous sepulchre of Shi Tsung, of which we shall say a few words on page 1232.

But the above excerpt is especially important as a contribution to our knowledge of Imperial family custom in point of burial. It shows that, at that time, it was a dynastic tradition that the honour of being buried in the same grave-mound with a Son of Heaven might not be withheld from any Consort who had borne him a successor to the Throne; indeed, according to the laws of

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尙書李秉、禮部尙書姚夔集廷臣九十九人議、皆請如時言。

明日詹事柯潛給事中魏元等上疏、又明日夔等合疏上。皆執議如初、中旨猶諭別擇葬地。於是百官伏哭文華門外、帝命群臣退、衆叩頭、不得旨不敢退。自巳至申、乃得允。衆呼萬歲、出。事詳時夔傳中。

是年七月上尊謚曰孝莊、九月合葬裕陵。異隧距英宗玄堂數丈許、中窒之、虛右壙以待周太后、其隧獨通。

弘治十七年周太后崩。孝宗御便殿出裕陵圖、示大學士劉健謝遷李東陽、曰、陵有二隧、若者窒、若者可通。往來皆先朝內臣所爲、此未合禮。欽天監言、通隧上干先帝陵堂、恐動地脉。朕已面折之、窒則天地閉塞、通則風氣流行。健等因力贊...帝始欲通隧、亦以陰陽家言不果行.

History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 113, ll. 13 *sqq.*

filial respect and devotion, a son had to honour both his parents in an equal manner in committing their mortal remains to the earth. But, as we have stated on page 444, it had been customary during previous dynasties to accord also the same prerogative to Empresses proper, even though they had not given birth to a Heir Apparent. Hence, no doubt, it is, that in the case of the Empress Hiao Chwang the servants of the Crown felt it so incumbent upon them to join in a stubborn opposition against any refusal of the last will of her own Imperial spouse being executed in regard to her. As the list on pp. 1189 *sqq.* shows, it was, for enjoying the privilege in question, no pre-requisite that Chief Consorts, or Concubines who had given birth to a successor to the throne, should have lived during the reign of their husband. Hiao I, in fact, the Chief Consort of Muh Tsung while he was Heir Apparent, died before his accession; and the Chief Consort and the two Concubines buried in the Khing ling had likewise died when their husband was called to the throne. The biographies of these women [1] teach us that Hiao I was invested with the posthumous title of empress on her husband's accession, and that Hiao Yuen received the same title from Hi Tsung when he assumed the Government. In connection with those customs it may be remarked, that every Concubine who gave birth to an Emperor was, on the accession of the latter, endowed by him with the title of empress, whether she was still in life or not [2], so that, considered from the Chinese point of view, all the women interred in the mausolea are in reality Empresses.

The Meu ling deserves special attention on account of its being also the tomb of Hiao Hwui, the ancestress of the collateral line of sovereigns who, commencing with Shi Tsung, have occupied the throne during the latter half of the sway of the Ming dynasty. Down to the period of Wu Tsung no difficulty in regard to the succession had presented itself in the Imperial line, every monarch having left a son to succeed him. Wu Tsung, however, was without male issue, and therefore deemed it proper to bequeathe the throne to the nearest heir according to national ideas, viz. the eldest son of his father's younger brother, who at that time was hardly fourteen years old. The father of this lad was Yiu Yuen [3], King of Hing [4], fourth son of the Emperor Hien Tsung by the Concubine

1 Contained in chapter 114 of the History of the Ming Dynasty.

2 See the biographies of those women in ch. 113 and 114 of the History of the Ming Dynasty.

3 祐杭. 4 興王.

Hiao Hwui; his fief, Hing, was situated in the province of Hupeh, and he died there in 1519, two years before his son was called to the throne [1]. Already in the very year of his accession, the latter, in imitation of what had been done by the founder of the reigning House and those of former dynasties, conferred upon his late father and still living mother the titles of emperor and empress, at the same time raising his grandmother Hiao Hwui to the dignity of empress-dowager [2]; and on the death of this woman, which occurred in the next year (1522), »he manifested a desire to transfer her » bones to the Meu ling. The Grand Secretary Yang T'ing-hwo, » in concert with others, declared that works should not so often » be undertaken at his grandfather's mausoleum, the manes being » thereby frightened and disturbed. But the Emperor did not follow » their advice" [3].

The mausoleum of Shi Tsung, the Yung ling, surpasses all the other mausolea, except the Ch'ang ling, in size and magnificence. Its construction took many years, and it is recorded that already thirty years before his death, namely »in the fifteenth of his reign (1536), the Emperor gave orders for its erection" [4]. In the official annals of his time are chronicled many visits paid by him to the burial-valley with the object of inspecting in person the progress of the works. We found this mausoleum especially worth visiting because the woodwork and paint were in better preservation and repair than in the Ch'ang ling. For the rest it is, like the other tombs, almost in every respect a copy of it on a reduced scale. The temple in the first place is much smaller than that of the Ch'ang ling, but the terrace on which it stands projects much further in front. There is no trace of a tunnel to be seen at the Soul Tower, and access to the top of the terrace of this building is gained by means of a broad sloping footway of bricks, constructed against its two flanks. The tumulus does not entirely come up to that of the Ch'ang ling in size, its diameter being about one fifth shorter, but it exceeds it in elaboration and finish. Indeed, the two concentric walls that encompass it, the space between which is, like at the Ch'ang ling, entirely filled up with earth,

1 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 17, l. 1, and ch. 115, l. 5.

2 *Op. cit.*, ch. 17, l. 2.

3 帝欲遷葬茂陵。大學士楊廷和等言祖陵不當數興工作驚動神靈。不從. *Op. cit.*, ch. 113, l. 21.

4 嘉靖十五年詔建山陵. *Op. cit.*, ch. 17, l. 11.

are not less than five metres distant from each other and the crenelated parapet that crowns the outer wall is of white limestone, in large-sized slabs. The earth of the tumulus lies against the inmost wall as high as the top of the latter, and against the terrace of the Soul Tower only a little lower. The rounded top of the tumulus is heightened by a small mound of a truncated conical shape, placed there, perhaps, for some mysterious geomantic reason.

The Khing ling, containing the remains of Kwang Tsung, is also of some interest, having been built upon the substructures of another mausoleum, laid some hundred and seventy years before. As Kwang Tsung died exactly one month after his accession, he had not, like his predecessors, an opportunity to build, or partly build, a mausoleum for himself during his lifetime. We read in a local work on the country north-east and east of the Imperial Cemetery: »A longevity mausoleum had formerly been made in the King » t'ai period; but Ying Tsung deposed King, the Emperor (for whom » it was destined), and buried him at the foot of the Western » Mountains, so that this mausoleum remained vacant. When Kwang » Tsung died, no special burial-ground could be selected, because death » snatched him away so early and unexpectedly. Hence they converted » the said tomb into a mausoleum for him" [1]. That Emperor King does not appear in our list given on pp. 1188 *sqq.*, because, although he held the reins of government for several years, his remains do not rest in the Imperial Cemetery. He was a younger brother of Ying Tsung, and bore the title of King of Ch'ing [2]. In 1449, when Ying Tsung had personally taken the lead of a campaign in the north of Shansi against Wa-ts'zĕ [3], a powerful Mongol chief, Hiao Kung, the then Empress Dowager, charged him with the administration of the Empire; and in the next month he assumed the Imperial dignity, exercising supreme authority under the title of reign King t'ai [4] till the beginning of 1457, when he had to restore the crown to the rightful owner, who had already returned from Mongol captivity after scarcely a year's absence (compare page 1227). He died

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[1] 先是景泰中建爲壽宮、英宗復辟景皇帝、遂葬西山之麓、陵基遂虛。光宗上賓、既速倉卒不能擇地。乃用此爲陵. *Khin-ch'ing siao chi* 芹城小志, »Small Memoirs concerning Khin-ch'ing", written by Li Yin-tuh 李因篤; quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 27.

[2] 郕王. [3] 瓦剌. [4] 景泰.

a few days after his abdication. About a year before, he had a mausoleum laid out for himself; but Ying Tsung ordered it to be demolished, and gave him a burial as a Prince of the highest order in the Western Mountains. In 1475, however, it was decreed by Ying Tsung's successor that he should thenceforth be recognized as a lawful Son of Heaven, and that his sepulchre should be considered, and sacrificed at, as an Imperial mausoleum [1]. We are not able to tell whether it is in ruins, or kept in repair by the present dynasty.

It still remains for us to say a few words about the sepulchre of the last Emperor of the Ming dynasty, the ill-fated Chwang Lieh, who, when the insurgent leader Li Tszĕ-ch'ing [2] conquered Peking in 1644, strangled or hanged himself on the so-called Coal Hill in the pleasure grounds behind the Palace. The previous day, at his command, his Consort had launched herself into eternity [3]. »The insurgents conveyed their coffins to Ch'ang-p'ing, the inha» bitants of which place opened the grave of the first-rank Concubine » of the surname of T'ien, and buried them in it. Thus ended the » Ming dynasty" [4]. The remains of that Concubine had been there for about one year and a half [5].

Ku Yen-wu dilates on the burial of this Imperial couple in the following terms: »While the late Emperor wielded the » sceptre over this wide world, no place for his mausoleum was » assigned by divination. So, when the insurgents had conveyed » the coffins with his remains and those of the Empress of the » surname of Cheu to Ch'ang-p'ing, the gentry in that department » placed themselves at the head of subscribers, and entombed » them in the sepulchre of the Concubine T'ien. Removing her » to the right side, they laid down the Emperor in the middle and » the Empress on his left, using the outer coffin of the Concubine » to place the Emperor in. They then cut rushes and millet stalks, » and placed these over the coffins. Afterwards a tablet-house was » erected on the spot. Both in front and behind is a gate with » three entrances, and further we find there a temple with three

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1 The above particulars are gleaned from chapter 11 of the History of the Ming Dynasty.

2 李自成.

3 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 114, l. 18.

4 賊遷帝后梓宮於昌平、昌平人啟田貴妃墓以葬。明亡. *Op. cit.*, ch. 24, l. 11.

5 *Op. cit.*, ch. 114, l. 19.

» divisions, without any flights of steps. The two side-buildings » each consist of three divisions. The mausoleum, though walled in, » is built on a straitened and small scale, and its dimensions do » not come up to those of the Eastern Pit or the Western (see » pp. 1240 *seq.*). Outside the main gate we find, on the right, the » grave of the eunuch Wang Ch'ing-ngen, Inspector of Rites, who, » having followed the Emperor into death, was buried in his imme- » diate vicinity" [1]. This grandee bravely joined in the defence of Peking against Li Tszĕ-ch'ing, and strangled himself as soon as he knew his monarch had committed suicide. »The now reigning » dynasty erected a sacrificial temple to him and a stone tablet, » in order to signalize his loyalty. He lies buried beside the mau- » soleum of his deceased master" [2].

The *Jih hia kiu wen* [3], a valuable thesaurus of historical and archæological data concerning Peking and the department of Shun-t'ien, compiled by Chu I-tsun [4] at the close of the seventeenth century from a very large number of sources, gives some further particulars on the burial of Chwang Lieh, borrowed from a work entitled *Suh sung luh* [5], written by one T'an Kih-ts'ung [6]. » When the petty official (in charge of the T'ien-sheu Mounts) in » co-operation with the public-spirited graduate Sun Hwan-chi, the » members of the gentry Liu Jü-p'oh, Wang Ching-hing and others, » ten in number, had subscribed three hundred and forty thousand » coins, they hired workmen, in order to open and close the under- » ground passage in the grave. It was thirteen chang and five feet

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[1] 大行皇帝御宇之日未卜山陵。賊以大行皇帝大行皇后周氏梓宮至昌平、州之士民率錢募夫、葬之田妃墓內。移田妃於右、帝居中、后居左、以田妃之椁爲帝椁。斬蓬翟而封之。後乃建碑亭。前後各一座門三道、殿三間無陛。兩廡各三間。有周垣、而規制狹小、曾不及東西井之閎深。門外右爲司禮監太監王承恩墓、以從死祔焉. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, ll. 10 *seq.*

[2] 本朝建祠立碑旌其忠。附葬故主陵側 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 305, l. 33.

[3] 日下舊聞.

[4] 朱彝尊.

[5] 肅松錄.

[6] 譚吉璁.

» long, one chang wide, and three chang five feet deep. Under » their control the men worked (the earth) four days and nights, » and it was not until the second hour after midnight of the fourth » day of the month that they caught a glimpse of the stone door » of the crypt. With levers, iron pins and keys they forced open » this stone door of the first compartment, and thus gained access » into an incense temple with three divisions, in which some » sacrificial implements were arranged. In the middle stood a stone » incense table, with pieces of five-coloured silk stuffs arranged » on both sides; objects and dresses such as Palace Dames in at- » tendance on the Emperor are wont to use during life, were placed » in large red boxes, and in the middle hung two perpetual lamps » (*litt.* of ten thousand years). In the eastern compartment of this » temple stood a sleeping-couch of stone, on which was spread a » carpet of trimmed velvet, covered with a pile of blankets, mattres- » ses, pillows stitched with dragons, and other things of this descrip- » tion. They now opened the stone door of the second apartment, » and entered a large hall of nine compartments, which contained » a stone couch of the same length as the preceding, one foot five » inches high and one chang broad, upon which the outer and » the inner coffin of the Imperial Concubine rested.

» On the fourth day of the month the animated remains of the » late Emperor arrived shortly after the second hour in the after- » noon, and were put up in a sacrificial shed. A pig, a goat, » paper documents of gold and silver and sacrificial articles were » set out there, and the multitude, crowded together, poured forth » lamentations, offering sacrifices and libations. At the burial, the » (abovesaid) petty official personally took the lead of the work- » men, and entered the crypt; they shifted the Concubine T'ien to » the right side of the couch, placed the Empress Cheu on the » left of it, and then respectfully gave the coffin of the late Em- » peror of the Ch'ung ching period the place in the middle. The » Concubine T'ien having been buried at a time in which no » troubles prevailed, an outer coffin had been provided for her, » as well as an inner coffin. An officer with the title of Super- » intendant of Funerals and the petty official, seeing that their late » Master had only an inner coffin and no outer coffin, removed » the Concubine out of hers, and used it for him. An incense » table with sacrificial implements was then placed in front of each » coffin; the petty official with his own hands lighted the per- » petual lamp; the two stone doors were shut, and the place im-

» mediately covered with earth. The ground was then level, no » tumulus having been raised. On the sixth day, the men who » had taken the initiative in raising subscriptions for the burial, » as also the village elders and others, offered a sacrifice, on which » occasion their wailing and weeping shook the firmament; and » they continued in this way longer than the customary time.

» The petty official now despatched some of his men to the people » of the country about the neighbouring pass in the Western » Mountains, to tell them to levy a hundred men and send them » with baskets to carry earth. When the tumulus was ready, the » petty official and (the afore-mentioned) Sun Fan-chi, a literary » graduate of the lowest rank, subscribed five taels more, purchased » bricks, and raised a wall around the tumulus, more than five feet » high. The Ts'ing dynasty, having happily established itself on the » throne, gave special orders to its Board of Works to restore » the incense temple with three divisions in the mausoleum of the » late Emperor who reigned during the Ch'ung ching period, » and to entirely surround the place with walls; and thus it saved » the deceased Ruler of the Great Ming dynasty from being lost in » the vast plains, causing him and his Consort to enjoy, for many » generations to come, bloody sacrificial food in the distant regions » unto which they had departed" [1].

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[1] 卑職與好義之士孫繁祉白紳劉汝朴王政行等十人共捐錢三百四十千、僱夫開閉其壙中隧道。長十三丈五尺、濶一丈、深三丈五尺。督修四晝夜、至初四日寅時始見壙宮石門。用枴釘鑰匙推開頭層石門入內、香殿三間、陳設祭器。中有石香案、兩邊列五色紬緞、侍從宮人生前所用器物衣服俱在大紅箱內盛貯、中懸萬年燈二盞。殿之東間石寢牀一座、鋪設裁絨氈、上疊被褥龍枕等件。又開二層石門入內、通長大殿九間、石牀長如前式、高一尺五寸、濶一丈、田妃棺槨卽居其上。

初四日申時後故主靈到、卽停于祭棚。內陳猪羊金銀紙劄祭品、同衆舉哀祭奠。下葬、卑職親領夫役入壙宮內、卽將田妃移于石牀之右、

It will hardly be necessary to direct the attention of our readers to the interesting information this extract gives about the construction and furniture of the crypt of that tomb. If it is trustworthy — and we have no reasons to doubt it — it fills a blank we had to leave in our description of the Ch'ang ling and the other mausolea; for we may well suppose that the crypts of the same also answer to the above description, these mausolea closely resembling the Szĕ ling in all other respects, as we shall presently show. A short description of this mausoleum is of some importance also, because it teaches us everything that can now be learned about the tombs which the Ming family used to construct for the Imperial Consorts of inferior rank; indeed, it is the only one of this class of sepulchres that has survived time in a good condition, the present reigning dynasty having kept it in constant repair, together with the other twelve mausolea.

It is situated in the south-western part of the valley, and is the first that the traveller reaches who comes from the Nan-khao Pass. Like the twelve Imperial mausolea proper, it consists of a tumulus within a round crenelated wall on the front side of which there is a Soul Tower with a square immured court before it, followed by another court containing a Temple of Blessing and Favours and a gate bearing the same name, straight in front of which we finally have a tablet-house. The dimensions of these squares and edifices are small, even very small when compared with the other mausolea.

次將周后安于石牀之左、後請崇禎先帝之棺居于正中。田妃葬于無事之時、棺槨俱備。監塋官與卑職見故主有棺無椁、遂將田妃之槨移而用之。三棺之前各設香案祭器、畢、卑職親手將萬年燈點起、遂將二座石門關閉、當時掩土。地平、尚未立塚。至初六日率捐葬鄉耆等祭奠、號泣震天、逾時方止。

卑職差人傳附近西山口地方撥夫百名、各備掀掘筐擔舁土。築完、卑職同生員孫繁祉亦捐資五兩、買磚、修築周圍塚墻高五尺有奇。幸清朝定鼎、特遣工部復將崇禎先帝陵寢修建香殿三間、羣墻一週、使大明故主不致淪沒於荒郊、君后升遐猶享血食于後世. Chapter 34, ll. 26 *seq.*

The tumulus is a circular mound of earth, hardly forty metres in circuit and four metres high, girt all around with a wall about one metre high and made of grey bricks which are half a metre in length; its top, gently rounded, is planted with a few small pine trees. It stands insulated within the unplastered crenelated wall, which is some twelve metres distant from it all around, and about three metres high, one brick's length thick and also of grey bricks of half a metre. The crenelated terrace of the Soul Tower is just as high as the crenelated wall. No tunnel runs through this terrace, and access to its top is gained by two brick-paved sloping footways constructed at its back, along which they run up from the right and left. The double-roofed house for the grave-stone exactly resembles that of the Ch'ang ling, but it measures only eight metres and nine decimetres on each side. The grave-stone of white marble is one metre sixteen centimetres broad, and stands on a »square pedestal" of the same material, about one metre high and adorned with bossy sculptures, viz. dragons on the front, unicorns on the back, and lion-like monsters on the two sides. The front of the tablet and its crowning border are carved with dragons and characters, in the same wise as in the Ch'ang ling (comp. p. 1220), and the inscription reads thus: »Grave Hill of Chwang Lieh, the Emperor Min, of the Great Ming Dynasty" [1]. Chwang Lieh and Min are his posthumous names, bestowed by the first sovereign of the Ts'ing dynasty. »In the sixteenth year of the period Shun »chi", thus we read, »in the eleventh month, this monarch issued »an edict of the following tenor to the Board of Rites: The Em- »peror who reigned in the Ch'ung ching period of the Ming dy- »nasty applied himself during seventeen years to governing the »Empire with energy and skill, thereupon sacrificing his life to the »Spirits of the Land and Grain, when his House was so unhappy »as to be destroyed by rebellion. Upon examination it has been »found that he had no considerable shortcomings during his life. A »pitiable fate having come down upon him so suddenly, he really »deserves compassion; and therefore We ought to confer on him »posthumous appellations which may clearly bring out how his »conduct really was, viz. Chwang Lieh, and Min Hwang-ti" [2], *i. e.* »Stern and energetic", and »the Compassionable Emperor".

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[1] 莊烈愍皇帝之陵.

[2] 順治十六年十一月上諭禮部曰、明崇禎帝

The round area containing the tumulus communicates with the square court in front of the Soul Tower by means of two small doors, contrived in the tumulus wall on either side of the terrace that bears the tower. This court, which is no more than sixty paces deep, is planted with pines and has, straight in front of the Soul Tower, an altar of solid stone, bearing the ordinary five massive sacrificial stone implements. Then follows the second court of about the same size, which contains the temple. This edifice resembles the temple of the Ch'ang ling so closely, that we might call it a copy of it in miniature. But the low square platform of solid stone on which it is raised has neither balustrades, nor any flights of steps. The triple Ling-ngen Gate stands on a similar platform. Finally we have, straight opposite the middle entrance of this gate, some fifteen paces off, the tablet-house. It has an entrance only in the front façade and in the back, and contains a tablet with no other inscription but: »Erected by Imperial Command" [1], placed on the crowning border.

Before the House of Ming had lost the throne, some more sepulchres of this description and of small dimensions were disseminated among the Imperial mausolea, every monarch having kept in his seraglio a choice set of consorts of sundry ranks, the remains of several of whom were accorded a last resting-place in the Imperial Cemetery. But those who sacrificed their lives on the death of their lord to follow him into the Realm of Shades, that is to say, before Ying Tsung had put an end to the practice (see pp. 733 *seq.*), do not seem to have had separate mausolea. Indeed, Ku Yen-wu writes:

» The rescript that the Dames of the Palace were to be buried » along with the Emperor, was not abrogated until Ying Tsung's » reign; hence it is that the Ch'ang ling has two Pits, one » eastward and the other westward from it. The Eastern Pit is » located south-east of the Teh ling and south of the Cake » Mount, and faces the west; the other stands north-west of the

勵精圖治十有七年、不幸寇亂國亡身殉社稷。考其生平無甚失德。遘茲厄運殊堪矜憫、宜加謚號以昭實行。今謚爲莊烈愍皇帝. *Shing hiun*; edicts of Shi Tsu, chapter 4, l. 3.

[1] 勅建.

» Ting ling and has an eastern exposure. Each has two triple » gates placed behind each other, as also a temple consisting of » three divisions, which has two side buildings containing three » divisions; and a green-tiled wall surrounds the emplacement. The » Collective Statutes inform us that the sixteen Concubines for the » Ch'ang ling were buried along with the Emperor, but they » do not give their respective ranks or titles. Those sepulchres were » called Pits because they had no subterraneous passages, the graves » being straight down in the ground" [1]. On page 1235 the reader has seen that, according to the same author, these two mausolea were of larger dimensions than the Concubine's sepulchre in which the remains of the last monarch of the dynasty were laid to rest.

» As to the Hien ling and the King ling", thus we read in the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, » of the seven and eight Con- » cubines of the monarchs buried therein, three and one were » respectively interred in the Kin-shan, and the others all along » with their master [2]. And as to the Emperors buried in the Yü » ling and the mausolea built after it, their Concubines no more » followed them in death, because Hien Tsung put an end to » burying the living with the dead, on account of (his father's) » testamentary behests" [3]. » Ying Tsung having put a stop to the » immolation of Palace Dames", thus Ku Yen-wu says, » the sepul- » chres of the Concubines were from that time denoted by special » names. Some have been built within the Imperial Cemetery, » others in the mountains elsewhere. Within the Imperial burial- » ground we have that of Hien Tsung's first-rank Concubine of » the surname of Wan; it is situate in the Su Hills, which lie more

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1 宮人從葬之令至英宗始除、故長陵有東西二井。東井在德陵東南、饅頭山之南、西向、西井在定陵西北、東向。竝重門、門三道、殿三間、兩廡各三間、緑瓦周垣。會典言長陵十六妃從葬、位號不具。其曰井者蓋不隧道而直下、故謂之井爾. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 10.

2 The same statement occurs in the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 5.

3 獻陵七妃三葬金山、餘俱從葬、景陵八妃一葬金山、餘俱從葬。裕陵以後妃無從葬者以憲宗遺命罷殉葬也. Chapter 133, l. 14.

» than two miles south of the Pond of the Nine Dragons, to the » left of the Chao ling; it is built like the two Pits, and faces » the east. Still further southward, in Mount Yin-ts'ien [1], is a » grave containing the remains of Shen Tsung's Concubines, viz. » one of the first rank bearing the surname of Ching, and four » others, two of whom bore the surname of Li, and two those of » Liu and Cheu; it was likewise of the same construction as the » two Pits and faced the south, but it is now in ruins. Proceeding » again in a southern direction, we have in the O-'rh Valley the » graves of four Concubines and two Heirs Apparent; two Concubines » of the surnames of Yen and Wang lie there in the middle, with » the Concubine Ma on their left and the Heir Apparent Ngai Chung » farther off on the same side, while their right hand side is occu- » pied in a corresponding manner by the Concubine Yang and the » Heir Apparent Chwang King. They were Concubines and Heir-sons » to Shi Tsung [2]. Further southward still we have the mausoleum of » Tao, built like the two Pits and on the south-eastern exposure. » The Empress Hiao Kieh of the surname of Ch'en was interred here » when she still bore the posthumous name of Tao Ling, but on » the death of (her consort) Shi Tsung she was reburied in the » Yung ling (comp. p. 1190), and her first sepulchre still exists. In » close vicinity to it we find the tomb of three Concubines bearing » the surnames of Ch'en, Wen and Lu, and the spot continues to » be called the mausoleum of Tao (Ling). Inspectors of the Dwel- » lings of the Manes were appointed for those sepulchres" [3].

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1 This is the hill nearest to the great Red Gate, on the west. The name is also written 銀泉, Yin-ts'üen. See the Memoirs concerning the Department of Shun-t'ien, ch. 20, l. 16.

2 According to the History of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 120, l. 2), Ngai Chung was the eldest son of Shi Tsung and his Concubine Yen; he died when only two months old. Chwang King, Shi Tsung's second son, had the Concubine Wang for his mother, and died on reaching the age of virility. On his death, »the Emperor ordered that a mausoleum should be built for him and Ngai Chung together": 帝命與哀冲太子竝建寢園.

3 自英宗既止宮人從葬於是妃墓始名。或在陵山之內、或在他山。其在陵山內者則自昭陵之左九龍池上南行二里許爲蘇山、有萬貴妃之墓、憲宗妃也、制如二井、東向。又南爲銀錢山、有鄭貴妃暨二李劉周四妃之墓、神宗妃也、制如二井、南向、今毀。又南爲襖兒峪、有四妃

With the aid of the sketch given on page 1224, we may see from this extract that the Imperial Cemetery extended considerably to the south-west. Probably it was not quite unintentional that so many consorts were buried on that side, the Chinese social laws of etiquette prescribing that women, being naturally inferior in rank to their husbands, have their places on the right side of the latter, or the theoretical west. There were nevertheless a few graves on the opposite side of the valley, that is to say, in or near the Tung-shan [1], *i. e.* »the Mountains on the East". »Eastward from the »Tung-shan Pass", says Ku Yen-wu, »we have the sepulchre of »Ying Tsung's Concubine of the sixth rank bearing the surname »of Liu, and eight miles further eastward, in Mount Mien, those of »Chwang Hien, King of Khi, and Hwai, King of T'ing, sons of »Jen Tsung. In general", he adds, »the outer walls of the Im»perial mausolea and the sepulchres of the Concubines, Crown »Princes and Princes, as also those of the temples that are objects »of Imperial care, are pargeted red" [2]. We need hardly tell our readers that the »Eastern and Western Mountains" were important factors of the Fung-shui of the Imperial Cemetery, forming, as they did, a protecting Dragon and Tiger which sent down an abundance of aquatic influences, accumulated, to the advantage of the mausolea, in numerous brooks and gullies.

While the Ming dynasty held the reins of government, the sepulchral valley was encompassed by a cordon of closures, placed in the principal passes and defiles affording access to it. »There »are ten such passes in the mountains around", says Ku Yen-wu. »Starting from the great Red Gate, we have, three miles

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二太子墓、中閻妃王妃、左馬妃、次左哀冲太子、右楊妃、次右莊敬太子、世宗妃太子也。又南爲悼陵、制如二井、東南向。孝潔皇后陳氏初謚悼靈葬此、世宗崩遷永陵而其封兆尚存。旁有沈文盧三妃之葬、至今猶曰悼陵云。有神宮監. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 10.

[1] 東山.

[2] 東山口迤東有劉惠妃之墓、英宗妃也、又東八里綿山有斲[莊]獻王滕懷王之墓、仁宗子也。凡陵及妃嬪太子諸王之葬及上所御殿、其外垣皆塗以紅. *Op. cit.*, l. 11.

» eastward, the Pass of the Central Mountains [1] (Chung-shan Kheu), » and six miles further on in a north-eastern direction the Pass » of the Eastern Mounts (Tung-shan Kheu) [2], which is eight miles » from the east gate of the chief city of the department. A three- » storied building stood there on the south, and another on the north, » further there was a park of pine trees measuring several miles on » each side, in which only pines and K w e i trees grew, but which has » now disappeared. Proceeding from this pass to the north in a » westerly direction, we have, ten miles off, the Pass of the Temple » of Lao-kiün (Lao-kiün-t'ang Kheu), situated two miles northward » from the K i n g l i n g; above it is a temple for the worship of » Lao-kiün (Lao-tszĕ), which has three divisions. Then follows, fifteen » miles westward, the Hien-chwang Pass, situated five miles north of » the T'a i l i n g; and again three miles further on to the west we have » the Hwui Mountain-pass, guarded by a military Captain; then pro- » ceeding twelve miles in a south-westerly course, we arrive at the » Pass of the Pin Rock (Chui-shih Kheu), which lies north-eastward » from the K h a n g l i n g, two miles off. These three passes were » severally protected by a wall and had a sluice-gate (?); it was » through them that the troops made their way who captured » Ch'ang-p'ing in the ninth year of the C h'u n g c h i n g period (1636). » Another twelve miles take us southward from the last-named pass » to that of the Geese (Yen-tszĕ Kheu), which is situate three miles » north-westward from the K h a n g l i n g; thereupon we have, three » miles farther to the south-west, the Teh-shing Pass, which lies four » miles from the Pond of the Nine Dragons and has a wall and » a sluice. Proceeding ten miles more in a south-eastern direction, » we arrive at the Pass of the Western Mountains (Si-shan Kheu), » which is two miles southward from the Tao mausoleum (see » page 1242) and contains the small Red Gate, eight miles distant » from the west gate of the chief city of the department. Finally we » have, two miles east of this pass, the Cha-tszĕ Pass (comp. page 1182), » situated three miles from the great Red Gate. All these defiles » were walled. In the rear of the mausolea there is also a passage

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1 Thus styled, because it lies between the hills which, as we have stated on page 1187, are found on the south of the valley, between the Eastern and Western Mounts.

2 See the sketch on page 1224. Through that Tung-shan Pass, a rivulet, formed by the confluence of nearly all the brooks that cross the burial-valley, finds its way, to finally discharge itself, south-east of Ch'ang-p'ing city, in the Sha-ho 沙河 or »Sand River", a tributary of the Pei-ho.

» to the Hwang-hwa fort [1], which is forty miles away from the » Pass of the Lao-kiün Temple. It was ordained in the sixteenth » year of the Kia tsing period (1537), in the third month, to block » up the passes in the roads leading from the eastern and western » parts of the T'ien-shen Mounts to the Hwang-hwa fortress" [2].

As the divisions of the military detached for the guarding of those numerous passes had their headquarters in Ch'ang-p'ing, this city naturally derived a considerable significance from its vicinity to the sepulchral valley. »The chief town of the department", says Ku Yen-wu, » was anciently called Yung-ngan city. In the » Ching t'ung period (1436—1449) guards for the Ch'ang ling, » the Hien ling and the King ling were stationed in the Pass » of the Central Mountains and in those of the Eastern and the » Western Mounts, as also over the country under military occupation » to the east and west, in order to defend the mausolea and » to protect the soil and the trees from damage. In the next » year and in the first of the King t'ai period (1450), a fortress » was built on a spot eight miles east of the then chief city of » the Ch'ang-p'ing district; a military garrison was placed therein,

1 On Chinese maps this walled place is placed almost due north of the valley, not far southward from the Great Wall.

[2] 環山凡十口。自大紅門東三里曰中山口、又東北六里曰東山口、距州東門八里。有樓南北二座、三層、有松園方廣數里、皆松檜、無一雜木、今盡矣。又北而西十里曰老君堂口、距景陵北二里、上有老君堂三間。又西十五里曰賢莊口、距泰陵北五里、又西三里曰灰嶺口、守備一人守之、又西南十二里曰錐石口、距康陵東北二里。三口竝有垣、有水門、崇禎九年昌平之陷自此入也。又南十二里曰鴈子口、距康陵西北三里、又西南三里曰德勝口、距九龍池四里、有垣、有水門。又東南十里曰西山口、距悼陵南二里、有小紅門、距州西門八里。又東二里曰榨子口、距大紅門三里、凡口皆有垣。陵後通黃花城、自老君堂口至黃花城四十里。嘉靖十六年三月命塞天壽山東西通黃花鎮路口. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, fl. 12 *seq.*

» and the name of Yung-ngan (Eternal Peace) given to it; and » in the third year of the same period the garrisons of the whole » Ch'ang-p'ing district were transferred thither. The eastern and the » western gate of the present city, as also the great bridge and the » old south gate within its walls, are remains of that Yung-ngan. » In course of time, the guards for the mausolea being regularly » increased, another wall was built south of the city and connected » with its walls, and so the present south gate came into existence. » The bricks and stones of the southern façade of the old walls » were then removed, and (the old city and the new quarter) » thus being united, the place acquired a circumference of ten » miles and twenty-four p u. The Prefect continued to dwell inside » the old walls, on the west side of the main street" [1].

The old chief city of the district sank after this to the rank of a mere borough or village. It had lost all significance already at the downfall of the Ming dynasty, for Ku Yen-wu writes, that »its inhabitants then consisted of not quite a hundred households" [2]. It still exists at the present day. The Memoirs relating to the Department of Shun-t'ien, which were printed between 1884 and 1886, state that »eight miles to the west of the chief city stands a village, called Kiu-hien", *i. e.* the Old District's Capital [3].

» At first the country formed a district (h i e n) of the department » of Shun-t'ien. But Lin Han, President of the Board of Civil » Office at Nanking, proposed in the first year of the C h i n g t e h » period (1506) that officers of sundry ranks should be delegated » by the reigning monarch to the three capital sacrifices annually » offered in the mausolea, in order to take part in the celebration;

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[1] 州故永安城也。正統中調長獻景三陵衛於中東西三山口及東西二營地方駐劄、以護陵寢及土木之難。明年景泰元年於昌平縣之東八里築城、徙衛於內、名曰永安、三年并昌平縣徙焉。今之東西二門及城中大橋故南門遺蹟也。其後續設陵衛益多、仍於城南復築一城、連之、今之南門是也。乃去舊城南面磚石、而合爲一、周一十里二十四步。州治在舊城內大街西. *Op. cit.*, l. 2.

[2] 今居民不滿百家. *Op. cit.*, l. 16.

[3] 西八里舊縣邨. Chapter 28, l. 25.

» moreover, an Imperial son-in-law was sent thither on the anni-
» versary of the death of every Emperor and Empress, as also at
» the end and the beginning of each year [1]. The people of the
» district being so poor that the purveyance of those visitors caused
» them much trouble and misery, requested that their district
» might be elevated to the rank of a department (c h e u) and
» united under one administration with the districts of Mih-yun,
» Shun-i and Hwai-jiu (situated eastward from it), in order that these
» countries might assist them in bearing those exertions and personal
» services, and all those who had to contribute their proportionate
» share to the forced statute labour, the feeding of the horses
» etc., might be delivered from excessive burdens. This request was
» acceded to; but not long afterwards the country was again de-
» graded to its former rank. In the eighth year of the aforesaid
» period the Prefect Chang Hwai memorialised the Throne anew
» in the same sense, in consequence of which the district was
» definitively made a department (c h e u) and united with the districts
» of Mih-yun, Shun-i and Hwai-jiu, to stand together with them
» under the jurisdiction of the Prefect of Shun-t'ien" [2].

It is almost superfluous to say, that each mausoleum in particular was garrisoned. »The eleven mausolea", says Ku Yen-wu, » each had a garrison; those garrisons had authority over the five » thousand families settled all around and inside the Cemetery, » and the chiefs under the command of whom those soldiers » protected and defended the mausolea, had their headquarters » within the chief city of the department. In the twenty-ninth » year of the K i a t s i n g period (A. D. 1550) the stronghold of » Yung-ngan was garrisoned with four thousand men, and that » of Kung-hwa (south-east of Ch'ang-p'ing) with three thousand;

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1 This regulation is mentioned in the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 4.

2 先爲順天府昌平縣。正德元年南京吏部尚書林瀚言陵寢所在歲三大祭欽遣百官陪祀、及帝后忌辰歲暮正旦並遣駙馬詣陵。縣小民貧、供億煩苦、請改爲州、以密雲順義懷柔三縣隸之、助其力役、凡有科派差徭及養馬之類悉皆優免。從之、未幾復降爲縣。八年縣丞張懷復奏、始定爲州、以密雲順義懷柔三縣屬焉、仍隸順天府 *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, ll. 2 *seq.*

» when these troops had nothing else to do, they were trained in » the drill-ground of the chief city of the department, but when- » ever there was something alarming abroad, they hastened to all » the passes and exits of the valley, to obstruct and defend them" [1]. It was, no doubt, the thousands of families of mausoleum serfs mentioned in this extract, that carried out, under the whip of the soldiery, the works connected with the erection and repairs of those numerous cenotaphs, in conformity with the Chinese principle that everything existing under the sky, including the bodies and labour of his subjects, is the property of the Son of Heaven. That the Imperial sepulchres have in general come into existence under the same regimen from early pre-Christian times, and that this regimen has not seldom been enforced with ferocious vigour entailing the loss of countless lives; also, that strong military garrisons have been laid in the mausolea since the reign of the House of Han, and walled cities and strongholds founded for their protection — are all matters we have already dilated upon in Chapter V (pp. 427—436).

Monarchs who had the burial-places of their ancestors thus carefully guarded against intrusion, may freely be supposed to have had heavy punishments in store for those who presumed to enter them without a valid official permit. » Those who arbitrarily » enter the gate of the Imperial ancestral temple, or that of the » grounds of a mausoleum", thus we read in the Code of the Ming dynasty, » shall receive a hundred blows with the long stick" [2]. » Nor might the foot of the hills girding the mausolea be trodden » for the purpose of felling timber, making kilns or pits for baking » bricks and pots, or building graves" [3]. That rigorous laws and rescripts also existed then for the protection of the trees in the Imperial cemeteries, we have already shown on pp. 1207 *seq.*

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[1] 十一陵各有衛、衛各領左右中前後五千戶。所主率領軍士防護陵寢、其公署皆在州城中。嘉靖二十九年以四千人立永安營、三千人立鞏華營、無事、在州教場操演、有警、赴各隘口把截. *Op. cit.*, l. 12.

[2] 凡擅入太廟門及山陵兆域門者杖一百. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 138, l. 1.

[3] 凡諸陵山麓不得入斧斤、開窯冶、置墓墳. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 72, l. 29.

Chinese authors make mention of a dozen orchards [1], one for each mausoleum, distributed for the most part over the country outside the cordon of passes or near the great Red Gate, or even close to the gates of Ch'ang-p'ing city [2]. Though we are told nothing about their destination, we cannot doubt that they served for the production of the fruit required for the sacrifices to the Imperial manes at the celebration of their several days of worship. They will, we think, have disappeared by this time, or fallen into the hands of people living in the vicinity.

To the invaluable treatise of Ku Yen-wu we are also indebted for our knowledge of the place of origin of the marble or dolomite, such enormous quantities of which entered into the construction of the mausolea. »The white stone and the black mortar used for » the mausolea and other important works, were", he says, »all » got from the north-western mountains of Shun i" [3], that is to say, the district on which the Ch'ang-p'ing region abuts on the east. If we add the quarrying work to the difficult transport of countless unwieldy blocks to so far a distance, over bad roads and hilly ground, the burdens laid upon the people in behalf of the mausolea must really have been immeasurable. It would be interesting to know the means by which the largest blocks, as those for the effigies of the elephants and camels, were conveyed to the spot at which they were placed in position and hewn into shape. Unfortunately, Chinese books leave us in the dark here, but it is highly probable that it was done in much the same way as at present; hence it may be useful to reprint here what two foreign residents have written about the matter. Mr. Rennie, Staff Surgeon to the British Legation in Peking after the war of 1860, wrote: »At the commencement of February 1862 I received a » letter from Peking giving me an account of a large block of » white marble, weighing sixty (?) tons, which was at that time » in course of passing through Peking on a large six-wheeled truck, » drawn by six hundred horses and mules. This mass of marble » came from one of the quarries about sixty miles from Peking, » and was on its way to the Eastern Tombs, there to be cut into

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1 果園.

2 The location of all of them is given in the *Suh sung luh*, and reprinted from this work in the *Jih hia kiu wen*, ch. 34, l. 31.

3 凡山陵大工所用白石黝堊皆取於順義西北諸山. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, ch. 2, l. 3.

» an elephant to form one of the decorations of the mausoleum of » the late Emperor Hien Fung (Wen Tsung). Its dimensions were » fifteen feet long, twelve feet thick, and twelve feet broad. The » horses and mules were harnessed to two immense hawsers, run- » ning parallel with one another from the truck; the length of each » of them being nearly a quarter of a mile. On the block was » hoisted the Imperial flag, and on the truck a mandarin and some » attendants were seated. One of the latter had a gong, which he » sounded after each halt, when all was ready to start. Other gongs » were then sounded along the line, and at a given signal the » carters simultaneously cracked their whips, and off started the » horses with their unwieldy load. The line was led by a man » bearing a large flag, and all orders were given by signals made » with flags. Several other large blocks of marble have already gone » to the Eastern Tombs for the same object as the one in question, » and others are to follow. The sums of money must be enormous » which are expended in connection with the decease of an emperor » of China" [1].

And Mr. Mayers says: »The limestone quarries of the Fang- » shan district [2], situated about fifty miles (westward) from Peking, » furnish the blocks which are carved into the shapes traditionally » consecrated to the guardianship of the tombs; and for the com- » pletion of the mausoleum of Hien Fung it was necessary to trans- » port masses of stone, estimated as weighing no less than six tons » each, to a distance of about ninety miles eastward from Peking, » or about one hundred and forty miles in all. The huge square » blocks are so quarried out as to be allowed, when finally » detached, to sink to rest upon two longitudinal beams, which » are subsequently raised to a sufficient extent to allow two sets of » wheels, consisting of solid blocks of wood, roughly hewn into a » circular shape, to be placed beneath them and connected by » axles. To these axles are attached two enormous parallel hawsers, » hanging but a few inches above the ground, and extending for » many yards in front of the truck. On either side of the hawsers » there are fastened, at short distances apart, transverse lengths of » drag-rope, to each of which a pony, mule or donkey is harnes- » sed, and by these means some hundred or hundred and fifty » animals may be brought to bear on the task of conveying the

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1 Peking and the Pekingese, vol. II, ch. IX, pp. 256 *seq.*

2 房山縣.

» monolithic mass to its final destination. Special roads are prepared, » when necessary, to facilitate the removal" [1].

The numerous visits for the purpose of sacrificing and for other ends, regularly paid every year to the Imperial tombs by the highest grandees and dignitaries, and even by Emperors and Empresses in their own persons, naturally caused the high-road leading from Peking to Ch'ang-p'ing to be kept in a better condition than Chinese roads generally are, and some good bridges to be made in it. At the point where it crossed the Ts'ing-ho [2] — a rivulet coming from the Kin-shan and flowing almost due eastward, till it discharges itself into the Sha-ho which has its sources in the burial-valley (see page 1208) — there stood in the time of Ku Yen-wu »a stone bridge across the stream, which was built in the Yung loh period" [3]. Probably it was not far from the present borough of Ts'ing-ho, where we now find a stone bridge of which the Memoirs relating to the Department of Shun-t'ien say: »The Broad Ferry Bridge spans the Ts'ing-ho twenty miles » northward from the Metropolis. Formerly there was also a Ts'ing- » ho Bridge there, constructed in the Yung loh period" [4]. Further on to the north, about halfway between Ts'ing-ho and Ch'ang-p'ing, the road ran past Kung-hwa [5], now generally called Sha-ho city [6], which, as we have learned on page 1247 from Ku Yen-wu, was a stronghold with a large garrison when the Ming dynasty was in possession of the throne. The road here passed across the two principal sources of the Sha-ho, which come respectively from the northern slopes of the Kin-shan and from the Nan-khao Pass, to meet not far and eastward from Kung-hwa. Two beautiful bridges, which still exist at present, were placed in the road over these rivulets during the Ming dynasty; the southern one was then called the Quiet Ferry Bridge [7], and the other the Bridge of the Ancestry of the Dynasty [8]. »Orders for » their construction were given in the thirteenth year of the Ching

1 Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII, p. 5.

2 清河.

3 有石橋跨其上、永樂中建. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 1.

4 廣濟橋治北二十里、跨清河。故亦有清河橋目、永樂年建. Ch. 47, l. 1.

5 肇華.

6 沙河城.

7 安濟橋.

8 朝宗橋.

» t'ung period (1448) to Wang Yung-sheu, junior Vice-President » of the Board of Works" [1]. » And the Quiet Ferry Bridge was » restored in the twentieth year of the Kia tsing period (1541)" [2].

The point where the high-road crosses the Sha-ho being about a day's journey from Peking, the Emperors of the Ming dynasty had a mansion there as a halting-place on visiting the tombs. Ku Yen-wu says: » At first, when the Imperial retinue of horses and » carts journeyed (through the Nan-khao Pass) to the northern depend- » encies, or visited the mausolea, it halted as a rule at the Sha-ho. » The substructures of a travelling-mansion of the Emperor Wen » (Ch'ing Tsu) are still extant there, but the building has been » destroyed by a flood in the Ching t'ung period. When the » Emperor halted at the Sha-ho in the third month of the six- » teenth year of the Kia tsing period (1537), Yen Sung, the » President of the Board of Rites, pleaded that, when this road » was used by the Imperial retinue for visiting the tombs, the » way southward and northward from the spot was equally long, » and that the situation of Kü-yung [3] and Poh-yang close to » the north-eastern frontiers enhanced its importance as a point » of defence; for which reasons the travelling-mansion ought to » be rebuilt, fortifications to be thrown up around the place, » and officers to be appointed for its defence. This proposal was » executed, and in the fifth month of the seventeenth year a » beginning made with the erection of a travelling-mansion eastward » from Sha-ho village. The place was walled in the first month » of the nineteenth year, and received the name of Kung-hwa. » It measured two miles from south to north, and two from » east to west, and it had four gates, the southern one of which, » called: 'the Gate reverently bowing to the Metropolis', was » moulded on the south gate of the Palace. The travelling-mansion » stood inside the city. At first this latter was placed under the care » of an officer of great merit, say a General; but in the twenty-

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[1] 二橋正統十三年命工部右侍郎王永壽建. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 1.

[2] 安濟橋嘉靖二十年重修. Memoirs relating to Shun-t'ien, ch. 47, l. 14.

3 A well-known defence midway in the Nan-khao Pass, with an interesting arched gate sculptured with figures in relief and bearing inscriptions in half a dozen languages. Beautiful reproductions of those ornamentations and inscriptions have recently been published by Prince Roland Bonaparte, under the title: »Documents de l'Epoque Mongole des 13e et 14e Siècles".

» eighth year he was replaced by a Colonel, and still later on only » a Captain was appointed to the post. There were five hundred » buildings in the place, serving as headquarters for the several » subdivisions of the garrison, as also as resting-places and barracks; » but they are now in ruins, and only the travelling-mansion still » exists" [1].

The Cemetery in the Kin-shan.

We must now leave the chief burial-ground of the Ming family and turn our attention to other cemeteries of the same House, one of which was situated in the same department, and three in divers parts of the Empire.

The first-named we might call a cemetery accessory to that of Ch'ang-p'ing, as the tombs of sundry Princes and Princesses of Imperial lineage and of some Imperial Consorts were placed in it. It was situate within the boundaries of the present district of Yuen-p'ing [2], in the Kin-shan [3] or Kin Mounts, so frequently referred to in these pages. These mountains form the extreme north-eastern spur of the so-called Si-shan [4] or »Western Mounts", which, as their name indicates, extend along the Peking plains on the west side, and abut in the north on the T'ien-sheu Range, near the Pass of the Western Mountains or the small Red Gate mentioned on page 1244. The Kin-shan lie to the north-west of the capital, at hardly half a day's journey from it, and almost due south of the town of Ch'ang-p'ing, from which it may be easily reached in a day.

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[1] 先是車駕北征及上陵多駐沙河。有文皇帝行宮遺址、正統時爲水所壞。嘉靖十六年三月上駐蹕沙河、禮部尙書嚴嵩言、此爲車駕謁陵之路、南北道里適均、且居庸白羊近在西北邊防尤切、宜修復行宮、築城環之、設官戍守。從之、十七年五月始於沙河店之東建行宮。十九年正月城之、名曰鞏華。南北徑二里、東西徑二里、門四、南曰拱京、制如午門。行宮在城之中。先以勳臣若都督守之、二十八年改副總兵、後改守備。有分守公署奠靖所及營房五百間、今圮、惟行宮存. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 2. Compare also the account of the same particulars, given by the *Jih hia kiu men*, ch. 33, l 8.

[2] 宛平縣. [3] 金山. [4] 西山.

Some well-known features of it are the Imperial pleasure-grounds Yuen-ming Yuen [1], Hiang-shan [2], Wan-sheu Shan [3] and Yuh-tsᶜüen Shan [4], situated at its foot to the south and south-east.

The Emperor King is the principal among the members of the Ming family who were buried there. We have seen on pp. 1233 *seq.* that he occupied the throne for some years in lieu of his elder brother Ying Tsung, and that, on being dethroned by the latter, he was degraded to the rank of Prince and refused a burial in the great Imperial Cemetery. His mausoleum was laid out in the so-called Kin-shan Kheu [5] or »Kin-shan Passage", a defile leading from the plains in a north-western direction, right across the Kin-shan, to its northern slopes, where we find the Heh-lung Tᶜan [6] or »Black Dragon Pond", a well-known Buddhist temple much frequented by foreign tourists. According to Ku Yen-wu, »it had three gates, »each with three passages, as also a temple with five divisions, a wall »surrounding the ground, and a tablet-house within the gate" [7]. Ching Hwui [8], King's repudiated Consort, who, as we have related on page 734, had a narrow escape from being immolated at his death as a sacrifice to his manes, was buried by his side on her demise in 1506 [9], and, no doubt, those of his Concubines who followed him in death (see page 733) were likewise buried in his mausoleum or in its vicinity

The *Yih tᶜung chi* [10] or »Memoirs concerning the whole Empire", an exhaustive work on the geography of China published under Imperial patronage about a century and a half ago, quotes the following passage from the *Chᶜang-ngan khoh hwa* [11], a work by the hand of Tsiang Yih-kᶜwei [12]: »In the depressed area in front »of that mausoleum are planted several white aspen trees and »Chᶜu trees (Ailantus Glandulosa). The Princes and Princesses »of Imperial lineage who died before puberty, were also generally »buried at the Kin-shan Passage, in grounds forming one tract »with those of the mausoleum of the Emperor King; and the »Imperial Concubines likewise were for a great part buried

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1 圓明園. 2 香山. 3 萬壽山.
4 玉泉山. 5 金山口. 6 黑龍潭.
7 門三道三重、殿五間、周垣、門內有碑亭一座. *Chᶜang-pᶜing shan-shui ki*, l. 11.
8 貞惠. 9 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 113, l. 17.
10 一統志. 11 長安客話. 12 蔣一葵.

»there" [1]. It is, in fact, stated in the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao* [2] that three of Jen Tsung's Concubines were buried in the Kin-shan, as also one of Süen Tsung, seventeen of Ying Tsung, thirteen of Hien Tsung, two of Wu Tsung, one of Shi Tsung's father, fifty-one of Shi Tsung, and all those of Muh Tsung. »At first", this work adds, »each Concubine had a sepulchre to herself, and the »thirteen Concubines of Hien Tsung were the first for whom one »sepulchre was made in common. In the thirteenth year [3] of the »Kia tsing period (A. D. 1534) it was deemed proper that, »as the number of harem dames (shi-fu and yü-ts'i) was based on »the cipher nine in accordance with the example of the ancients [4], »one sepulchre with one sacrificial temple for them all should be »made for every nine Concubines. Thereupon they built in the »Kin-shan five graves in advance, each for nine dames, who were »successively buried therein" [5].

According to the History of the Ming Dynasty there was also an Empress buried in the Kin-shan, viz. Kung Jang [6], who, married to Süen Tsung in 1417, was repudiated by him three years after he had assumed the government [7]. Likewise, the divorced

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[1] 陵前坎窖樹多白楊及楸。凡諸王公主夭殤者並葬金山口、其地與景帝陵相屬、諸妃亦多葬此. Memoirs relating to the Department of Shun-t'ien, ch. 26, l. 6.

2 Chapter 133, l. 14.

3 The text has »in the thirtieth"; but this is presumably a printer's error, it being stated in the History of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 11) that the event in question took place in the thirteenth year.

4 According to the History of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 114, l. 4), this had been so since 1531, when the Grand-Secretary Chang Fu-king 張孚敬, deploring that the Emperor had not yet begotten a son, directed his attention to the fact, recorded in the *Li ki* (ch. 74, l. 35), that »the Son of Heaven and his Consort an-»ciently used to divide the harem into six halls and to appoint three dames called »fu-jen, nine dames styled pin, twenty-seven shi-fu, and eighty-one yü-ts'i": 古者天子后立六宮、三夫人、九嬪、二十七世婦、八十一御妻. Section 昏義.

[5] 先是妃皆自爲墳、憲廟十三妃始同爲一墓。嘉靖三十年以古世婦御妻皆九、宜九妃爲一墓、同一享殿。於是金山預造五墓、墓各九數、以次葬焉. *Loc. cit.*

6 恭讓.

7 Ch. 113, l. 10. Comp. also the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 4.

spouse of Hien Tsung, a woman of the surname of Wu [1], who was his chief Consort on his accession, is stated to have been buried in those grounds [2]. All those sepulchres were distributed over a vast tract, extending northward as far as the grounds watered by the Sha-ho. According to Ku Yen-wu, »more than a hundred » mausolea of Concubines, Heirs Apparent, Princes and Princesses » buried in the Western Mountains [3] were scattered over the region » extending from the Sha-ho thirty miles to the south, down to » the place where the defile of the Red Rocks (Hung-shih Kheu) » gave access into the hills; and those sepulchres were so close » together, that from each the next could be seen" [4]. It is doubtful whether there are any still extant in such a good state of preservation as to attract attention. Chinese guides conducting the foreigner through those hills do not seem to deem it worth while to direct his steps to these monuments; and even Dr. Bretschneider seems to have remained unaware of their existence while making geographical peregrinations in those parts, no mention being made of them in his exhaustive essay on »Die Pekinger Ebene und das benachbarte Gebirgsland".

The Nanking Mausoleum.

This sepulchre, of which we have spoken on pp. 821 and 1178, contains the remains of T'ai Tsu [5], the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty. Having wrung the Empire by force of arms from the Mongol family of Yuen, this monarch was enthroned at Nanking in 1368, and bore sway there under the title of reign Hung wu [6] till his death in 1398, in which year he was buried at a few miles from the town, at the foot of the Chung-shan [7] or »Bell Mounts".

The Chung-shan is a treeless range of hills to the north-east of Nanking, forming the Blue Dragon of the Fung-shui of the city. Nothing is known with certainty about the origin of its name, but tradition asserts, that in the first year of the Yung kia

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1 吳.

2 *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 22.

3 A list of seventeen of them, coming down till the end of the 15th. century, is given in the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 6.

4 其妃嬪太子諸王公主之葬西山者以百數自沙河而南三十里紅石口入山陵冢相望. *Ch'ang-p'ing shan-shui ki*, l. 11.

5 太祖. 6 洪武. 7 鍾山.

period of the Tsin dynasty (A. D. 307) a bell descended there from the sky, and on being recovered from a brook, was found to bear an inscription showing it to be a musical instrument made during the reign of the House of Ts'in. The range is still known by other names. One of the oldest among these is Kin-ling Shan [1]: »Golden Hill Mounts", or, in an abbreviated form, Kin-shan [2]: »Golden Mountains"; it was derived from the name Kin-ling, which Nanking bore in pre-Christian times. Further we have Tsiang-shan [3]: »Mounts of Tsiang", from one Tsiang Tszĕ-wen [4], Governor of Nanking at the close of the Han dynasty, who, having perished in an engagement against an army of insurgents, was an object of extensive worship in the locality during the course of many centuries. The chain is also often styled Tszĕ-kin Shan [5]: »Purplish Golden Mounts", which name, according to tradition, was given to it after the Emperor Yuen [6] of the Tsin dynasty, who etablished the Imperial Court at Nanking in the fourth century of our era, had seen it in a reddish haze; and even nowadays it is notorious, both among the Chinese and the foreign residents in the town, for its multifarious change of colours, especially observable on bright and sunny days. Finally, in 1531, the chain received from Shi Tsung of the Ming dynasty the name of Shen-lieh Shan [7]: »Mounts burning by Spiritual Operation" [8], this monarch intending, we think, to invigorate by the power of that name the beneficial geomantic influences which he expected the hills to pour out over T'ai Tsu's grave, to be converted there into blessings for the progeny of this Emperor.

During the Ming dynasty, and ever since, T'ai Tsu's mausoleum was styled the Hiao ling [9]. We dare not pronounce any suggestion as to the origin of this name, the Chinese books being silent on the point. Hiao ling means: »Mausoleum of Filial Piety", but this does not explain the secret; nor is the veil lifted by the circumstance that the same name was borne many centuries before by the mausoleum of Wu [10] of the Cheu dynasty, who died in A. D. 578 [11].

Like the Imperial mausolea in the Ch'ang-p'ing department, the

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1 金陵山. 2 金山. 3 蔣山.
4 蔣子文. 5 紫金山. 6 元. 7 神烈山.
8 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 4.
9 孝陵. 10 武.
11 Books of the Cheu Dynasty, ch. 6, l. 17.

Hiao ling was taken under official protection by the present reigning dynasty. In an edict which Shing Tsu sent in 1684 to the Governor-General of Kiangnan and Kiangsi, we read: »In regard » to the mausoleum of T'ai Tsu of the Ming dynasty, situated at » the foot of the Chung-shan belonging to Kiang-ning, an Imperial » rescript has hitherto been in force, ordaining that the magistracy » shall offer there a sacrifice every spring and every autumn, and » strictly forbid the gathering of fuel, as also that they shall ap- » point families to guard the mausoleum and to go their rounds » there in the morning and in the evening, to see that everything » is in order. But this rescript being of ancient date, it is exe- » cuted in all its parts with remissness. On the tour of inspection » We are now making through the Kiang-ning region, We have » personally visited the spot to worship and to offer libations to » the manes, and have seen the walls in ruins, the trees withered » and destroyed, all because ignorant people had not obeyed the » restraining rescripts. By ruthlessly treading down everything and » continually moving up and down the grounds, they have seriously » transgressed the laws. From this moment, you yourself as Go- » vernor-General and all the local Authorities, must make frequent » tours of inspection to that place and use all your powers to cause » the keepers to take assiduous care of it, lest the Bannermen and » the people of the neighbourhood persist in treading down and » destroying it, as they have hitherto done" [1].

Thus the State papers themselves teach us that the now reigning dynasty took measures for the protection of the Hiao ling already at an early date, without, however, being thereby able to prevent its being in a most lamentable condition hardly forty years after it had enthroned itself at Peking. Manchu soldiery, pursuing the conquest of the provinces, probably laid violating hands upon

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[1] 明太祖陵寢在鍾山之麓係江寧所屬地方、向已有旨令有司各官春秋致祭、嚴禁樵採、並設有守陵人戶、朝夕巡視。但爲日已久不無廢弛。今朕省方江寧親詣拜奠、見墻垣傾圮、林木凋殘、皆係無知民人不遵約束恣肆作踐、往來行走殊干法紀。嗣後爾等督令地方各官不時巡察、務俾守陵人役用心防護、勿致附近旗丁居民仍前踐蹋. *Shing hiun*, Edicts of Shing Tsu, ch. 56, l. 1.

it with the object of destroying its Fung-shui, and thereby breaking the resistance of the last champions in the cause of a family for the weal and fortunes of which it had been a palladium for more than two centuries. And the people, no longer restrained by that family, did more, gradually demolishing the mausoleum for fuel, or timber, bricks and stone for their own building-purposes. Shing Tsu allowed still many years to elapse before he took steps to restore this monument of death to somewhat of its former glory. »In the thirty-eighth year of the Khang hi period (1699)", thus we read, »permission was granted to delegate a local assistant-» magistrate of Kiang-ning to the Hiao ling of the Ming dynasty, » in order to specially direct the repairs of its ruinous parts" [1]. But those measures did not, of course, restore to the mausoleum its pristine grandeur. Nor may we expect that such a result was attained by the edict issued in 1729 by Shing Tsu's successor, which we have translated in its entirety on pp. 930 *sqq*. In China Imperial orders are often a dead letter or very laxly obeyed, especially if they tend to drain the treasuries of provincial Viceroys and other mandarins; moreover, all those edicts were certainly not intended to entail a thorough restoration. In 1744 again some repairs were ordered. »In the ninth year of the Khien lung period per-» mission was granted to delegate officials to make estimates of » the expenditure that would be required for the mausoleum of » Tʿai Tsu of the Ming dynasty, to wit, for the ruined parts of » the Halberds' Gate (*i. e.* the temple gate), the walls of the en-» closed area, the audience-chamber, the side buildings, the tu-» mulus wall etc., with orders that the rebuilding and restoration » should be started with funds drawn from the Provincial Treasury" [2].

It may be surmised that, since that time, the Hiao ling has been in a passable state of repair, as well as the mausolea in Chʿang-pʿing. The great Tʿai-pʿing insurrection was its doom. In an edict which the late Emperor Muh Tsung issued in 1864

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[1] 康熙三十八年覆準明代孝陵委江寧地方佐貳官一人專司修理傾圮. *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 32; *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 715, l. 6.

[2] 乾隆九年覆準江寧明太祖陵寢戟門圍牆朝房廊廡寶城等處均有坍塌委官勘估、卽於藩庫存公項內動撥興修. *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 35; *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 715, l. 9.

to his Chancery (Nei koh), we read: »In the third year of the »Hien fung period (A. D. 1853) the rebels took Kiangning »(Nanking) by surprise, on which occasion, according to a report of »Tseng Kü and Hiang Ying, the sacrificial temple of the Ming »mausoleum was burned. Ere now, when the blazing fire of the »insurrection was harassing the country with its violence, and suc- »cess was not on Our side, We earnestly bore the regular temple- »sacrifices of the seasons in Our mind, and felt very tristful on »account of the mausolea of the former dynasty. Now the Red »Banner Army reports that it has defeated the rebels and ex- »tirpated them, so that the city and the country around are »thoroughly pacified; but the remains of the temple after the »ravages and acts of incendiarism of the soldiery resemble a mass »of rubbish, even so that the place cannot serve for the pre- »sentation of sacrifices if no restoration is undertaken. In accord- »ance with the extraordinary rites, Tseng Kwoh-tsʿüen is com- »missioned, to provisorily resort to the Hiao ling of Tʿai Tsu of »the Ming dynasty and sacrifice there; and Tseng Kwoh-fan is »delegated to investigate, on one hand, the aspect of the places »to be repaired and restored, and to speedily report to Us as to »the same; on the other hand, he must order the local Officials »to project measures to be taken for the said repairs, and do their »best to rebuild everything complete, strong, and well-finished" [1].

This specious edict simply effected nothing. When we visited the mausoleum in 1886, we found it in a most desolate dilapidated condition. Leaving Nanking through the eastern city-gate, the high-road leads past an upright stone tablet, engraved with the three characters which express the official name of the mountains: Shen-lieh Shan. It is here that the approach to the mausoleum forks off

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[1] 咸豐三年賊匪竄陷江寧、曾據向榮奏稱明陵享殿被焚。前因逆燄鴟張未獲、以時殿祀緬懷、前朝陵廟良用惻然。現在紅旗奏捷攻拔名、城地方已臻底定、而兵燹之餘廟貌傾壞、若非重加繕治、殊不足以肅禋祀。而昭儀禮著派曾國荃前往明太祖孝陵致祭、其有應行修葺之處著曾國藩一面查明情形、迅速奏聞、一面督飭地方官酌量興修、務令完固整齊. *Shing hiun*, Edicts of Muh Tsung, ch. 37, l. 2.

to the left. Quite close by there is a pair of stone posts, connected at the top by a stone lintel, carved with six characters which read: »Officers of whatever class or rank, dismount!" [1]. At the same time the eye beholds a stone tablet on a gradient pedestal of the same material; it displays an ordinance of the year 1641, forbidding all quarrying in the mausoleum grounds, the felling of trees, etc., and also threatening with punishment all those who might presume to approach the spot without alighting when a hundred paces off, to reverently pass by afoot.

From this point we see, at about ten minutes' walk, the remains of a triple gate of brick: the counterpart of the great Red Gate of the Ch'ang-p'ing mausolea. Its walls no longer bear any vestiges of plaster or ornamentation, nor of a roof, but chips of yellow tiles may be picked up round about in the level fields. Through this gate we come in a few minutes to the ruins of the great tablet-house, likewise showing nothing but naked brick walls, the roofs having entirely disappeared, and the huge tortoise which bears the large monolith commemorating T'ai Tsu's »divine feats and sage virtues" being thus exposed to the open sky above. This building once doubtless bore a great resemblance to its counterpart in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery, its walls having on the four sides similar tunnel-like apertures, not less than eight metres in depth.

At this point the approach makes a rectangular trend to the left, having to avoid an elevation of the ground, which hitherto kept the mausoleum hidden from our view. Wading a brook, once, no doubt, spanned by a stone bridge of which there are now no remains, we soon reach the avenue of stone images, which is the only part of this cemetery that has preserved its original aspect undefaced. We have described it on page 821. The double row of animals is separated from the stone men by a pair of stone columns forming the counterpart of those at the beginning of the avenue of animals in the northern Cemetery (page 1203). At the point where these columns stand, the avenue makes a strong trend to the right, winding around the above-mentioned elevation, and immediately unveiling the mausoleum in the distance. The avenue probably once abutted on a triple gate resembling the Linteled Star Gate of the northern tombs, six stone plinths, placed in a straight line across it, showing that the same number of gate-posts must have stood here.

[1] 諸司官員下馬.

Only a few hundred paces now separate us from the mausoleum, a distance certainly very small when compared with that which lies in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery between the Linteled Star Gate and the Ch'ang ling. Having crossed some arched stone bridges lying abreast, we soon perceive that the mausoleum consists of three successive enclosed squares of different breadths, the original walls of which have disappeared and been replaced by mean walls of debris and rubbish, neither roofed, nor plastered. Those of the foremost square are only a few feet high, as if erected for no other purpose than to indicate the site of the original walls. No doubt this square once communicated with the open area before it by means of a gate; but no trace of such a building is now to be seen.

From this square we enter the second and largest court through the poor, roofless remains of a portal patched up with rubbish, which no longer conveys an idea of its original aspect. Here we find, forty paces onward, the large platform of solid stone which formerly bore the gate of the temple; but even the last traces of this gate are now obliterated. The ascents, and some remains of balustrades point out that this terrace once closely resembled that of the temple gate in the Ch'ang ling. Upon it we find a stone tortoise, bearing an upright stone tablet with this inscription: »His reign was as glorious as that of the dynasties of T'ang and Sung" [1]. It was placed there by order of Shing Tsu of the now reigning House, who wished to give the highest possible praise to T'ai Tsu's memory by blazing abroad his fame at his tomb. On either side of this eulogic monument we see the remains of two stone tablets fixed in pedestals carved with dragons in relievo; but they are very mutilous, and the inscriptions are hardly legible. Behind this row of tablets, two similar monuments of smaller dimensions stand abreast, but only one of them is in a good condition, having probably been renewed in recent times. It records that Shing Tsu in the thirty-eighth year of his reign (1699) visited Nanking while carrying relief to the country of Ngan-hwui, which was harassed by tremendous floods, and that he ordered his Ministers to offer a sacrifice in the Hiao ling, deeming it superfluous this time to perform the ceremony personally, as he had done so already on two previous occasions. Besides, the inscription goes on to say, he prescribed that some new repairs should be done. We opine that the other five tablets were erected in commemoration of similar

[1] 治隆唐宋.

Imperial visits, Shing Tsu having been at Nanking six times. On the first and the second occasion, viz. in 1684 and 1689, he offered a libation in the mausoleum in his own person [1]; in 1703 he despatched a Grand-Secretary from the town, with orders to sacrifice in the mausoleum as his proxy; two years afterwards he was there himself, and in 1707 he went up as far as the temple [2].

Behind the platform of the temple gate, at some sixty paces' distance, we find a stone terrace of three stages, formerly bearing the temple. In the broad ascents in front and at the back we count twenty steps, flanked by nicely wrought balustrades; the middlemost ascent has in the middle an inclined monolithic plane sculptured with dragons, as in the Ch'ang ling. But the terrace is inferior in dimensions to that of this mausoleum, hardly measuring forty metres in length on the top. The stone plinths once supporting the wooden pillars of the temple are still to be seen upon it; but for the rest there are no remains whatever of this edifice, except chips of bricks and ponderous yellow tiles, lying thick all around. Square granite substructures on either side, in front of the terrace, mark the spots where two sacrificial furnaces once emitted clouds of smoke from the silks and paper money sent up to the manes of the deceased monarch.

The square containing the two platforms is nearly two times and a half as broad as the next one, into which we enter through the roofless ruins of a gate situated at a short distance behind the temple terrace. The three tunnel-like openings of this gate, which strongly remind us of the Ling-ts'in men of the Ch'ang ling, still exist. This third square measures circa sixty metres in breadth, being consequently much narrower than the ts'in of the Ch'ang ling, to which it corresponds; but it is more than twice as deep, the distance from its gate to the Soul Tower being about two hundred metres. No stone altar is to be found in it. In front of the Soul Tower is an arched stone bridge, about twenty-five metres broad and nearly fifty long. Its balustrades have disappeared, except

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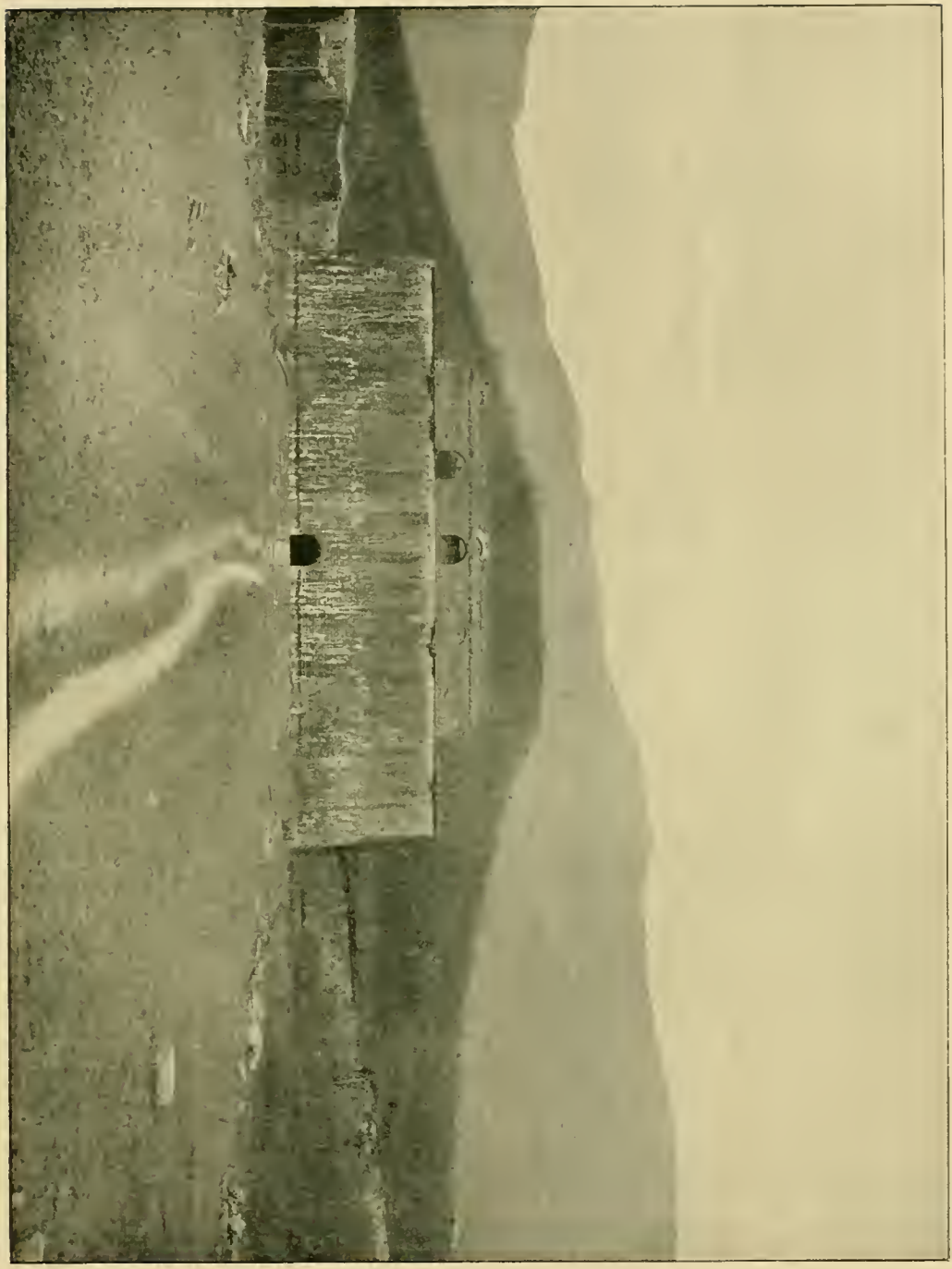
1 See the *Ch'i poh ngeu t'an* 池北偶談, a work completed in 1691 by Wang Shi-ching 王士禎; *apud* ch. 45, l. 7, of the *Lih tai ling-ts'in khao*, 歷代陵寢考. »Inquiries about the Mausolea of Successive Dynasties", an elaborate collection of jottings on the sepulchres of Chinese monarchs of every age, gleaned from all sorts of works; it is by the hand of one Chu Khung-yang 朱孔陽 and came out at Shanghai about half a century ago.

2 *Tung hwa luh*, 東華錄, an historical account of the reign of the present dynasty down to A. D. 1735; ch. 13, 15, 19 and 20.

a small portion just sufficing to show how nicely carved and elaborately wrought they were. The channel underneath the bridge traverses this square at right angles, and is entirely lined with large rectangular stone blocks; doubtless it was intended from the beginning to ensure to the grave and to the Imperial progeny a rich supply of blissful aquatic influences.

The Soul Tower (see Pl. XLIX) differs from the corresponding buildings in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery especially in this, that the terrace on which it stands is not of bricks, but of large rectangular blocks of solid stone. Moreover, the terrace is not square, measuring about sixty metres along the front and the back, and somewhat over thirty-two on the flanks; consequently it covers twice as much ground as that of the Ch'ang ling. Nearly the same proportion between length and breadth exists for the tower, which measures about forty-six metres by twenty-six, thus being likewise more than twice as large as that of the Ch'ang ling. The bricks of which it is made are more than four decimetres long; its walls are over three metres thick. The roofs are now entirely gone. The projecting eaves once rested all around the building upon wooden columns, stone plinths, evidently having served to bear the latter, being still to be seen on the borders of the high stone ledge on which the tower stands. There is one vaulted opening in the back of this edifice, and one in every flank, but the front façade has three such entrances, which is the case with none of the Soul Towers in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery. The pargeting has entirely disappeared, and so has the grave-stone, it probably lying piecemeal within the tower under the debris of the roof, overgrown with grass and weeds, out of which startled pheasants flutter up lazily at the approach of visitors. Of the parapet of the terrace even the last traces have now vanished.

Access to the top of the terrace is gained by a broad brick-paved sloping footway, constructed against its two flanks, as in the Yung ling in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery (see p. 1232). The tunnel runs upward with a considerable gradient and its outlet is quite open at the back of the terrace, immediately behind which, like in the King ling (p. 1226), lies the green foot of the tumulus. This latter is surrounded by a wall of large-sized grey bricks, originally crowned with a crenelated parapet of blocks of solid stone, as some portions still extant show; in the rear this wall slopes up against the Chung-shan, just at the foot of which the tumulus was raised. The tumulus resembles a truncated cone of an irregular shape, measuring circa sixty paces across on the top. It is covered all over with brambles



Ruins of the Soul Tower of T'ai Tsu's Mausoleum.

and small trees, which do not, however, grow so dense as to prevent the visitor in the least from moving up and down it in any direction.

As the top of this gigantic tumulus stands out high above the roofless remains of the Soul Tower, it affords a wide bird's-eye view over the walled enclosures and the vast plain beyond, now treeless, but undoubtedly, like the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery, once planted with countless sepulchral trees. A few mean cabins inside the enclosures indicate that the Government has not entirely withdrawn its protection from this ruined cenotaph, for they are inhabited by warders officially appointed to look after it. For the rest the eye hardly descries any human dwellings, the population having been exterminated by the terrible scourge of war which passed over it in 1853, when the T'ai-p'ing insurgents captured Nanking, and again in 1864, when they had to surrender the city to the Imperial armies.

T'ai Tsu's mortal remains were solemnly entombed here in the intercalary month following on the fifth month of the year 1398, only six days after his demise [1]. The tumulus had been made already many years before, for we read that his consort Hiao Ts'ze [2], the ancestress of the whole dynasty, was buried in the Hiao ling in 1382, forty-five days after her death [3]. It is further stated in the Official Annals, that the temple was finished in 1383 and solemnly inaugurated with a sacrifice, presented within its walls by the Heir-Apparent and his train of Imperial Princes [4]. Concerning the completion of the avenue we do not find any data recorded. But we think it existed previous to the removal of the Court to Peking, its grandeur and the great size of the stone images warranting the surmise that it was not originally intended to serve for a single mausoleum, but rather for a whole Imperial graveyard which was then expected to arise there in the course of centuries, as has in reality become the case in the Ch'ang-p'ing region.

During the reign of the Ming dynasty, the Hiao ling was officially ranked among its most important places of worship and sacrifice. »An Inspectorate for the Dwelling of the Manes shall »be established there", thus say the Statute Ordinances of that House, »as also a special garrison, and an Office for Sacrificial

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1 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 3, l. 15, and ch. 4, l. 1.

2 孝慈.

3 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 3, ll. 1 *seq.*, and ch. 113, l. 6.

4 *Op. cit.*, ch. 60, l. 2.

» Services [1]. Every year incense shall be offered in it on New Year's » Day, in the first month of winter, and on the anniversaries of the » Emperor's death and birth; further, a sacrifice shall be presented on » the spot in the season of Pure Brightness (see p. 968), on the fif- » teenth of the seventh month, and at the winter solstice; and on » these occasions a former High Minister of zeal and merit shall » be specially ordered to perform the ceremonies, attended by a » retinue of civil and military officers from every Yamen in Nan- » king. Whenever an Imperial Prince of the first rank travels to » his principality, he shall, on passing Nanking, pay his respects » in the mausoleum, and the same shall be done by every office- » bearer who enters that city on duty; and such grandees shall » also take leave there on departing from the city. And whenever » anything of importance comes to pass in the Imperial Family, a » Minister shall be delegated to announce it to the Manes, with pre- » sentation of a sacrifice" [2]. These rescripts were made by T'ai Tsu's successor, immediately after his accession [3].

In or near the Chung-shan were also buried the remains of many Imperial Consorts of lower rank. But it is nowadays hardly possible to trace the vestiges of their sepulchres. Nor can we make out in how many tombs they were buried, either within the precincts of T'ai Tsu's mausoleum, or outside the same, as we know no author providing us on this head with such precious details as Ku Yen-wu gives about the Cemetery in Ch'ang-p'ing. The Statute Ordinances of the Ming dynasty put us off with the hazy statement, that »the secondary Consorts were all buried together with the » Emperor, and only two of them were interred on the east and » west of his mausoleum" [4]. A passage quoted by us on page 733

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1 The same measures were, as we have seen on pp. 1213 *seq.*, taken with regard to the northern mausolea, but at a later date.

2 設神宮監、并孝陵衛、及祠祭署。每歲正旦、孟冬、忌辰、萬壽聖節、俱行香、清明、中元、冬至、俱祭祀、特令勳舊大臣一員行禮、南京各衙門文武官俱陪行禮。若親王之國過南京者謁陵、官員以公事入城者謁陵、出城者辭陵。國有大事則遣大臣祭告. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 2.

3 History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 58, l. 2, and ch. 60, l. 3.

4 孝陵諸妃俱陪葬、惟二妃葬陵之東西. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 5.

from the official dynastic history, says that T'ai Tsu was followed in death by numerous Dames of his harem; and according to the *Suh wen lien t'ung khao*, the number of Concubines thus immolated amounted to thirty-eight out of forty (see page 734). To these particulars we may add a few afforded by Mao Khi-ling[1], a contemporary of Ku Yen-wu, who recounts in a series of memoirs relating to the Ming family, which he published under the title of *T'ung shi shih i ki*[2] or »Record of neglected Matters concerning the Imperial History": »Forty-six Concubines were entombed with »T'ai Tsu in the Hiao ling, but there were only some ten Palace »Dames among them who had sacrificed their lives. In the seventh »month of the thirty-first year of the Hung wu period (*i. e.* two »months after T'ai Tsu's death), the Emperor who reigned during »the Kien wen period (see p. 1179) promoted Chang Hwang, »Li Heng etc., and a hundred mounted sword-bearing Chamber»lains selected from the Life-guards with Embroidered Uniforms, »to the dignity of Chiliarchs and Centurions *in situ*, making these »offices hereditary in their families. These men were all fathers and »brothers of the Dames of the Western Palace who had immolated »themselves at T'ai Tsu's burial; hence people at the time called »them the Relations of the Imperial Ladies of the Court"[3].

Not far from the great mausoleum, on the left or eastern side, some rubbish is pointed out as indicating the place where once stood the beautiful cenotaph of T'ai Tsu's eldest son, the Heir-Apparent Piao[4], born of the Empress Hiao Tsz'ĕ. He died in 1392 during the reign of his father, the dignity of Crown-Prince thereby devolving upon the son Hwui (see p. 1178). Piao is known in history by the posthumous name of I Wen[5], and also as the Emperor Hiao Khang[6], which high title was conferred on him, together with the honorary temple-name of Hing Tsung[7], by Hwui, a few

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[1] 毛奇齡. [2] 形史拾遺記.

[3] 太祖以四十六妃陪葬孝陵、其中所殉惟宮人十數人。洪武三十一年七月建文帝以張鳳李衡等由錦衣衛所試百戶散騎帶刀舍人進爲本所千百戶、其官皆世襲。以諸人皆西宮殉葬宮人父兄、世所稱朝天女戶者也.

[4] 標. [5] 懿文. [6] 孝康皇帝.

[7] 興宗.

months after his accession [1]. But he was divested of this dignity by Ch'ing Tsu, in the year after this magnate had dethroned Hwui to himself assume the Imperial dignity. Indeed, as this conquerer refused to recognize Hwui as lawful Son of Heaven (see p. 1180), it was quite reasonable that he should divest the father of a title obtained in virtue of the Imperial dignity of his son.

The Tombs of the Ancestors of the Ming Dynasty.

In the province of Ngan-hwui, which extends along the western frontiers of that of Kiangsu, of which Nanking is the capital, two cemeteries exist, containing the remains of the four immediate ancestors of the founder of the Ming dynasty. » When this monarch » had offered a sacrifice to Heaven and Earth in the southern suburbs » on the day yih-hai of the first month of the first year of the » Hung wu period, he ascended the Imperial throne, and decided » that the designation of the owners of the World should be Ming, » and that the epoch of his reign should be styled Hung wu. » He bestowed honours on his deceased great-great-grandfather by » conferring on him the title of Emperor Yuen, with the temple- » name of Teh Tsu; to his defunct great-grandfather he gave the » title of Emperor Heng and the temple-name of I Tsu; to his late » grandfather the title of Emperor Yü and the temple-name of Hi » Tsu; and to his late father the title of Emperor Shun and the » temple-name of Jen Tsu. Their spouses were all raised by him » to the dignity of Empresses" [2]. T'ai Tsu's first act of sovereignty thus being to elevate his immediate ancestors to a rank equal to his own, in obedience to the laws of filial piety and in imitation of what the founders of former dynasties had done, it was only reasonable for him also to convert their graves into sepulchres worthy of their high titulary position; and he was not backward in doing so.

The graves of his three first-named ancestors were located in

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1 See the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 4, l. 2, and ch. 115, l. 4.

2 洪武元年春正月乙亥祀天地於南郊、即皇帝位、定有天下之號曰明、建元洪武。追尊高祖考曰元皇帝、廟號德祖、曾祖考曰恒皇帝、廟號懿祖、祖考曰裕皇帝、廟號熙祖、皇考曰淳皇帝、廟號仁祖。妣皆皇后. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 2, l. 1.

Szĕ-cheu [1], a department north-west of Nanking, forming a part of the province of Ngan-hwui. From its chief city, which may be reached from Nanking in about four days, thirty Chinese miles northward take us to the spot. According to tradition, it was its exquisite Fung-shui that enabled the Chu [2] family, that lived there, to become the cradle of an Imperial family of so much glory and renown. We read on this head:

» The grandfather of the dynasty originally dwelled in Kü-yung » (a district near Nanking, to the south-west; comp. p. 1045), in the » village of T'ung-teh, in the street inhabited by the Chu family. » He lived in the last years of the reign of the Sung dynasty » and in the first years of that of the House of Yuen. In the Chi » yuen period (1264—1295, under Kublai) he migrated with his » kinsfolk across the (Yang-tszĕ) river, under the pressure of the » troubles prevailing at the time; he arrived in Szĕ-cheu, perceived » that the climate was pure and the soil fat, and settled there for » good. Eighteen years afterwards, he once upon a day laid him- » self down to rest at the back of his house, upon a mound » belonging to the Yang family, when two professors of Taoism » happened to pass by the foot of the mound. One of them, » pointing towards the spot where he was lying, said: 'If any one » be buried there, the spot will certainly produce an emperor'. » And upon his disciple asking him the why and wherefore, he » went on to say: 'If you put the matter to the test by means of » a dry branch, you will see it produce leaves'. They told Hi Tsu » to rise, who purposely feigned to be dozing. The Taoist now » stuck a dry branch into the ground, and went on.

» Ten days afterwards, at early dawn, Hi Tsu repaired to the » spot to see whether anything had happened, and found the » branch in leaf. He pulled it out of the ground and replaced it » by a dry branch. When the Taoists came back, they felt astonished, » and on perceiving Hi Tsu, who stood close by, they pointed at » him, saying: 'No doubt this man has changed our stick for » another'. Then they said to him: 'If you are buried here on » your felicitous departure from this life, there shall be a Son » of Heaven born among your descendants'; and they suddenly » vanished. Thus Hi Tsu came to be buried on this spot at his » death, which occurred in the second year of the Chi hwo period » of the Yuen dynasty (A. D. 1329). When they began to throw

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[1] 泗州. [2] 朱.

» earth upon his grave, it spontaneously fashioned itself into a » tumulus" [1].

T'ai Tsu's father transferred his dwelling-place to the department of Fung-yang [2], which borders on Szĕ-chen to the south. Afterwards he was buried not far from the chief city of that department; and it was probably for this reason that T'ai Tsu resolved on establishing there the capital of his newly acquired Empire, and began to give execution to the plan. »In the ninth month of the » second year of his reign", so we read, »he commenced building » the walls of a Central Metropolis westward from the old chief city » of that department; these walls were finished in the twelfth month » of the following year, and measured fifty miles and 443 pu in » circumference. In the centre an Imperial City (for the Palaces) » was made, nine miles and thirty pu in circuit, and with a gate, » called the Southern, exactly on the southern exposure" [3]. Though this new Metropolis never served the Court for a residence, yet, as we shall see on page 1275, it was carefully maintained, probably because excellent accommodation was furnished by it for the troops appointed for the protection of Jen Tsu's grave,

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[1] 初世祖爲句容通德鄉朱家巷人。生宋季元初。至元間因亂爭挈家渡、至泗州、見其風土淳厚、居焉。凡一十八年一日臥屋後楊家墩、下墩有窩遇二道士過。指臥處曰、若葬此必出天子。其徒曰、何也、曰、若以枯枝試之 必生葉。亟呼熙祖起、熙祖故燕睡。道士乃插枯枝去。

十日後熙祖侵晨往驗、果生葉。因拔去生枝、別易枯枝。前道士復來心異之、見熙祖在旁因指之曰、必此人易去。遂語祖曰、若有福歿葬此、當出天子、語訖忽不見。元致和二年熙祖歿、因葬焉。甫封土卽自成墳. *Ch'un ming mung yü luh*, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, ch. 65.

[2] 鳳陽府.

[3] 洪武二年九月建中都城於舊城西、三年十二月始成、周五十里四百四十三步。中爲皇城、周九里三十步、正南門曰午門. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 40, l. 24.

which was situated twelve Chinese miles south-westward from it [1].

» When the works at the Central Metropolis and the Imperial » mausoleum had commenced, the limits had been measured out and » the walls were to be built, the authorities memorialized the Throne » to the effect that the vicinal graves of the people ought to be » removed from the grounds. But the Emperor said: 'They are all » graves of former neighbours belonging to Our family; they need » not be removed'. And when the mausoleum was finished, a board » with gilded characters was suspended at each of the four gates, » displaying this inscription: 'If there are within this mausoleum » ground any graves of former generations of the people, the » people shall be allowed to go in and out to sacrifice and sweep » on the spot in spring and autumn; no obstacles shall be placed » in their way'" [2].

The solicitude of the founder of the Ming dynasty for the tombs of his ancestors is characterized by the following passages, which we find among the Statute Ordinances of that House: »The mau- » soleum of Hi Tsu, situated in Szĕ-cheu in the present department » of Fung-yang, north of Pin-ch'ing, was endowed in the first » year of the Hung wu period with the honorary designation » of Tsu ling (*i. e.* the 'Mausoleum of the Grandfather'). An » Office for Sacrificial Services was established at Szĕ-cheu, and » an officer for presenting sacrifices appointed, who had also to » sacrifice at the mausolea of Teh Tsu and I Tsu. Two hundred » and ninety-three mausoleum families were assigned to water and » sweep those grounds. Every year on New Year's Day, in the season » of Pure Brightness, on the 15th. of the seventh month, at the » winter solstice, and at the new moon and the full moon of every » month, the dignitaries in the aforesaid office are to offer sacrifices » there and to perform ceremonies" [3].

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1 See the *Yih t'ung chi* of the Ming Dynasty, 明一統志, quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 93, l. 2.

2 中都皇陵初建時、量度界限將築周垣、所司奏民家墳墓在傍者宜外徙。高皇曰、此墳墓皆吾家舊隣里、不必外徙。及成皇陵、四門縣金字牌各一、其文云、民間先世如有墳墓在陵域者、春秋祭掃聽民出入、無禁. *Lih tai ling-ts'in khao*, ch. 45, l. 16.

3 熙祖陵在今鳳陽府泗州蠙城之北、洪武初尊號曰祖陵。設泗州祠祭署、置奉祀一員、又望

» And the mausoleum of Jen Tsu, situate at the Central Metro-
» polis in the department of Fung-yang, close to the village of
» T'ai-p'ing, was endowed in the same year of the Hung wu period
» with the honorary name of Hwang ling (*i. e.* the Imperial
» Mausoleum). A special guard was appointed for it, together with
» an Office for Sacrificial Services, composed of a chief officer for pre-
» senting sacrifices and three subaltern sacrificial officers, all of whom
» were former State servants of great zeal, possessing an hereditary degree
» of nobility. The mausoleum families were 3342 in number; they had
» to provide for suitable halting-places and lodgings (for the visitors
» and their corteges), and to water and to sweep the grounds.
» Twenty-four Masters of the Ceremonies were appointed at the Court
» to act as directors when sacrifices were offered. The annual cere-
» monies on New Year's Day, in the season of Pure Brightness, on
» the 15th. of the seventh month, at the beginning of winter and
» at the winter solstice, were to be performed by the functionaries
» of the Office for Sacrificial Services, and the ceremonies at new
» moon and full moon by the officers stationed in the Central
» Metropolis. Since the first year of the Hung chi period (1488)
» an officer of the Court has been delegated, with orders from the
» Emperor to supervise the measures taken for the preservation of
» the mausoleum. In general, when officers on duty travel past it,
» they are bound to visit it and render homage" [1].

From the above rescripts relating to the grave of Hi Tsu it seems to follow, that it was situated close to those of Teh Tsu and I Tsu, and that the latter were merely considered as

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祭德祖懿祖二陵。置陵戶二百九十三戶供洒掃。每歲正旦、清明、中元、冬至、及每月朔望、本署官供祭行禮. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 1.

[1] 仁祖陵在中都鳳陽府太平鄉、洪武初尊號曰皇陵。設皇陵衛并祠祭署、署官奉祀一員、祀丞三員、俱勳舊世襲。置陵戶三千三百四十二戶、供直宿、灑掃。於內選禮生二十四名、供祭祀執事。每歲正旦、清明、中元、孟冬、冬至、俱署官行禮、朔望中都留守司官行禮。弘治元年以來差內官一員奉勅監護。凡官員以公事經過者俱謁陵. *Op. et loc. cit.*

accessory to it. It deserves attention that the number of families appointed for the protection of this burial-ground only amounted to about a twelfth of those appointed for the Hwang ling, and that, unlike this latter, it was not garrisoned, as also that the officer appointed to sacrifice at it was not assisted by three subaltern officers; all which facts clearly show that it occupied a much lower position than the Hwang ling among the objects the dynasty deemed worthy of its attention. »The temple of the »Tsu ling", we further read, »was erected in the fourth year of »the Hung wu period (1371). It was modelled after the temples »of the dynasties of T'ang and Sung, inasmuch as (the three »ancestors) had one common main hall in it, and each a special »compartment to himself. The front hall and the back hall of »this edifice each contained fifteen pillars, two of which formed an »extra compartment on the eastern as well as on the western side. »This arrangement had been proposed by Suh, the Prince of Tsin. »The compartment for the worship of the soul tablet of Teh Tsu, »at the same time destined for the general family sacrifices, was »between the three central pillars; I Tsu was worshipped at the »eastern pillar, and Hi Tsu at the western. In the nineteenth year »of his reign the same Emperor ordered the Heir-Apparent to »travel to Szĕ-cheu, and there take in hand the restoration of the »Tsu ling, as also to bury crowns and costumes on the spot in »behalf of the three Imperial Ancestors and their chief Consorts" [1]. This statement that the three Ancestors had one temple in common, implies, we think, that their remains rested in one mausoleum.

And in reference to the Hwang ling we read: »T'ai Tsu, on »visiting Hao-cheu (*i. e.* Fung-yang), resolved to transfer the remains »of his father (to the Chung-shan); but this plan was not carried »out. He heightened the tumulus with earth and ordered the »people living of old around the mausoleum, viz., the families »named Wang, Wen, Liu, Ying etc., twenty in all, to watch over it.

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[1] 洪武四年建祖陵廟。倣唐宋同堂異室之制。前殿寢殿俱十五楹、東西旁各二爲夾室。如晉王肅所議。中三楹通爲一室奉德祖神位、以備祫祭、東一楹奉懿祖、西一楹奉熙祖。十九年命皇太子往泗州修繕祖陵、葬三祖帝后冠服. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 58, l. 1.

» In the second year of the Hung wu period he conferred on it » the honorific name of Ying ling, which he afterwards changed » to that of Hwang ling" [1]. This mausoleum was a real family cemetery. For close to it there were also five sepulchres with the remains of Jen Tsu's brothers, to whom T'ai Tsu had granted the title of Imperial Prince (Wang) at the commencement of his reign; and three of them were interred there with their consorts. The manes of all were worshipped regularly by officers appointed to that end [2]. We but cursorily note that another cemetery, containing the remains of ten personages elevated to the rank of Prince on T'ai Tsu's accession, and of four of their spouses, was situated twenty-five Chinese miles north of Fung-yang in the so-called White Pagoda Grounds [3]. An Office for Sacrificial Services was also instituted for this burial-ground, and families were appointed to guard it [4].

As long as the Ming dynasty was in possession of the throne and the realm, its two oldest cemeteries were just as much objects of its unwearied care as the mausolea of the Emperors who had actually reigned, being all the same regarded as corner-stones of the Fung-shui and fortunes of the Crown. We read of repairs ordered by different Sons of Heaven; of solemn sacrifices personally presented by them at the Hwang ling when passing by on their frequent journeys between Peking and Nanking; of edicts ordering rigorous measures to be taken against violation of those sacred grounds. So, for example, »it was ordained in the fifteenth year of the » Ch'ing hwa period (A. D. 1479) with respect to the forbidden » hills and grounds of the Hwang ling, the Imperial City, and » the Tsu ling in Szĕ-cheu: The civilians and military appointed » to go their rounds there shall apply themselves with zeal and » care to the work of inspecting and watching; and nobody shall » be allowed to fell any trees there, or to fetch away soil or » stones, or to erect kilns for pottery or bricks, or to burn the » vegetation on the hills. As to those who render themselves

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[1] 太祖至濠嘗議改葬、不果。因增土以培其封、令陵旁故人汪文劉英等二十家守視。洪武二年薦號曰英陵、後改稱皇陵. *Op. et loc. cit.*

2 *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch, 83, l. 7; History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 59, l. 15; *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 133, l. 11.

[3] 白塔地.

4 *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, ll. 6 *seq.*: History of the Ming Dynasty, *loc. cit.*; and *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, *loc. cit.*

» guilty of ploughing or sowing outside or inside the Imperial City, » or pasture cattle there, or spoil or deface anything, the chief » culprits shall be put to death, and all their kinsfolk sent to a » remote region for perpetual banishment. And if those who have » to examine such cases accept money or presents; or if the grounds » are not diligently and cautiously guarded and inspected; or if » the military captains, overseers, etc., eager for bribes, are remiss » in restraining the people by severity, so that the lower classes » freely do harm there and are not kept within bounds, they shall » each and all meet with condign punishment" [1]. We learn from this edict, that the Central Metropolis and the enclosed Palace-grounds within it, had not ceased to be objects of official concern one hundred and ten years after they were built, and that they were then so sparsely populated, that even in those Palace-grounds the soil was in perpetual danger of being converted into fields and meadows. Provisions being made for it and for the neighbouring mausoleum in one and the same edict, it is clear that both were officially considered to be inseparably connected.

In 1531, when Shi Tsung gave a new, high-sounding name to the Chung-shan (see page 1257), he decreed at the same time that the grounds about the Tsu ling should thenceforth be styled Ki-yun Shan [2], »Mounts forming the Base of the Destiny (of the dynasty)", as also that those about the Hwang ling should bear the name of Yih-shing Shan [3], »Mountains creating a Glorious Imperialty" [4]. The rebellions which harassed the reign of the last monarch of the Ming dynasty, finally entailing his suicide and the downfall of his House, also struck the first blows at his ancestral tombs, for we read, that »in the eighth year of the Ch'ung

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[1] 成化十五年令鳳陽皇陵皇城并泗州祖陵所在應禁山塲地土、巡山官軍務要用心巡視、不許伐樹、取土石、開窯燒造、燒山。及於皇城內外耕種、牧放、作踐、有犯者正犯處死、家口俱發邊遠充軍。有科斂銀兩饋送、不用心巡視、及守備留守等官貪圖賄賂不嚴加約束、以致下人恣肆作弊不能禁治者、一體重罪. *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 83, l. 9.

[2] 基運山. [3] 翌聖山.

[4] History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 4.

»ching period Chang Hien-chʿung captured Fung-yang, and set »fire to the Soul Tower and the temple of the Hwang ling"[1]. It is hardly imaginable that in those days, precarious as they were, the other Imperial ancestral tombs in that region should have remained undamaged, internal peace returning no more in the nine years which still elapsed before the Ming dynasty was finally dethroned. And the House of Tsʿing does not seem to have much troubled itself about the restoration of those monuments, not a word about measures in this sense being found by us in any collection of Imperial Ordinances issued during its reign. We cannot say whether any remains or ruins of those mausolea are still extant, as the part of the Empire in which they would lie has not been explored by us. The absence of a description from these pages cannot, however, be a great drawback, as it would undoubtedly give hardly anything to read but an abridged repetition of our accounts of the Ming tombs in Chʿang-pʿing and near Nanking.

The Mausoleum of the Titulary Emperor Hien.

Under the Ming dynasty, enfeoffed Imperial Princes were, it seems, often buried in their feudal kingdoms. This was also the case with Yiu Yuen[2], younger brother of the Emperor Hiao Tsung. Appointed in 1487 feudal Ruler (Wang) of the country of Hing[3], in the province of Hupeh, he died in 1519 and was buried in the hills north of Ngan-luh[4], the chief city of his fief, extant to this day on the left banks of the river Han[5] as chief city of a department of the same name. Two years afterwards, the son of this magnate inherited the Imperial throne from Wu Tsung, Hiao Tsung's son, who died without male issue (see p. 1231); he is known in history by the temple-name of Shi Tsung. As one of his first measures, he conferred the posthumous title of Emperor upon his father, who was thenceforth styled: Emperor Hien of Hing[6], the honorary name of Hien having been bestowed on him at his death by the then reigning sovereign. Shi Tsung »elevated his father's sepulchral park »to the rank of a ling, appointed inspectors and guards for it »from among the members of the Imperial clan, in accordance

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[1] 崇禎八年張獻忠陷鳳陽、焚皇陵樓殿, *Op. cit.*, ch. 23, l. 10.

[2] 祐杭. [3] 興王. [4] 安陸.

[5] 漢. [6] 興獻帝.

» with the prevailing custom, and instituted an Office for Sacrificial » Services for it. Ts'ien Tszĕ-hiun memorialized that the remains » of the Emperor Hien ought to be transferred to the T'ien-sheu » Mounts and buried there. But Sih Shu, President of the Board » of Rites, demonstrated that the Emperor Kao (T'ai Tsu) had » not been transferred to the Tsu ling, nor T'ai Tsung (Ch'ing » Tsu) to the Hiao ling, so that circumspection was advisable. As » Chao Hwang, the President of the Board of Works, also » advised against the measure, the Emperor desisted from it, and » conferred upon the mausoleum the honorary name of Hien » ling" [1]. This name had also been borne by the sepulchres of Kao Tsu [2] of the Tsin dynasty, and Shi Tsung [3] of the House of Liao, who died respectively in A. D. 943 and 950 [4]. » In the » seventh year of his reign, Shi Tsung himself prepared an in- » scription for a stone tablet in the Hien ling; (in the tenth » year) he conferred the name of Shun-teh Shan: 'Mounts of Pure » Virtues or Benefits', upon the Sung-lin Shan or 'Pine Forest » Mounts' (in which the mausoleum was situate), changing also » the name of the Ngan-luh department into that of Ch'ing-t'ien, » *i. e.* 'Inheritance of Imperial Dignity'" [5].

Simultaneously with his deceased father, Shi Tsung conferred the Imperial dignity upon his still living mother, who bore the surname of Tsiang [6]. » In the twelfth month of the seventeenth year » of the Kia tsing period", thus we read further, » she died, and the » Emperor then ordained that the Boards of Rites and Works should » re-inter the remains of the Emperor Hien in the Great Valley » grounds (forming a part of the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery, see p. 1225).

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1 尊園曰陵、黃屋監衛如制、設祠署。錢子勳言獻皇帝宜遷葬天壽山。禮部尚書席書議高皇帝不遷祖陵、太宗不遷孝陵、蓋其慎也。工部尚書趙璜亦言不可、乃止、尊陵名曰顯陵. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 115, l. 6.

2 高祖. 3 世宗.

4 History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 9, l. 2, and History of the Liao Dynasty, ch. 5, l. 3.

5 七年親製顯陵碑、封松林山爲純德山、改安陸州爲承天府. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 115, l. 6. See also ch. 59, l. 10; ch. 60, l. 4; ch. 17, l. 8.

6 蔣.

» He ordered Kwoh Hiun, King of the principality of Yih, to » superintend the measures to be taken in regard to a mausoleum » for his Imperial mother; but when he had himself travelled to » the Great Valley and seen the spot, he ordered measures to be » contrived for the conveyance of the Empress-Dowager to the » south, for burial there at the side of her consort. Now Yen » Sung, President of the Board of Rites, demonstrated in concert » with others that, setting out in the morning, the Great Valley » might be reached the same evening, but that the Hien ling » was so far away in Ch'ing-t'ien, that the Emperor (if his parents » were buried in this mausoleum) would think with uneasiness of » them all the year round; therefore, they said, it would be better » to follow the course resolved upon at first. The Emperor there- » upon said: 'Indeed, Ch'ing Tsu must have often asked himself » why his grandfather was buried in the south, in the Hiao » ling'. So he did not yet give execution to his plan, but ordered » Chao Tsun to set out and open his father's crypt to examine it.

» This officer returned the following year, reporting the Hien » ling to be no felicitous sepulchre. The Emperor thereupon resolved » to travel to the south himself; his chief ministers Hü Tsan etc. » dissuaded him from doing so, but their advice was not heeded; » and when Wang T'ing-siang, the Censor for the left part of the » Metropolis, joined his remonstrances to theirs, he retorted: 'I » do not go for idle reasons, but for my mother's sake'. The » Censor Lü Jan, the Supervising Censor of the Boards Tseng » T'ing, the Censor Liu Hien, the Board Secretary Yoh Lun, etc. » likewise consecutively addressed protests to the Throne. But the » Emperor turned a deaf ear to them, and in the third month » he arrived at Ch'ing-t'ien, where he visited the Hien ling and » had a new crypt made, declaring he destined it for the burial » of the Empress by the side of her spouse.

» On the way back he passed Khing-tu. Here the Censor Sié » Siao-nan directed his attention to the grave of the mother of Yao, » and requested him to offer a sacrifice at it, rescripts about it being » laid down among the official ordinances concerning the sacrifices » of the State. The Emperor then spoke: 'As the parents of the » Emperor Yao are buried in separate sepulchres, it is clear that » burying husband and wife in the same grave was not customary » in ancient times'. Forthwith he bowed to Siao-nan in token of » respect, and was prevailed upon by the Senior Director of the » Supervisorate of the studies of the Heir-Apparent, a Han-lin

» graduate of the third degree, to bury his mother in the Great » Valley grounds. But when he visited the Ch'ang ling in the » fourth month, he declared to Yen Sung that the Great Valley » was not so good as the Shun-teh Mounts; and he ordered Ts'ui » Yuen to convey the coffin to the south, where it was entombed » in the Hien ling, at the side of her Imperial Consort, in the » seventh month" [1].

As a matter of course, the mausoleum of this titulary Imperial couple was administered, guarded and sacrificed at on the same footing as the other burial-places of the Ming family, and similar offices were instituted for the proper execution of the rescripts issued with respect to it by the Throne. »It was finished in the second month of the twentieth year of Shi Tsung's reign" [2], that is to say, nineteen months after the burial of his mother. Among the edicts promulgated by the now reigning dynasty, we have never found any, prescribing measures for the preservation of this cenotaph. Neverthe-

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[1] 嘉靖十七年十二月崩、諭禮工二部將改葬獻皇帝於大峪山。使翊國公郭勛知聖母山陵事、已帝親幸大峪相視、令議奉太后南詣合葬。而禮部尚書嚴嵩等言、大峪可朝發夕至、顯陵遠在承天、恐陛下春秋念之、臣謂如初議便。帝曰、成祖豈不思皇祖耶何以南孝陵。因止、而令趙俊往且啟視幽宮.

明年俊歸、謂顯陵不吉。遂議南巡、九卿大臣許讚等諫、不聽、左都御史王廷相又諫、帝曰、朕豈空行哉、爲吾母耳。已而侍御呂柟、給事中曾烶、御史劉賢、郎中岳倫等復相繼疏諫。不聽、三月帝至承天、謁顯陵、作新宮焉、曰待合葬也.

歸過慶都。御史謝少南言慶都有堯母墓、佚於祀典請祀之。帝曰、帝堯父母異陵、可知合葬非古。卽拜少南、左春坊左司直兼翰林院檢討定議葬大峪山。四月帝謁長陵、諭嚴嵩曰、大峪不如純德、仍命崔元護梓宮南祔、七月合葬顯陵. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 115, l. 8.

[2] 二十年春二月顯陵成. *Op. cit.*, ch. 17, l. 14.

less it seems preposterous to conclude herefrom, that the Central Government and the Authorities of the region in which it lies have always left it to its own fate, for it still exists at the present day, though in a ruinous condition. We learn this from a short description of this tomb, which M. Michaelis gives in his account of a journey he made in 1879—81 through central and western China[1]. This description, illustrated by a sketch-plan of which Fig. 42 is a reproduction, shows that this sepulchral monument, though not differing essentially in plan from the other mausolea of the Ming dynasty, possesses some features which render it worth while reproducing here what its author mentions of it.

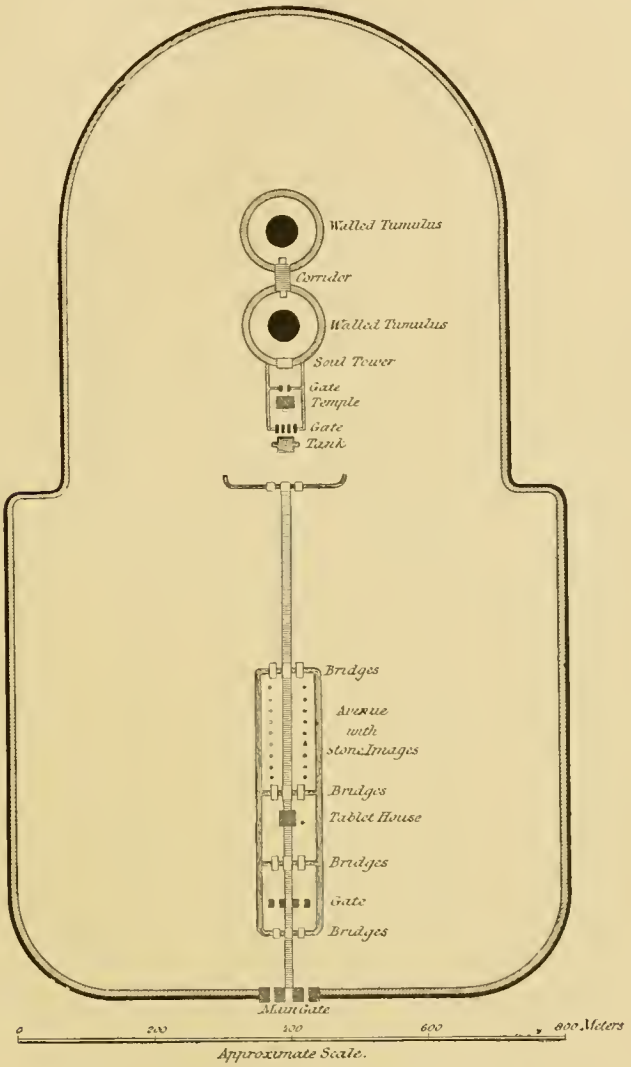
The avenue inclusively, it is situate within a vast, walled area of almost two kilometres by one, to a great extent converted into rice-fields. The foremost half of this enclosure is nearly square, with rounded corners; the hindmost half, which contains the tumuli, is rounded off at the back. The brick wall approximates to six metres in height, and is roofed with yellow and blue glazed tiles. In the middle of the front wall, which faces the south, is a large brick gate, built on a basement of sandstone, hard and solid, and with three passages, eight metres deep. Behind it, a path, partly paved with slabs of stone, leads across a triple stone bridge with balustrades of the same material to an insulated gate, which we do not doubt is the counterpart of the Red Gate of the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery; close by it stands a hamlet, where, we think, the descendants dwell of the families that were appointed in times long past to guard the grounds. Moving onward in a lineal direction, we again cross a triple bridge, then arriving at a tablet-house measuring eighteen metres on every side and entirely of stone blocks. It has in every façade a lofty, arched entrance, over which are affixed slabs of stone sculptured with curling dragons; the roof is destroyed, and the tablet has fallen to the ground.

Behind the tablet-house is another triple bridge, giving access to an avenue lined with full-sized, clumsy stone images of animals and men. It is almost two hundred metres long. First we have a pair of octagonal pillars covered with sculpture; then follow two lions, two tigers, two camels, two pairs of unicorns and two horses, all couching, and finally two standing horses, two pairs of military officers, and two pairs of civilians. The avenue terminates at a gate

1 »Von Hankau nach Su-tschou", published in »Petermanns Mitteilungen" for 1888, Ergänzungsheft n°. 91, page 9.

of stone blocks, corresponding, we think, to the Linteled Star Gate of the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery; behind it lies again a triple bridge

Fig. 42.



Sketch Plan of the Mausoleum of Shi Tsung's Parents.

of stone. The four bridges span short transverse canals, which terminate on either side in a ditch running parallel with the avenue, so that this latter is entirely surrounded by a moat, doing service, we believe, as a repository for good aquatic influences.

About 250 metres onward we pass a triple bridge, beyond which we behold a round pond lined with blocks of stone, which, we suppose, is intended to insure the felicity of the temple and the tumuli that are situated farther on. The diameter of this pond is about thirty metres. Having passed through a triple gate raised on a platform of stone, we enter a walled court paved with slabs, and perceive in the background a platform which formerly bore a temple, now almost entirely destroyed. A transverse wall with a gate in the middle separates this court from a second yard, bounded in the rear by a square Soul Tower. In front of this edifice stands a stone altar, before which we see a tripod and two columns of the same material. The terrace of the Soul Tower communicates with a circular area, surrounded by a wall three metres thick, in the centre of which stands a round tumulus, nine metres in height. This enclosure is followed by another of similar form, which likewise contains a round tumulus in the middle; and both are connected by a raised open passage, nine metres wide, formed by two parallel walls and entered at either extremity by means of a flight of steps. We suppose the frontmost mound contains the remains of the Emperor, and that in the rear those of his spouse. These sepulchres alone are in a good condition, but everything else is in a state of neglect.

5. The Burial-Grounds of the Present Reigning Dynasty.

a. The two Cemeteries in Peh-chihli Province.

The Manchu founder of the Ts'ing dynasty, who mounted the throne of China on the conquest of Peking by his armies in 1644, and most of his successors down to the present day, are, together with their chief Consorts and Concubines, buried in a valley or a series of vales, in Tsun-hwa [1], one of the departments of the province of Peh-chihli abutting to the west on the department of Shun-t'ien, in which Peking lies. Officially and popularly those tombs are designated by the name of Tung ling [2]: »the Eastern Mausolea", on account of their situation eastward from Peking. They stand against a broad chain of hills, called the Ch'ang-shui Shan [3] or »Hills of Radiant Felicity", over which the Great Wall runs from east to west, forming the northern boundary of the

[1] 遵花州. [2] 東陵. [3] 昌瑞山.

Cemetery. The walled chief city of the department of Tsun-hwa is situated at about a day's journey eastward from the mausolea; and the Hiao ling, the central mausoleum and the oldest, is officially stated to be at 240 Chinese miles from Peking [1].

In this Eastern Cemetery we have the following mausolea of Emperors and Empresses: —

Names of the Mausolea.	Temple Names of the Emperors, and Years in which they were buried.	Title and Duration of Reign.	Temple Names of the Empresses.	Years of Death.	Years of Burial.
Chao-si ling 昭西陵			Hiao Chwang 孝莊 mother of Shi Tsu.	1687	1725
Hiao ling 孝陵	Shi Tsu 世祖 first Emperor 1663.	Shun chi 順治 1644—1661.	Hiao Hien 孝獻	1660	1663
			Hiao Khang 孝康	1663	
Hiao-tung ling 孝東陵			Hiao Hwui 孝惠 Empress of Shi Tsu.	1717	1718
King ling 景陵	Shing Tsu 聖祖 second Emperor 1723.	Khang hi 康熙 1662—1722.	Hiao Ch'ing 孝誠	1674	1681
			Hiao Chao 孝昭	1678	
			Hiao I 孝懿	1689	1689
			Hiao Kung 孝恭	1723	1723
Yü ling 裕陵	Kao Tsung 高宗 fourth Emperor 1799.	Khien lung 乾隆 1736—1795.	Hiao Hien 孝賢	1748	1752
			Hiao I 孝儀	1766	1775
Ting ling 定陵	Wen Tsung 文宗 seventh Emperor 1865.	Hien fung 咸豐 1851—1861.	Hiao Teh 孝德	—	1865
Ting-tung ling 定東陵			Hiao Ching 孝貞 Empress of Wen Tsung.	1881	1888
Hwui ling 惠陵	Muh Tsung 穆宗 eighth Emperor	T'ung chi 同治 1862—1875.	Hiao Cheh 孝哲	1875	—

1 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, l. 1.

As to the situation of these mausolea with respect to each other we read, that »the Hiao ling lies in the middle, the Chao-»si ling south-east, and the Hiao-tung ling east of it; and »that the King ling is situated eastward from the Hiao-tung »ling, and the mausoleum of the Empress Hiao Hien (the Yü »ling) westward from the Hiao ling"[1].

The same Ts'ing dynasty which, as our readers will remember from our chapter on Fung-shui, deems it its duty to earnestly caution its subjects against the dangerous delusions of this system, nevertheless had the selection of its own principal cemetery entirely commanded by geomantic considerations. In the hills surrounding it, its eagle-eyed experts discerned a compound of qualities, able to ensure to the dynasty an everlasting possession of the throne, and eternal peace and prosperity to the nation. »On the four sides", thus we read, »the place is enclosed by hills rising range upon »range, producing a prosperity based on nature, which may sup-»port us for ten thousand years to come. Originally the Ch'ang-»shui Shan bore the name of Fung-t'ai Ling: »Chain of the »Terrace of Abundance", and of Fung-t'ai Shan: »Mounts of »the Phenix Terrace". Their pulses (comp. page 953) come »forth from the T'ai-hing Mounts (which extend between Peh-»chihli and Shansi); their double chains and accumulated peaks »represent a phenix soaring in the sky (*i. e.* the Bird of the »Southern Quadrant), and the sinuations of a dragon. The undulat-»ing tops are several hundreds of jen in height. In front arise the »peaks of the Planet of Metal (Venus); in the rear, the site is »encompassed by the lofty hills of the chains which form the »watershed. On the left we have the Nien-yü Pass and the Ma-lan »Valley; on the right the Kwan-t'ien Vale and the Hwang-hwa »Hills. Thus the Imperial Clan is embraced on every side by a »thousand peaks and ten thousand water streams; two rivers »from the watershed closely wind along it on the right and left »respectively, and meet in the Dragon and Tiger Valley. The glory »and prosperity (which the site thus ensures) are firm and solid; »it is a propitious ground which shall confer felicity on this Dy-»nasty for myriads of years"[2].

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[1] 孝陵居中、東南昭西陵、東孝東陵、又東景陵、孝賢皇后陵寢在孝陵之西. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, ll. 1 *seq.* See also »the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites", ch. 143, ll. 3 *seq.*

[2] 重巒疊嶂四面環抱、用啟佑我萬年有道之

The first time burials took place in this valley was in the sixth Chinese month of the year 1663. Shing Tsu then deposited the remains of his father Shi Tsu in the crypt of the Hiao ling, together with those of two Consorts of the latter, viz. Hiao Hien, Concubine of the first rank, endowed with the title of empress on her death, which had occurred three years before; and Hiao Khang, a Concubine of the third rank, who, on account of her having given birth to Shing Tsu, was endowed by the latter, on his accession, with the rank of empress, and might still enjoy this titulary dignity for a few months[1]. In the very same year, Shing Tsu changed the name of Phenix Terrace Mounts, which, as we have seen, had hitherto been borne by the hills around the valley, for that of Hills of Radiant Felicity[2], which has remained the official name up to the present day. No beginning seems to have been made with the building of the Hiao ling during the reign of Shi Tsu himself; for it is explicitly stated that in the year 1661, in which he died, his successor »issued orders to erect a sacrificial temple and an under-» ground crypt for Shi Tsu, the Emperor Chang, and to carefully » appoint for the purpose persons well-versed in geomancy. When » the day (of the sepulture) had arrived, Shi Tsu's coffin was » reverently placed just on the middle of the couch of stone erected » in the crypt; that of the Empress Hiao Khang was put down on » his left, and that of the other Empress on his right"[3].

長焉。昌瑞山本名豐臺嶺、亦曰鳳臺山。山脈自太行來、重岡疊阜鳳翥龍蟠。嵯峨數百仞。前有金星峯、後有分水嶺諸山聳峙環抱。左有鮎魚關馬蘭峪、右有寬佃峪黃花山。千巖萬壑朝宗廻拱、左右兩水分流夾繞、俱匯於龍虎峪。崇隆鞏固、爲國家億萬年鍾祥福地 *Wen hien t'ung khao* of the present Dynasty, 皇朝文獻通考, the third continuation of the great work of Ma Twan-lin, published under Imperial patronage and treating exclusively of the now reigning House. Chapter 150, l. 2, and ch. 151, l. 1.

1 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 346, l. 6. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 6. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, l. 8, ch. 240, l. 35, and ch. 151, l. 2.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li* and *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, *loc. cit.* *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 151, l. 4.

3 順治十八年詔建世祖章皇帝饗殿地宮、精選識地理人等。屆日恭奉世祖章皇帝寶位安設地宮石牀正中、孝康章皇后寶位安設於左、端敬皇后寶位安設於右. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 151, ll. 1 *seq.*

Hiao Hwui, Shi Tsu's Empress proper, who was his Concubine up to 1655, survived him until 1717 [1]. A special mausoleum was built for her to the east of her husband's, and she was buried therein in the next year [2]; this is the Hiao-tung ling: »the Mausoleum on the east of the Hiao ling". The reason of her not being entombed in the Hiao ling was that the Imperial family considered it highly improper and irreverent to disturb the peace of an ancestor by opening his crypt subsequent to his remains having been placed therein, fearing, moreover, that so reckless an act might disturb the fortunes of the unfilial descendants who committed it. »The custom of burying Emperors with their Empresses »in the same grave", thus we read, »has been observed in a »perfect and well-accomplished way from the beginning (of this dy»nasty). Yen Shen-szĕ, a Minister of the T'ang dynasty, has de»monstrated that, when one of higher position is buried before, »nobody inferior in rank may enter his grave; moreover, the »professors of the geomantic art entertain an aversion to having »superiors disturbed in their rest by inferiors, so that the question »whether an Empress were to be entombed at the side of her »spouse has, in strict accordance with the rules of propriety, been »made to depend, in every case in particular, on the time (of her »demise). The burying of Emperors with their Empresses in the »same tomb being practised in respect to the mausolea of our pre»sent dynasty according to this ancient method, it follows that the »Chao-si ling, the Hiao-tung ling and the T'ai-tung ling »owe their origin to a respectful adherence to the rescripts of for»mer times. This example (set by the dynasty) of letting the an»cients regulate the behaviour of the moderns, is worthy of being »imitated during ten thousand generations to come" [3].

Many extra mausolea having thus been built by this dynasty for Empresses on account of a theory of Yen Shen-szē, we are tempted

1 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 240, ll. 23 *seq.*

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 25; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 22.

3 至於合葬之義昉自成周。唐臣嚴善思又言、尊者先葬卑者不得入、以卑動尊術家所忌、故合葬與不合葬惟義所在各因乎時。我朝列聖山陵循古合祔之制、而昭西陵孝東陵泰東陵之建則仰承先制憲。古準今允堪垂法萬世者也. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 2 *seq*

to open the histories of his time, to see what they have to tell us of the man. He was a grandee especially renowned as an astrologer and soothsayer, and of high repute at Court during the reign of the Empress Wu [1]. When that extraordinary female potentate had wielded supreme power for twenty-two years after the death of her consort, the Emperor Kao Tsung [2], to then breathe her last in A. D. 705, Yen Shen-szĕ vigorously protested against the plan, then conceived by the Court, and afterwards executed, of burying her in the Khien ling [3], the mausoleum of Kao Tsung. The memorial he presented to this effect to the Throne, is interesting for attesting, that the theory as to the dependence of the fortunes of a dynasty on the graves of its ancestors then commanded the highest influence at the Court. »Carefully consulting the laws of burial contained » in the records of the Chamber of Astrology", thus he wrote, »I » find it stated, that when somebody of a higher position is buried » first, inferiors in rank may not be entombed in his grave, nor » may his grave be opened and entered after that. And yet, though » the late Empress-Dowager Tseh T'ien is inferior in rank to the » Great Celestial Emperor (Kao Tsung), they intend to open the » Khien ling and bury her at his side, so that the inferior one » will disturb the repose of the superior. Such an act being incon- » sistent with the classical rule, I fear it will not promote peace » and quiet. Your Majesty's servant has also been informed that » the entrance to the crypt of the Khien ling is barricaded with » stones, the seams and joints between which are filled up with » molten iron, in order that the contents of the tomb may the » better be secured. Consequently, it will not be possible to open » the tumulus without hacking and chiseling; and as it lies in the » nature of the human manes that the body to which they belong » likes nothing so much as obscure retirement, we must really fear » that they will be greatly startled and annoyed if men are sent » to the spot to perform such work. And even though another » closable passage be made in the tumulus to penetrate into the » crypt, the seat which was assigned to the soul (coffin) at the » entombment will have to be changed (to make room for the coffin » of the Empress), and such a displacement must cause still greater » evil. After the building of the Khien ling was begun, the » Empire was harrassed by continuous troubles, which did not cease » until the Empress-Dowager Tseh T'ien had exercised supreme

[1] 武后. [2] 高宗. [3] 乾陵.

» sovereignty during twenty years. I now humbly express my fears » that they will arise again, if any works are undertaken at that » mausoleum.

» It is written in the Classical Book of Rites (the *Li ki*) that » it is not an ancient institution to bury a husband with his wife » in the same grave (comp. page 262). There exist, accordingly, » no sufficient grounds to perform such burials; and shall we then » revive them just in a time like the present, which is so turbulent? » I have read that during the Han dynasty an Emperor was seldom » buried in the same mausoleum with an Empress, and that the » custom to do so did not arise until the dynasties of Wei and Tsin » had dethroned that House. Hence it is, I believe, that the two » Houses of Han reigned during many years, more than four » hundred in number, while neither the dynasty of Wei, nor that » of Tsin, enjoyed a long existence. Only those who afford peace » and rest to their mausolea and tombs can be sure to be endowed » with supremacy over this earth, as their posterity may fully rely » on such graves as sources of spiritual power; on the other hand, » those who do not insure the repose of their graves will not easily » long enjoy the possession of an offspring. Humbly prostrating » myself, I hope that the ancient example set by the Han dynasty » be followed, and the weak, baseless institution of the Houses of » Wei and Tsin be deviated from; that another plot of felicitous » ground be selected close to the Khien ling, and an extra » mausoleum be erected there with observance of the acknowledged » rules for the acquirement of graves imbued with life-producing » influences. By doing so, the custom of burying wives in the suit » of their husbands will be followed properly, and the original » heirloom of the dynasty (the Realm) at the same time afforded a » perfect stability.

» Whereas the operative breath contained in hills and water- » courses corresponds with the stars and constellations above, the » manes (shen, which return to heaven after death) will be » restful if the burial takes place in the right spot, and, as a » consequence, the offspring shall flourish. But if the burial be » performed without observance of this proper principle, the manes » shall become dangerous, and their posterity incur adversity. It » is therefore that such standard works on burial as are drawn » up in accordance with the rules laid down by the sages of former » times, are intended to induce us to follow the course of ensuring » the rest of the dead, thus to cause their souls to render us

» grand and prosperous' .... This memorial was not delivered to » the Throne" [1].

The doctrine that an Emperor, once entombed, may no more be disturbed in his rest, and his widow must in consequence be buried in an extra mausoleum of her own, has laid heavy charges upon the Imperial Court, the erection and constant repairs of so many special cenotaphs requiring enormous expense in money and labour. No special names were conferred on any of these sepulchres. Each of them is officially denoted by the name of the mausoleum of the Emperor to whom the occupant was married, with the insertion of the word tung: »east", or si: »west", according to whether it is located to the left or the right of it.

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[1] 謹按天元房錄塋法云、尊者先葬卑者不合於後開入。則天太后卑於天皇大帝、今欲開乾陵合葬、卽是以卑動尊。事旣不經、恐非安穩。臣又聞乾陵玄闕其門以石閉塞、其石縫隙鑄鐵以固其中。今若開陵必須鐫鑿、然以神明之道體尙幽玄、今乃動衆加功、誠恐多所驚黷。又若別開門道以入玄宮、卽往者葬時神位先定今更改作爲害益深。又以脩築乾陵之後國頻有難、遂至則天太后權總萬機二十餘年其難始定。今乃更加營作伏恐還有難生。

但合葬非古著在禮經。緣情爲用無足依准、况今事有不安豈可復循斯制。伏見漢時諸陵皇后多不合葬、魏晉已降始有合者。然以兩漢積年向餘四百、魏晉之後祚皆不長。但陵墓所安必資勝地、後之肩嗣用託靈根、或有不安、後嗣亦難長享。伏望依漢朝之故事改魏晉之頹綱、於乾陵之傍更擇吉地、取生墓之法別起一陵。旣得從葬之儀、又成固本之業。

然以山川精氣上爲星象、若葬得其所則神安後昌。若葬失其宜則神危後損。所以先哲垂範具之葬經欲使生人之道必安、死者之神必泰 .... 疏奏不納. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 191, ll. 15 *seq.* See also the New Books of the same House, ch. 204, l. 10.

Shing Tsu commenced the erection of his own mausoleum on the death of his first spouse, the Empress Hiao Ch'ing [1]. In 1676, two years after her demise, the works at the crypt were begun; it was finished in 1681, and in the third month of this year the Empress was buried in it, simultaneously with Hiao Chao, Shing Tsu's second wife, who in the meantime had also shuffled off her mortal coil [2]. Up to that date, the two coffins were stored away in a mansion assigned for the purpose at Kung-hwa [3], a place on the banks of the Sha-ho, which, as our readers have seen on page 1247, was a military bulwark for the defence of the Imperial graves during the Ming dynasty. In 1689, the coffin of Hiao I, the Emperor's third and last spouse, was deposited in the same earthly resting-place [4], and thirty-four years more elapsed before he himself joined them all in their grave. »In the second month of the first »year of the Yung ching period (1723) the Grand-Secretaries »had reverently taken a decision in reference to some names fit »to be given to Shing Tsu's mausoleum, and they presented them »to (his successor) Shi Tsung, the Emperor Hien. Overwhelmed »with grief, this monarch pricked his finger, and singled out the »two characters King ling by drawing a circlet of blood around »them [5]. In the fourth month, Shing Tsu's encoffined remains »arrived at the King ling and were temporarily deposited there »in the sacrificial temple; in the eighth month the coffin of the »Empress Hiao Kung also arrived there and was likewise placed »in that edifice; and in the ninth month both coffins were put »to rest upon the couch of the Precious Relics. The gilt coffin of »King Min, Concubine of the first rank, was entombed there at »the same time, the stone gate of the crypt being thereupon »closed" [6]. Hiao Kung was a third-rank Concubine of Shing Tsu,

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1 During the reign of Shing Tsu her temple-name was Jen Hiao 仁孝, which his successor changed for that of Hiao Ch'ing in the first year of his reign. See *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, l. 11, and ch. 151, ll. 11 *seq.*

2 *Op. cit.*, ch. 151, ll. 11 *seq*

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 18; and *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 18.

4 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 22; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 21; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 151, l. 12.

5 雍正元年二月大學士等恭擬聖祖仁皇帝陵名進呈世宗憲皇帝。哀慟不勝、親刺指、血圈出景陵兩字. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 151, l. 13.

6 四月聖祖仁皇帝梓宮至景陵、暫安奉享殿、

and the mother of his successor. Shing Tsu never elevated her to the dignity of empress; but her son, in obedience to the demands of filial respect, did so on her death, which occurred in the fifth month of the first year of his reign [1]. Indeed, he could hardly withold this title from her since she had, after his accession, been the supreme owner of the Empire for a time in virtue of her motherhood, the possessions of a child being, as our readers know (see p. 619), the property of its parents.

A next matter of Shi Tsung's filial solicitude was the burial of his great-grandmother Hiao Chwang, the mother of the first Emperor of the dynasty. She had already died in 1687, after having survived her husband T'ai Tsung [2] for about forty-four years. The then reigning monarch, her grandson Shing Tsu, would no doubt have entombed her at the Chao ling [3], a gorgeous mausoleum erected many years before for her husband in the vicinity of Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, by Shi Tsu's pious care, had not she forbidden it in her dying dispositions. »In the twenty-sixth year of his reign", thus it is chronicled, »Shing Tsu, the Emperor Jen, issued a »decree of the following contents to his Grand-Secretaries, the »Comptrollers of the Imperial Household Department, etc.: When »the Grand Empress-Dowager Grandmother was sick and about to »depart this life, she ordered Us: 'The coffin of T'ai Tsung, the »Emperor Wen, having been put to rest already a long time ago, »it may not be disturbed in my behalf with levity. More- »over, I feel such an attachment to your Imperial father and »yourself, that I cannot bear the idea of going far away. Try »therefore to find an auspicious plot close to the Hiao ling, »and bury me there, then my mind will not feel sad'. This »order being given Us with such impressive emphasis, how can »We presume to disobey it" [4]. »Thus strictly submitting to

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八月孝恭仁皇后梓宮至景陵、暫安奉享殿、九月奉安梓宮於寶牀。次請敬敏皇貴妃金棺從葬、掩閉玄宮石門. *Op. et cap. cit.*, ll. 14, 15 and 18. See also the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, ll. 28 *seq.*

1 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 240, l. 40.

2 太宗. 3 昭陵.

4 二十六年聖祖仁皇帝諭大學士內務府總管等曰、太皇太后疾大漸時諭朕曰、太宗文皇帝梓宮安奉已久、不可爲我輕動。況我心戀汝皇父

»the will of the deceased, Shing Tsu had a sacrificial temple built »in the very same year with a hall in the rear, south-east of the »Hiao ling in the Ch'ang-shui Mounts; and on the 19th. of the »fourth month of the next year he transferred the coffin of the »Grand Empress-Dowager to the said hall, giving it the name of »Hall for the temporary Deposit of the Remains" [1]. It was not, however, till 1725, the third year of the reign of his successor Shi Tsung, that a beginning was made with the erection of the mausoleum proper [2]; and »in the twelfth month of that year, on »the tenth day, the coffin was respectfully removed from the place »where it stood, and entombed in the underground dwelling of »the City of the Precious Relics of the Chao-si ling" [3]. This name, which means: »the Mausoleum to the west of the Chao ling", was given to this tomb because the Chao ling, containing the remains of Hiao Chwang's Consort, was situated eastward from it, though at many days' distance [4].

For geomantic reasons, Shi Tsung himself was buried in quite

及汝不忍遠去。務於孝陵近地擇吉安厝、則我心無憾矣。諄諄降旨朕何敢違. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 29.

[1] 二十六年聖祖仁皇帝恪遵孝莊文皇后遺命、於昌瑞山孝陵之東南建造饗殿後殿、於二十七年四月十九日奉安太皇太后梓宮於後殿、稱暫安奉殿. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 22; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 20. Compare also the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 29 *seq.*

2 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 34.

[3] 三年十二月初十日恭奉孝莊文皇后梓宮安葬昭西陵寶城地宮. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 31; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 29.

4 Mr. Bourne writes in a short account of the Eastern Cemetery, which he published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1883, vol. V, pp. 23 *sqq.*: »The following is given as the reason why Hiao Chwang was not buried »at Mukden with her Royal Consort T'ai Tsung. They say that when her coffin »had been carried as far as the Great Wall, it was found impossible to carry it »further in the direction of Manchuria. No matter how many men were ordered to »carry it, move the coffin would not. The Emperor Shi Tsung accordingly came to »the conclusion that his late great-grandmother had a strong objection to being buried »in the north, and he caused the Chao-si ling to be constructed". The reader now knows that this tale must be relegated to the domain of fable. It is, in truth, an old story in China that coffins sometimes refuse to move. An instance out of the third century of our era will be found on page 1063.

another part of Peh-chihli, namely in the hills along the south of the Great Wall in the department of Yih [1], which is situate to the south-west of Peking, beyond the borders of the department of Shun-t'ien. We read: »In the seventh year of his reign (A. D. »1729) Shi Tsung forwarded an edict of the following contents »to the Grand-Secretaries and other Ministers: — 'Originally we »intended to have assigned for Us by auguration a spot felicitous »for the future (of Our House), close to the Hiao ling and the »King ling. The professors of geomancy, however, opine that »there is no longer any ground there fit for building upon; and »they have searched out a felicitous ground in the Mounts of the »Nine Phenixes and the Morning Light, duly informing Us thereof. »We thought that this spot, as being close to the Hiao ling »and the King ling, well suited Our aforesaid plan. But officers »and architects profoundly versed in geomancy have surveyed it »anew, and found that, in spite of the excellence of its general »outlines, the spots where the influences of the surrounding con- »figurations concentrate are by no means perfect in all their parts; »besides, the earth of the hüeh (comp. p. 1009) has been found »to be mixed up with so much gravel and stone as to really be »of no use. The Prince of I, and the Governor-General (of Fuh- »kien) Kao Khi-choh, now report that they have made other sur- »veys and discovered a place capable of insuring felicity for ten »thousand years, namely the valley of T'ai-p'ing, situated in the »T'ai-ning Mounts, within the frontiers of the department of Yih. »They state that in fact it is a locality into which the heavens and »the earth have concentrated the best of their influences, a place »where the Yin and the Yang blend harmoniously together; the »hüeh formed by the Dragons have a soil and waters which »harbour everything that is excellent; the auspicious operation of the »natural breaths contained in the configurations there is perfect in »every sense; etc. We have read their report; and the particulars »it gives about the water-courses at the foot of those mounts »clearly prove that the place in question really is a felicitous ground »of first-rate order; but Our heart feels dissatisfied with its being so »many hundreds of miles distant from the Hiao ling and the »King ling. Moreover, there may be something in the matter »which renders it inconsistent with the customs and institutions of »the sovereigns of the past, or with the standard Ritual; and there-

[1] 易州.

» fore We ordain Our Grand-Secretaries and nine Directors of the » Courts to carefully examine this point and hold a meeting for » the discussion of it, and to report to Us their conclusions'.

» The Grand-Secretaries and the said Ministers deliberated on » the matter on the day wu-wu of the same month, and reported » as follows: 'If we carefully consult the Genealogical Register of » Emperors and Princes (see p. 434), the General History [1] and » the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, we find that the sovereigns of suc- » cessive dynasties have sometimes had their sepulchres in grounds » situated more than a thousand miles off, and hardly ever nearer » than two hundred or three hundred miles. The question whether » the pulses of the earth will produce felicity depends on the fe- » licity-producing factors and ciphers that dominate the natural » destiny of the person concerned (comp. page 1013); and fa- » vourable spiritual operation is not, of course, monopolized by » one single place among the many good grounds, thousands or » hundreds of miles in extent, that comprise felicity. The spot in » question in the T'ai-p'ing Valley at the Mounts T'ai-ning, which » promises felicity for ten thousand years, is, indeed, at several » hundreds of miles from the Hiao ling and the King ling; » but the department of Yih and that of Tsun-hwa are close to » the Metropolis and really not far off. The T'ai-ning Mounts are » bold and lofty, and their peaks emit pulses the origin of which » lies in the Kwan-ch'en Mounts (in the north of Shansi) and in » the Hing Mounts (in the south-west of Pehchihli, on the Shansi » frontiers); the spot is girdled by a hundred water-streams, and » the water-shed with the river Kü-ma-hu forms its boundary » (on the north). If we observe the spots where those sur- » rounding configurations concentrate their influences, we come » to the conclusion that we have here to do with the very best » of shelters in a sublime tract of ground; and if we examine » such sections of the standard works as refer to the subject, we » find that the matter is perfectly consistent with what the three » dynasties of antiquity have done. Hence we humbly pray Your » Majesty to give execution to it with reverence and care and » in keeping with the established institutions, in order that the » pure, unalloyed felicity naturally hoarded up on the spot may

1 *T'ung chi* 通志, an extensive history of China by the hand of Ching Ts'iao 鄭樵 of the Sung dynasty, now enlarged with a supplement composed in compliance with an Imperial edict in 1769.

» for ten thousand years send forth streams of perfect happiness » over (an Imperial pedigree with) numerous leaves'.

» Thereupon the following Imperial resolution was received: 'The » Grand-Secretaries and the nine Directors having presented to Us » a circumstantial report based on the Books of History and the » Standard Rituals, Our mind is now quiet and at ease. Funds » shall be furnished by the Palace Treasury for all the materials the » works require; the outlines and dimensions shall be projected on » an economical and plain base, and such things as stone images » etc., which require an excessive amount of stone-cutting and greatly » exhaust the strength of the people, need not be made. The Boards » concerned are charged with the execution of these orders" [1].

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[1] 七年世宗諭大學士等曰、朕之本意欲於孝陵景陵之旁卜擇將來吉地。而堪輿之人俱以爲無可營建之處、後經選撰九鳳朝陽山吉壤、具奏。朕意此地近依孝陵景陵與朕初意相合。及精通堪輿之臣工再加相度、以爲規模雖大而形局未全、穴中之土又帶砂石、實不可用。今據怡親王總督高其倬等奏稱相度得易州境內泰寧山太平峪萬年吉地。實乾坤聚秀之區、爲陰陽和會之所、龍穴砂水無美不收、形勢理氣諸吉咸備、等語。朕覽所奏、其言山脚水法條理分明洵爲上吉之壤、但於孝陵景陵相去數百里朕心不忍。且與古帝王規制典禮有無未合之處、著大學士九卿詳悉會議具奏。

戊午大學士等會議言、謹按帝王世紀及通志通考諸書、歷代帝王營建之地遠或千餘里、近亦二三百里。地脉之呈瑞關乎天運之發祥歷數、千百里蟠結之福區自非一方獨擅其靈秀。今泰寧山太平峪萬年吉地雖於孝陵景陵相去數百里、然易州及遵花州皆與京師密邇、實未爲遥遠。又泰寧山雄高、群巘抽脉自管涔恒嶽而來、襟帶百川、分水以拒馬滹沱爲界。相其形局既屬大地之凝庥、稽之典章又合三代而同

In the *Wen hien t'ung khao* the qualities of this new Cemetery are extolled in the following words: — »The pulses of the hills »around are so fructifying and their vigour is so productive, that »they can stand every comparison with the Ch'ang-shui Mounts [1]. »Their influences proceed from the T'ai-hing Mountains (see page »1284); their stately peaks rise lofty and high; the best of their »pulses are full of vigour and productiveness. High chains and »lofty mountains in the distance encompass the spot; peaks filled »with effective operation (shan ling, see p. 952), and hillocks of »an azure hue like the kingfisher's feathers gird it on the inside. »The Poh-kien river winds along the fore-part, receiving water from »the river Ts'ing, the Kheu, the Sha and the Tszĕ; the Kü-ma »stream flows along the spot in the rear, and the rivers Hu-lang, »Liu-li and Ta-yü discharge their waters into it [2]. We believe it »to be a felicitous ground laid down there by heaven itself" [3].

This new burial-place being situate westward from Peking, it

揆。伏乞遵昭定制敬謹辦理、自集純嘏於萬年流嘉祉於奕葉矣。

得旨、大學士九卿等引據史册典禮陳奏朕心始安。一應所需工料等項俱著動用內庫銀兩辦理、規模制度務從儉樸、其石像等件需用石工浩繁、頗勞人力、不必建設。著該部遵行. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, ll. 1 *sqq.*

1 脉厚力豐堪與昌瑞並峙. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 2

2 Consulting the maps, we see in fact, that the Poh-kien is formed south-west of the Cemetery, by the confluence of the rivulets Ts'ing, Khen, Sha and Tszĕ, which come from the north-west and the west; subsequently it streams in a north-eastern direction along the fore-part of the Cemetery, remaining, however, at more than a day's journey from it, upon which it receives the waters of the Kü-ma or Kü-ma-hu. This stream has its sources likewise in the west of the province. Cutting its way through the mountains at the back of the Cemetery, it flows there over a long distance close to the Great Wall, to assume a southern course north-east of the Cemetery, and subsequently receiving the waters of the Hu-lang, the Liu-li and the Ta-yü. After its confluence with the Poh-kien, this stream proceeds eastward, and discharges itself near T'ien-tsin into the Pei-ho.

3 勢自太行來、巍峩聳拔、脉秀力豐。峻嶺崇山遠拱於外、靈巖翠岫環衛其間。前則白溝河旋繞、而清滍沙滋諸水會之、後則巨馬河瀠流而胡良琉璃大峪諸水會之。信天設之吉地也. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, l. 1.

was naturally called Si ling: »the Western Mausolea", in contradistinction to the Eastern. The T'ai ling, Shi Tsung's tomb, the first that was built in it, is officially stated to be 280 Chinese miles from Peking[1], so that the two burial-valleys are almost equally distant from this city. Here follows a tabular survey of the tombs of Emperors and Empresses to be found in the Western Cemetery: —

Names of the Mausolea.	Temple Names of the Emperors and Years in which they were buried.	Title and Duration of Reign.	Temple Names of the Empresses.	Years of Death.	Years of Burial.
Tai ling 泰陵	Shi Tsung 世宗 third Emperor 1737.	Yung ching 雍正 1723—1735.	Hiao King 孝敬	1731	1737
Tai-tung ling 泰東陵			Hiao Shing 孝聖	1777	1777
Ch'ang ling 昌陵	Jen Tsung 仁宗 fifth Emperor 1821.	Kia khing 嘉慶 1796—1820.	Hiao Shuh 孝淑	—	1803
Ch'ang-si ling 昌西陵			Hiao Hwo 孝和	1849	1853
Mu ling 慕陵	Süen Tsung 宣宗 sixth Emperor 1852.	Tao kwang 道光 1821—1850.	Hiao Muh 孝穆	—	1827
			Hiao Shen 孝愼	1833	—
			Hiao Ts'üen 孝全	1840	1840
Mu-tung ling 慕東陵			Hiao Tsing 孝靜	1855	1857

The Ch'ang ling is situated westward from the T'ai ling, and the Mu ling west of the Ch'ang ling[2].

Orders for the erection of his mausoleum having, as we have seen, been given already in 1729 by Shi Tsung himself, his manes had not to crave long for burial when, six years later, death carried him off at the age of fifty-seven. His successor Kao Tsung »in the first year of his reign conferred the name of Yung-ning »Shan: 'Mounts of Everlasting Peace', on the T'ai-p'ing Valley[3];

1 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, l. 2.

2 Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 5.

3 乾隆元年封太平峪爲永寧山. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 1; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 32; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, l. 17.

» and in the next year the coffin was transported for burial to the » underground crypt of the City of the Precious Relics" [1]. Up to that day, it stood for more than four months in the temple of the mausoleum [2]. »The Empress Hiao King was entombed at his » side on the same day, and the first-rank Concubine Tun Suh » followed them into that grave" [3]. The former had pre-deceased her Consort in 1731, and the latter, the daughter of a Governor of the province of Hukwang, had died in 1725 [4]. After the death of Hiao King, Shi Tsung raised no other woman to the dignity of Empress, the principal place in his seraglio being consequently occupied thenceforth by his secondary Consort Hi [5], the mother of the Heir-Apparent. At the latter's succession in 1735 this woman became the legitimate owner of the crown by virtue of her maternal rights, so that the new monarch conferred on her the title of Empress and had a special mausoleum built for her north-east of that of her late husband. Thus the T'ai-tung ling came into existence, in which she was deposited for eternal rest in 1777 [6], a few months after she had departed this life [7] at the age of eighty-six.

The difficulty, felt under the reign of Shi Tsung, in that no eligible spots for burying Imperial remains were to be found in the Eastern Cemetery, did not, it seems, bother the Court in the case of his successor Kao Tsung, who had his own mausoleum constructed in those grounds. The demise of his first spouse Hiao Hien, which occurred in 1748 [8], apparently prompted the measures for its erection, for we read that four years after this event her remains were buried in it, together with those of two Concubines of the first rank, viz. Hwui Hien [9], who had departed this life in

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1 二年奉移世宗憲皇帝梓宮安葬於寶城地宮. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 2; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 33.

2 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, l. 7.

3 孝敬憲皇后同日合葬、敦肅皇貴妃從葬. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 2; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 33. See also the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, l. 14.

4 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, ll. 29 and 32.

5 熹.

6 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 23; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, ll. 35 *sqq.*

7 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 240, l. 48.

8 *Op. cit.*, ch. 241, l. 32.

9 慧賢. She was the mother of the Heir-Apparent Twan Hwui, mentioned on page 1176, who died shortly after his father had assumed the reins of government.

1745, and Cheh Min [1], who had died between 1749 and 1752 [2]. Still another Concubine, Shuh Kia [3], raised, just as Cheh Min, to the first rank after her death, was entombed in this mausoleum in 1757 [4]; and the Emperor's second Chief Consort Hiao I, mother of his successor, was deposited in it in 1775 [5], about nine years after her death [6]. It was endowed with the name of Yü ling in the spring of the fourth year after the accession of the next Emperor (1799), six months before Kao Tsung was buried in it [7]. This latter not having appointed another Chief Consort after Hiao I's death, no Empress survived him for whom a special mausoleum had to be built to the east or west of his.

Jen Tsung, Kao Tsung's son and successor, had his mausoleum made in the Western Cemetery. In 1803, eight years after his accession and seventeen before his death, it was finished in so far that it was fit to receive the remains of his Chief Consort Hiao Shuh [8], the mother of the Heir-Apparent. This is the last Imperial burial mentioned in the great collections of ordinances and decrees, from which we have drawn the above particulars. Hence we are unable to bring our summary up to date with a like amount of detail. For some further data regarding the burials of Emperors and Empresses in the present century, we must refer to the tables inserted in pages 1283 and 1297, which are finished with the aid of the great collection of edicts published under the title of *Shing hiun* (see page 934), and some other modern documents. We may add here that Wen Tsung, having died in August 1861 in the town of Jehol, to which he had fled in the autumn of the previous year during the campaign of the allied forces of England and France against Peking, left two Empresses, Ts'ze Ngan [9] and Ts'ze Hi [10], the latter of whom was the mother of the Heir-Apparent and, we believe, a secondary Consort invested with the

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1 哲憫.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 16; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 46; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, l. 48, and ch. 241, l. 37.

3 淑嘉.

4 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 19; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 50; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 152, l. 49.

5 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 22.

6 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, l. 35.

7 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 348, ll. 3 *seq.*

8 *Op. cit.*, ch. 348, l. 17.

9 慈安. 10 慈禧.

titulary dignity of Empress after Wen Tsung's death. These women, in virtue of their maternal power, carried on the supreme government with great vigour and determination during the whole of Muh Tsung's reign. Ts'ze Ngan received the temple-name of Hiao Ching on her death in 1881, and was buried in 1888 in a mausoleum erected specially for her to the east of Wen Ts'ung's.

According to Mr. Bourne, there is in the Eastern Cemetery, north-west of Shi Tsu's tomb, on the banks of the stream running in front of it, the site of a mausoleum that was built by the Emperor Süen Tsung for himself, and afterwards destroyed by him under curious circumstances. »This tomb", he writes (page 30), »was prepared before the death of the Emperor. By the direction »of a Grand-Secretary, named Ying Hwo, the elaborate and costly »drainage arrangements, which formed a part of the plan, were »omitted, by which Ying Hwo is said to have made 100,000 taels »or £ 30,000. The Empress died first, and was buried in the »tomb, but the stone door was not finally closed until the Emperor »joined her. On one of his visits to sacrifice at the tombs, he »expressed a wish to see his own future resting-place. On his »ordering the stone door to be opened, that he might enter the »tumulus itself, he was horrified to see that there were some feet »of water in the chamber — enough to reach the level of the »stone bed on which the coffin lay. Ying Hwo was banished, and »his possessions forfeited. The Emperor decreed that a new mau»soleum should be constructed at the western tombs, 180 miles »off. The building was levelled to the ground; some of the materi»als were removed to the new site, but the greater part were »left, and we noticed pieces of chastely carved stone, that formerly »belonged to this tomb, carelessly thrown together to form ex»tempore bridges. There are not wanting believers in Fung-shui »who attribute the misfortunes of the present dynasty, even the »untimely death of the late Emperor, to this untoward incident, »and the mistake made in changing the site of this tomb".

These lines, which bear evidence in themselves of owing their existence to mere hearsay, arouse our curiosity after some reliable authentic information. Unhappily, the collections of State papers which have hitherto guided us, do not bring us down to the reign of Süen Tsung, and no documents shedding official light on this incident are at our disposal, save three Imperial edicts issued in 1828, which the compilers of the *Shing hiun* [1] have deemed inter-

1 See the Edicts of Süen Tsung, ch. 1, l. 3.

esting enough to publish. But these edicts by no means give a clear and coherent account of the matter. Therefore, to lose as little as possible of what they teach us, we will reproduce them in their entirety, begging the reader himself to correct some misstatements which they show must occur in Mr. Bourne's above account.

» On the day k e n g-w u of the tenth month the Emperor sent the » following edict to the Chancery (N e i k o h): — Yih Shao *cum suis*, » joined in committee, have rigorously examined the careless way » in which Ying Hwo and others have directed the works in Our » Felicitous Ground; they have judged the deeds of every one of them » in particular, and made complete minutes of the matter. Ying Hwo » (thus they state) being charged with the entire execution of the » principal works in that Felicitous Ground in the Pao-hwa Valley, » it was, of course, his duty carefully to render himself acquainted » with everything relating thereto. Had he done so, he would have » perfectly known the causes and consequences of the filtering of » water through the stones that shore up the crypt, and by no means » would it then have occurred to Siang T'ung to continuously advise » Tai Kwun-yuen to cover the place with earth. When he feared » that the Dragon-beard drain might cause the Terrestrial Breath » to flow away, he reported to Us that he had discontinued the » works, and he proposed to place heaps of stones at the side of » the tunnel-gate, thus to repair the leakage. He also gave orders » to discontinue, inside, the pargeting of the stone walls and the » execution of other stone work, and the filling of the joints » between the stones with mere resin of pine trees and white » wax mixed with the grindings of stone. But Niu Kwun was » ordered by Us to accelerate the execution of the works, in » order that they might be finished at the appointed time; and » Ying Hwo thereupon entrusted the above important works to » that man alone, thus becoming the cause of their being for the » most part slovenly performed and of the ultimate submersion of » the crypt.

» The investigations made by Yih Shao *c. s.* having afforded clear and » positive evidence against him, Ying Hwo is, in accordance with the » established laws, condemned to decapitation, to be preceded by im- » prisonment until the ratification of his sentence. But the crimes of » which he is guilty deserve indulgence, and the fact that he has held » the dignity of President of a Board and that of Assistant-Secretary » of Our Chancery, as also that he has not in this matter embezzled » any moneys for himself, allows of loosening one thread (of the

» net in which he is caught). Besides, the works at the Felicitous » Grounds being private business of Us, the One Man, We refuse » to take the life of High Ministers on account of their having » mismanaged them. Not having placed him in the hands of the » law, We accordingly need not keep him in jail any longer, but » banish him to Tsitsihar by way of favour, there to be placed » in rigorous Government thraldom; — thus We manifest Our » clemency placed above the law. As he is not yet recovered from » his illness, his sons Khwei-chao and Khwei-yao, who, having » given doubtful proofs of respectful attachment to Our interests, » were already sent to Statute labour stations to do hard work » and are to accompany him in his exile, shall travel on to Tsi- » tsihar before him. His grandsons Yin-sheng and Sih-chi, the » latter of whom is an Expectant Second-Class Secretary to a » Board, are divested of their dignities. And Niu Kwun, the » man charged with the superintendence, who has always distri- » buted over the works the inspectors sojourning on the spot to » control the same, so that his duties were of higher import » than those incumbent on any other inspectorate or super- » intendence — this man, although the examination has not » proved him guilty of abstraction and misappropriation of funds, » is a depraved character to whom no inspection can be safely » entrusted. He is banished to Ili, there to expiate his crimes by » hard labour.

» The Superintendents Poh Sheu and Yen Feng, already dismissed » from their functions, have not been found guilty of abstraction » or peculation, but they, too, are bad characters. They had agreed » in their labour contracts that the works should be finished in » seven years, and We do not know whether they satisfactorily per- » formed their duty at first; but when the term was nearly ended, » they stumbled, and gave orders to the artificers to patch up » everything in a slipshod way. Both shall be sent to Orimutchi, » there to expiate their crimes by hard labour. — The dismissed » Intendents Ting Shen, Ch'ang Shun and Ma Yen-pu had nothing » else to do than to control the works, and yet, what control did » they exercise on seeing with their own eyes that everything was » slovenly done? They are all banished to the military frontier- » posts, there to expiate their delinquency by hard labour. — » And the dismissed Superintendent Khing Yuh, who entered » upon his functions on the spot after the several buildings were » raised, is absolved from banishment to the military frontier-posts,

» but shall be set to hard labour at a Statute labour station" [1].
Tai Kwun-yuen, too, was severely struck by the Imperial hand.

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[1] 十月庚午上諭內閣、奕紹等會同嚴審英和等辦理吉地工程草率、分別定擬、一摺此案。英和承辦寶華峪吉地要工始終、其事自應愼重詳審。乃明知壙幫石毋滴水因係、廢遺商同綿課戴均元用土擋護。並以龍鬚溝恐洩地氣、奏明停辦、而於石券旁議請添設壘落石格漏之處。又復駁令中止其砌牆海墁等石工、遇有碰楞僅用松香白蠟撓和石麵抅抹。且飭令牛坤催促工程、勒限完竣、英和於此等要工但止信用牛坤一人、以致工多草率、遂有浸溢。

奕紹等審訊明確、比依定例擬斬監候。本屬罪所應得姑念、英和曾任尙書協辦大學士、於此案訊無贓私、尙可寬其一綫。且吉地工程係朕一人之事、不肯因辦理不善誅戮大臣。旣不置之於法、卽不必久繫囹圄、英和著加恩發往黑龍江、充當苦差、以示朕法外之仁。伊現患病未愈、伊子奎照奎耀亦不必交敬徵等、帶赴工次効力、著卽隨侍、前往黑龍江。伊孫廕生候補員外郎錫祉著卽革職。牛坤洮充總監督、常川駐工監視較之、各監督責任尤重、雖訊無剋扣侵蝕、情弊惟不能監視妥辦。著發往伊犂、効力贖罪。

已革監督百壽延鳳訊無偷減侵蝕、情弊。惟旣於認領工程結內自限七年完工、不知及早妥辦、臨期竭蹶、任令工匠草率黏補。俱著發往烏嚕木齊、効力贖罪。已革監修定善長淳瑪彥布監工是其專責、目擊工程草率所司何事。俱著發往軍臺効力贖罪。已革監督慶玉到工接辦在地平落成之後、免其發往軍臺、著在工次効力.

In an edict, sent to his Chancery in the next month, the Son of Heaven wrote: »Yih Shao *c. s.* report that, joined in committee, »they have rigorously investigated in what way Tai Kwun-yuen »has, in concert with the geomancers, surveyed the Pao-hwa »Valley, and that they have made complete minutes of the »matter. They state that, though Tai Kwun-yuen had to be »doubly precise and accurate in surveying the site of the Base »of Our Felicity, he did not carefully sound and survey before- »hand the place where water oozes through the stones. More- »over, when he had convinced himself with his own eyes that »there was water filtering through the stones lining the crypt in »the excavated spot, and that Siang T'ung covered it up with »earth, he did not send Us a true report of these two matters. »It was already found out formerly, that in matters treated by »him in his letters sent to the Throne, many points of import- »ance were purposely added or omitted; so, after what the in- »vestigations of Yih Shao *c. s.* have now brought to light about »him, the laws demand his decapitation, preceded by imprison- »ment until the ratification of his sentence. But his delinquency »deserves a mitigation of punishment. If We banish him to the »frontier-posts, We punish him lightly and with clemency; and »still We will take into consideration that the works have not »passed in their entirety under his hands, and that he is already »an old man over eighty. Therefore, instead of inflicting punish- »ment, We will bestow favours on him. We absolve him from »the penalty of death, absolve him also from exile, and drive »him to his native place, thus bestowing on him clemency »placed above the law. His son Tai Shi-hiang is divested of the »dignity of Second-Class Secretary of a Board, and his grandsons »Tai Kia-siu, Tai Kia-hwui and Tai Kia-teh of their respective »dignities of Prefect of a district, Receiver of the Salt Depart- »ment, and Literary Graduate of the second degree, to stand as »warning instances of the fact that neglect of duty does not remain »unpunished" [1].

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[1] 奕紹等奏會同嚴審戴均元帶同堪輿相度寶華峪情形、一摺此案。戴均元相度福基自應倍加詳慎、乃既未將石母滴水處所豫爲測量詳明。迨目擊地盤壙幫滴水情形、仍商同用土攔護、並未據實奏請。及早籌辦僅於會奏摺內聲

Even now the matter was not ended. In the next month there again arrived an Imperial edict at the Chancery, of the following contents: »The surveying of the configurations of the mountains »at the Pao-hwa Valley having at the outset been the work of Tai »Kwun-yuen, Muh-khoh-teng-ngoh and O-khoh-tang-o, the posses- »sions of the first-named have been traced and confiscated, and the »two others condemned to pay a certain amount of taels, as a warning »example that neglect of duty incurs punishment. But We will »take into consideration that, though those three men have together »resorted to the valley and selected the spot in question, yet a »distinction ought to be made between them according to whether »they have had a hand in the execution of the works, or not. »Tai Kwun-yuen was present at them for nearly three years, »never reporting a word about the oozing of water through the »stones, until Siang T'ung had to cover up the leakage with »earth; therefore his possessions have been (justly) traced and »sequestrated, and he himself brought up for trial. O-khoh-tang-o »attended the works for more than half a year, likewise without »reporting anything true about the matter; and for this misbe- »haviour he fully deserves the fine which has been imposed on »him. But Muh-khoh-teng-ngoh merely accompanied them on »their surveying excursion, and administered no works at all; and »some discrimination must therefore be made in regard of him. »The fine of 30,000 taels of silver that has been imposed on him, »We abate by 20,000 taels, and he is ordered to pay the remainder »at the term appointed. Thus do We show that, by imposing »fines proportionate to the crimes committed, We seek our force »in a resolute will to be just and equitable" [1].

明間有石塊有意增減緊要情節、現經奕紹等訊明、比例擬斬監候。實屬罪所應得即減等量。予遣戍亦是從輕寬貰、情念戴均元尚未始終經手工程、且已年逾八旬耄。不加刑、著加恩。免其死罪、並免發遣、即行逐回原籍、用施法外之仁。其子戴詩亨著革去員外郎、其孫戴嘉秀著革去知縣、戴嘉會著革去鹽大使、戴嘉德著革去舉人、以示薄懲。

[1] 前因寶華峪山勢係戴均元穆克登額阿克當

A description of the two Imperial Cemeteries, based on personal observation, it is quite impossible to give. For they are jealously guarded against intrusion by Chinese soldiery and Manchu Bannermen, and no foreigner can penetrate into these mysterious grounds without risking his body, or even his life. Natives also are carefully excluded, and the Code of Laws prescribes: »Whosoever enters, without valid reasons or authorization, the gates of »the area containing the mausolea, shall receive one hundred blows »with the long stick. And if any one goes no farther than a »gate, without passing the limit fixed by it, the above punishment shall be lessened one degree. Should the officers of the guard »have wilfully tolerated the intrusion, they shall be punished in »the same way as the trespassers; and should the intrusion be »attributable to their mere lack of vigilance, they shall be chastised »three degrees less severely than the offenders" [1].

Nevertheless, there does exist a way of acquiring a rather good idea of the appearance of those grounds. An acquaintance with the Cemetery of the Ming dynasty in Chʿang-pʿing suffices for the purpose, as every mausoleum situated therein resembles the Eastern and Western Tombs in all the main features. We know this for certain from the general rules for their construction, which the Tsʿing dynasty itself has laid down in its fundamental

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阿三人首先相度業、將戴均元家產查抄、並責令穆克登額阿克當阿各賠繳銀兩、以示薄罰。朕思伊等三人雖係同往勘定、而有經手工程與未辦工程之別。戴均元在工將及三年、於石母滴水情形始終既未奏、及且商同用土攔護、是以將其查抄拏問。阿克當阿在工半年有餘、並未據實陳奏、前次罰賠之數亦其咎所應得。惟穆克登額僅止同往相度、究未承辦工程、自應稍示區別。所有罰賠銀三萬兩著寬免二萬兩、餘仍責令按限措繳。用示朕權衡罰懲、期歸平允至意.

[1] 凡無故擅入山陵兆域門者杖一百。但至門未過門限者各減一等。守衛官故縱者各與犯人同罪、失覺察者減三等. Ch. 18, § 太廟門擅入.

constitution, rules which, as the Board of Works has had to slavishly conform to them in every case, have caused all those mausolea to closely resemble one another in shape. They read verbally as follows:

» Rules for every Imperial mausoleum. — The crypt to be formed » of lining-stones, and yellow clay to be piled up over it; a »city » or wall for the Precious Relics" (Pao ch'ing, see p. 1222) to » be built all around, and a »square fortress" (*i. e.* a terrace bearing » a »Soul tower", comp. p. 1219), crowned with a »lofty turret", » to be erected in front. To this turret the name of the mausoleum » shall be affixed, and within it a tablet shall be placed, graven with » the Emperor's temple-name. At the foot of the steps of the »square » fortress" shall stand a sacrificial table, bearing one censer, two » candle sticks and two flower vases of stone (see p. 1220); and in » front of that altar must come a gate, resting on two stone » pillars and with lintels of a red colour (p. 1218). Still further » frontward shall stand a triple »gate with glazed ornaments", » forming the gate of the ts'in of the mausoleum (pp. 1168 and » 1218), followed in the same direction by a »temple of prosperity » and favours". This temple shall have a double roof and consist » of five compartments formed by the pillars; a »warm porch" » (p. 1216) and a resting-chamber (for the soul tablets) shall be » placed in the middle of it, as is the case with the ancestral temple » of the Imperial Family. The side-buildings on the east and west » shall consist of five compartments each. A furnace for the burning » of sacrificial articles shall stand here on the right and left (comp. » p. 1217), and in front there shall be a »gate of prosperity and » favours" (p. 1211), consisting of five divisions formed by the » pillars, and having three passages. The emplacement shall be » surrounded with a red wall, and outside the gate, on either side, » a side-building shall stand, consisting of five compartments, as » also a guard-house of three compartments for the officials and » military charged with protecting the mausoleum.

» And in front of the gate must stand a stone tablet for the » Spirit's road (comp. p. 1225), entirely covered with the Empe- » ror's posthumous name and temple-name graven in the stone, » and sheltered under a pavilion. Both the tablet and pavilion » must be decked with the five colours, and adorned with gildings. » In front of this tablet-house a triple stone bridge shall be built, » with a stone slab on either side, announcing that all comers » must dismount at this spot; further there shall be there a pavilion

» for the slaughter of sacrificial victims, a kitchen for the Soul, » a store-house for the Soul (pp. 1212 *seq.*), and a pavilion with » a well, all decorated with variegated colours.

» In the Spirit's road south of the bridge there shall be a » » dragon-and-phenix gate" (p. 1206), standing exactly in the middle » of the grounds, with a guard-house, consisting of three compart- » ments, in front of it on either side; and further a file of stone » images, arrayed on the left and right, viz. civil ministers, military » officers, unicorns, lions, elephants, horses, camels, etc. In front » of these images shall stand a pair of »columns to look at" » (p. 1203) and, still farther forward, a single stone bridge, fol- » lowed by a tablet commemorating the sage virtues and divine feats, » sheltered in a lofty turret, with two »columns bearing the sky" » in front, and two at the back (comp. pp. 1199 and 1201). The » fore-part of the road of the Spirit shall be occupied by a »great » red gate" (p. 1196), having three passages and decorated with » variegated colours; the rafters of the roof of this building shall incline » downward to the four sides. At this spot there shall be a by- » passage on either flank. A decorative stone gate shall stand here » to the south (p. 1193) and two such structures to the east and » west, as also a stone slab on either side, ordering riders to alight.

» And within the »great red gate" there shall be on the left a » hall for the preparation of the ceremonial dresses, consisting of » three compartments and surrounded on all sides by a wall with » a single gate. The hall with three compartments shall contain an » altar fronting the west, and it shall, as well as the gate and the » wall, be roofed with yellow glazed tiles. This place shall serve » the Emperor to ascend into his carriage and to change his » dress (comp. page 1198). Along every Spirit's road trees shall » be planted on either side in rows of ten, in which they shall » stand two chang distant from each other. And outside the » walls which surround the grounds red posts shall be set out as » boundary marks, forbidding the gathering of fire-wood and all » ploughing and sowing" [1].

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[1] 凡山陵規制。甃石爲地宮、築以黃土、環以寶城、前起方城、覆以崇樓。上題陵名、內碑一、鐫廟號。方城階下設祭臺、上陳石香鑪一、燭臺花餅各二、祭臺前二石柱一門、朱欞。又前琉璃花門三、爲陵寢門、前爲隆恩殿。重檐、五間、殿中

These fundamental ordinances attest in the clearest possible way that the Ts'ing dynasty has entirely modelled its mausolea according to the plans of those of the House of Ming. Indeed, almost every building and structure prescribed has its counterpart in the old Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery, and bears the same name there, with only a few exceptions of little importance. The general plan of the Ts'ing tombs being thus strikingly uniform with that of the Ming tombs, we may infer that the buildings and structures composing them will also deviate but little from those in the Ch'ang-p'ing Cemetery in point of style, decoration, elaboration and finish; and this becomes still more probable, if we take into consideration that the Manchus never did possess any solid architecture of their own and, consequently, had recourse to mere imitation of what they found worth copying in this field, after the conquest of the Empire.

The ordinances issued by the Throne at different periods to supplement the above fundamental rescripts in the case of each mausoleum in particular, are the only authentic sources extant from which we may gain a more accurate knowledge of the Imperial

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設暖閣寢室如大廟制。東西廡各五間。左右燎鑪各一、前爲隆恩門五間三門。繚以朱垣、門外東西廂各五間、守護官軍班房東西各三間。

前爲神道碑、備鐫尊謚廟號、覆以亭。皆繪五采飾金。亭前石橋三、橋左右下馬石牌各一、宰牲亭、神廚、神庫、井亭、皆繪采。

橋南神路正中龍鳳門、門外兩旁班房各三間、文臣武士及麒麟獅象馬駝等石像左右序列。前爲望柱二、又前石橋一、橋前聖德神功碑覆以崇樓、擎天柱前後各二。神路前爲大紅門、門三、繪采、脊四下。左右角門二。門南石坊一、東西石坊二、左右下馬石牌一。

大紅門內左爲具服殿三間、繚以周垣、門一。殿三間、壇西嚮、皆覆以黃琉璃。爲乘輿更衣之所。凡神路兩旁封以樹、十株爲行、各間二丈。周垣之外植紅柱以爲界限禁樵採耕種. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, ll. 2 *seq.* See also the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, ll. 5 *sqq.*

tombs. They, in fact, tell us hardly anything about the exact style of the buildings, their contours and ornamentation, but almost everything about their dimensions and grouping, affording thereby many new proofs of their close resemblance to the mausolea of the Ming dynasty. These ordinances, as was the case with the fundamental rescripts, were drawn up for the guidance of the Administrative Bureau for the Government Reservations [1], a subdivision of the Board of Works having the control of the construction and restoration of the sepulchres of the Imperial Family, noblemen and mandarins, and those of rulers, sages and worthies of former dynasties, apart from the management of the fuel required for the Imperial service [2]. As our readers know (see p. 1097), the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, published in 1818, is the largest compilation extant of supplementary ordinances for the proper execution of the statutes laid down in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*. Those regarding the two Imperial Cemeteries, contained in its 711th. chapter, bring us down to »the mausoleum of the Empress Hiao Shuh", that is to say, the Ch'ang ling, which name it did not receive until Jen Tsung's death, after the publication of the work. The Supplementary Edition of the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, likewise published in 1818 (see p. 1173), is brought up to the same date; but the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien tseh li* (ch. 137) reaches no further than the Yü ling, this collection having been published previous to the other two. Unless we explicitly mention other authorities, the information contained in the following pages is drawn from the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*. The figures it gives for the dimensions are, for reasons which we cannot grasp, in most cases slightly different from those supplied by the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*. Only the four oldest Imperial mausolea shall be passed in review, the rescripts for the Ch'ang ling showing that it differs so little from them, that we need not pay any particular attention to it.

The Hiao ling of Shi Tsu, having been built first, has become the central around which all the mausolea of the Eastern Cemetery are grouped, just as was the case with the Ch'ang ling in the great Ming Cemetery. But its tumulus is much smaller than that of the Ch'ang ling, being only 1,5 chang in height, or, reckoning the chang as 3,35 metres, a little over five metres,

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1 屯田清吏司.

2 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 70, l. 2, and the Supplementary Edition of the same work, ch. 48.

whilst its circumference is barely 54,9 chang or circa 184 metres. It seems to be a rule with the reigning Imperial House to have tumuli of moderate size, the height and circumference of those of the three next Emperors measuring, according to the ordinances, 2 chang by 62,8, 1,3 by 66,4, and 1,5 by 64,9 respectively. The term by which the ordinances invariably denote the tumuli, is Pao ting [1], apparently meaning: »Crown or top of the Precious Relics".

In the Hiao ling, the Pao ch'ing, that is to say, the wall encompassing the tumulus, exceeds the latter but little in circumference, its entire length being given as 63 chang. This leads us to the conclusion, that the space it encloses is entirely filled by the tumulus, for, supposing the latter and the wall both to be circular, their respective radii will be almost equal, differing merely 1,3 chang or circa 4 metres, a figure representing perhaps the thickness of the wall. The reader may remember here that the tumulus wall of the Yung ling in the Ming Cemetery is even five metres thick (see p. 1233). In the King ling, as well as in the T'ai ling and the Yü ling, the radius-length of the wall likewise but slightly exceeds that of the tumulus, to wit, not more than 0,78, 2,62 and 1,35 chang respectively. In each of the four mausolea the tumulus is considerably lower than the wall, the latter measuring respectively 2,4, 3,7, 2,1 and 2,6 chang in height, leaving out the inches or hundredth parts of a chang.

The *T. Ts. h. t. shi li* and the Supplementary *T. Ts. h. t.* make mention of a yueh-ya ch'ing [2] or »moon-tips wall", placed in each mausoleum behind the terrace bearing the Soul tower. It is either 2,1, 2,2 or 2,3 chang high; that of the T'ai ling has the same height as the tumulus wall, and in the other three mausolea it is a few feet lower than the latter. It is perhaps a projecture from the terrace, connected with the tumulus wall, and it may have something to do with footways or steps giving access to the top of the terrace. Its name is a puzzle to us. »Precisely in the middle", thus we read, »is a glazed reflection wall" [3], the position of which, however, not being described more definitely, we can only refer the reader to the »yellow glazed screen", stated by Ku Yen-wu to have stood within the tunnel of the Ch'ang ling of the Ming dynasty (p. 1221). The terrace bearing the Soul tower is called

[1] 寶頂. [2] 月牙城.
[3] 正中琉璃影壁一座.

the »square fortress" [1]; it has »an elevated wall with a crenelated parapet" [2], and is by no means as large as the corresponding structures in the greatest among the Ming tombs. It measures in all the four mausolea only 6,4 or 6,5 chang in length, or circa 21,5 metres, and it is somewhat less than 2,9 chang or about 10 metres high; in the Hiao ling and the King ling it is not square, but considerably narrower than long [3].

The Soul tower, called, as we have seen, »lofty turret" by the *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien*, is in all the four mausolea of equal size, namely 2,6 chang on each side, and consequently by no means comes up in dimension to the corresponding building in the Chʿang ling of the Ming dynasty, each side of which measures 18 metres (see p. 1219). The double roof is covered with yellow glazed tiles and is 1,45 chang high, and the grave-stone it contains measures 1,55 chang by 0,55, and is 0,26 chang thick, its dimensions consequently not varying much from those of the grave-stone of the Chʿang ling (p. 1219). »It has a crowning border, »and a pedestal resembling a lotus; it bears gilded characters, »and is decked out with five-coloured paint" [4]. The inscriptions correspond exactly with those of the grave-stones of the Ming dynasty, for we read: »In the fourth year of the Kia khing »period (1799) it was proposed and approved that, in compliance »with the regulations enacted at the time for the King ling »and the Tʿai ling, models for the inscriptions for the tablet »within the Soul tower (of the Yü ling) should be made, to »wit: 'Mausoleum of Kao Tsung, the Emperor Shun' for its central »part, and 'The Great Tsʿing Dynasty' for the crowning border" [5].

In obedience to the fundamental rescript of the *Ta Tsʿing hwui*

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1 崇墉雉堞.

2 方城. It appears that structures of this name were already erected in the Imperial mausolea of the Han dynasty. Indeed, the passage we give on page 406 from the »Imperial Mirror" also allows of the following translation, which is perhaps preferable to the one we gave there: »The central square in the burial-places of »the House of Han measured a hundred pu. After (the grave) was dug and (the »hill) thrown up, a square fortress was made on the spot"....

3 According to the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li.*

4 仰覆蓮座、餙金字、繪五采.

5 嘉慶四年奏准應照景陵泰陵之例明樓內碑上居中繙寫高宗純皇帝之陵字樣、碑額上俱繙寫大清字樣. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 348, l. 3.

tien (see p. 1307), every Soul tower is adorned with the name of the mausoleum in which it stands, painted or carved on a board affixed, no doubt, in the same place as the corresponding object in each Ming tomb. We read, that Shing Tsu ordained in the same year in which he buried his father, »that the tower of the Hiao ling »should thenceforth be designated as a 'Soul tower', and that a »board inscribed with the characters Hiao ling should be suspended »at the top of it" [1]. Such a board was also affixed in each of the other three mausolea on the burial of the Emperor for whom it was built [2]. We read in the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites: »The Imperial Chancery shall propose a name for each »mausoleum, and present it to the Throne. After its approval »by the Emperor, the Board of Rites shall request that the boards »that are to be suspended against the Soul tower, the temple and its »great gate, as also the inscriptions to be placed on those boards »in Manchu, Mongol and Chinese, may be delivered over to the »office established in the mausoleum in question (as a branch of »that Board), with orders further to do what is necessary. And after »this office has reported that the boards are finished, the Bureau »of Astrology shall select an auspicious day on which to reverently »suspend them in their places. On that day, a President or Vice-»President of the Board of Rites shall present a sacrifice on the »sacrificial table before the Imperial coffin, and therewith inform »the Soul of what is to take place; the written offertory for »this occasion shall be composed by the Han-lin College, and »the articles to be offered be prepared by the Court of Sacrificial »Worship" [3].

In all the four mausolea there is, according to the ordinances, »a wang-khüen gate beneath the square fortress" [4]. We cannot

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1 樓爲明樓、上懸孝陵牌扁. *Op. cit.*, ch. 346, l. 6. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 6. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 151, l. 3.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 29; ch. 347, l. 2; ch. 348, l. 3.

3 內閣撰擬陵名進呈。欽定後禮部將明樓大殿大門應懸牌扁及應書滿洲蒙古漢文三樣字體、具奏交與各該衙門辦理。告成後欽天監擇吉恭懸，其恭懸之日禮部堂官一員告祭几筵、祭文由翰林院撰擬、祭品由太常寺備辦. Chapter 143, l. 17.

4 方城下爲龔券門.

even guess what is meant by this term, not knowing what to make of the Chinese characters representing it. It may denote the closable mouth of the tunnel, but the ordinances make no mention of tunnels at all. Mr. Bourne, however, affirms that they do exist; but we must take into consideration that he but saw a very small part of the Eastern Cemetery and that he does not categorically state that he beheld any tunnels with his own eyes. He says that the entrance to the tomb is beneath the Soul tower, and that this building is connected by a descending passage with the tumulus within which the coffin lies [1]. That the coffins are placed within the crypt upon a ledge or couch, which is probably of stone, and that the entrance to the crypt is closed by a door of the same material, the reader has seen on page 1290. According to Bourne, »there is »behind the door, inside, a round hole, cut in the stone of the »floor; and when the door is shut, a large ball of stone follows it »and, falling into the hole, by its projecting top prevents the door »from ever opening again. The door itself is of solid stone, and »when once shut, it may be smashed to pieces by the application »of sufficient force, but it cannot be opened. When this door has »been shut, the deceased Emperor is said to be in peace for »evermore" [2].

No doubt, the crypt in every Imperial tomb is entirely built of blocks of stone; at least, apart from the clause in the fundamental rescripts that intimates this (see p. 1307), such is the case with the crypts of the high Imperial secondary Consorts and Heirs-Apparent, for we read in the fundamental constitution: »The crypts for Con- »cubines of the three highest ranks and those for Heirs-Apparent »shall be of solid stone, but those of Concubines of the lower »ranks of bricks" [3]. The top of the tumulus can be reached by two so-called ting tao [4] or »rising stone paths", an eastern and a western. We learn this from some accounts the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li* gives of visits paid by Sons of Heaven to the mausolea of their fathers or mothers in the Ts'ing ming season, in which it is explicitly stated that they ascended the eastern ting tao, with the object of placing some earth upon the tumulus. We

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1 Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. V, p. 26.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

3 妃皇太子均以石、嬪貴人以甎爲壙. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, l. 3.

4 磴道.

may here also remind the reader of the inclined passages, either covert or open, leading up the terraces of the Soul towers in the mausolea of the Ming dynasty (see pp. 1221, 1232, 1239 and 1264).

»Outside the wang-khüen gate" — thus the ordinances go on to say — »there is a moon-terrace" [1]. Considering that the fundamental rescripts make mention of »steps of the square fortress" (see page 1307), we suppose that moon-terrace to be a round or semi-lunar platform with steps. And in the Hiao ling »there is in front of that terrace a moon-tips brook, being a qua»druple water-channel or conduit spanned in the middle by a level »stone bridge" [2]. In the ordinances for the King ling and the T'ai ling no mention is made of such a Fung-shui moat, nor of a bridge; but those concerning the Yü ling speak of »a Jade girdle »brook, situated in front of the moon-terrace, with a level stone »bridge in the middle" [3]. The ordinances further prescribe, that in all the four mausolea »a sacrificial table of white stone shall be »placed to the south, measuring 1,94 chang by 0,53, and 0,45 »chang high, and that a set of five sacrificial implements shall be »arranged on it. In front of this altar a gate shall stand, 2,18 »chang wide, having two stone posts, 1,99 chang high, and »a lintel and a sill painted in five colours; it shall be closed by »means of doors, the transverse beams over which shall be red. »Still more to the front there shall be a triple gate with glazed »ornaments, having red doors studded with nails of metal; its »middlemost passage shall be 2,3 chang deep and one in »width, and covered with a roof of the height of 1,55 chang; »and these dimensions shall be for the passages on either side »1,66 chang, 0,77 and 1,28" [4]. Thus we see that this gate dif-

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[1] 門外月臺.

[2] 前爲月牙河、水洞四達、中設石平橋.

[3] 月臺前爲玉帶河、中建石平橋一.

[4] 南設白石祭臺、廣一丈九尺四寸、縱五尺三寸、高四尺五寸、上陳石五供一分。其前爲二柱門、廣二丈一尺八寸、石柱二、高一丈九尺九寸、門楣闕飾五采、扉朱欞。又前琉璃花門三、金釘朱扉、中廣二丈三尺、縱一丈、檐高一丈五尺五寸、左右廣一丈六尺六寸、縱七尺七寸、檐高一丈二尺八寸.

fers from the corresponding building in the Ch'ang ling of the Ming dynasty chiefly in that the three passages have no common roof. It is probably built in the style of the gate of which a sketch is given in Plate L.

The gate with glazed ornaments communicates with the temple court. In the Hiao ling it is separated from the temple by »a Jade girdle brook, spanned in the middle by a triple level bridge of stone" [1], and in the Yü ling by »a triple stone bridge of one span" [2]; in the two other mausolea the first structure reached is the temple. This edifice is officially styled Lung-ngen tien [3]: »Temple of Prosperity and Favours", or »Temple of Favours which ensure Prosperity". »It consists of five divisions formed by the »pillars, and has a double roof, the rafters of which incline down- »ward on the four sides, and which is covered all over with yellow »glazed tiles. It measures 9,4 chang by 5,3, and the roof is 1,7 »chang high" [4]. Only in the T'ai ling is the temple a little smaller, its dimensions being 8 chang by 5,18, and its roof 1,74 chang in height. Consequently, these four edifices are pigmies when compared to the stupendous temple of the Ch'ang ling, which covers more than four times so much ground. The meaning of the official name they bear we need not now explain after what we have said on page 1211 about the analogous name of the temples in the Ming Cemetery. It strikes the attention that the two names so closely resemble each other, the words lung and ling presenting hardly any difference, either in sound or meaning. No doubt this similarity is not accidental. The name Lung-ngen dates from 1663, when Shing Tsu resolved that the temple of the Hiao ling, where he had just then buried his father and mother, should thence- forth bear it [5].

»Within the temple three »warm porches" are placed. And »outside it is a moon-terrace (or platform, see above), upon »which are arrayed on either side a bronze tripod with a

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[1] 玉帶河一道、中建石平橋三.

[2] 一洞石橋三.

[3] 隆恩殿.

[4] 隆恩殿五間、重檐脊四下、均覆黃琉璃。廣九丈四尺、縱五丈三尺、檐高一丈七尺.

[5] *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 6; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 6; and *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 151, l. 3.

» crane and a stag of the same material; the top of the platform » is protected by stone balustrades, and it has five projecting flights » of steps. The buildings on either side of the temple each contain » five compartments formed by the pillars; they measure 7,7 chang » by 2,5, and their roofs are 1,25 chang high. There is also » on either side a furnace for burnt sacrifices, measuring 9,3 feet » by 6,6, and 8,5 feet high" [1].

» In front of the temple, in the middle, stands a Lung-ngen » men: »Gate of Favours which ensure Prosperity", consisting of » five divisions formed by the pillars; its dimensions are 6,25 chang » by 2,8, and the height of the roof is 1,3 chang" [2]. The ordinances for the Hiao ling state, »that there shall be in this » mausoleum two guard-houses, one on the east and one on the west » of the temple-gate, and that this gate is to be flanked by two » side-buildings of five divisions, measuring 5,72 chang by a » breadth of 2,75 and a height of 1,21 chang. Behind the eastern » side-building shall stand a kitchen for the Soul, consisting of » five divisions formed by the pillars, and measuring 6,8 chang » by 2,35, with a roof 1,25 chang high; there shall also be, » respectively to the north and to the south, two store-houses for the » Manes with three divisions, which buildings shall measure 3,7 » chang by 2,35, and 1,15 chang in height; further, a pavilion for » the slaughter of sacrificial victims in the shape of an airy tower- » like edifice with a double roof, measuring 2,85 chang square » and having a height of 1,2 chang" [3]. Similar buildings are also

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[1] 內設暖閣三。外設月臺、左右列銅鼎銅鶴銅鹿各一、崇階石欄、凡五出陛。東西廡各五間、廣七丈七尺、縱二丈五尺、檐高一丈二尺五寸。燎爐各一、廣九尺三寸、縱六尺六寸、高八尺五寸.

[2] 前中爲隆恩門五間、廣六丈二尺五寸、縱二丈八尺、檐高一丈三尺.

[3] 東西班房二、兩廂各五間、廣五丈七尺二寸、縱二丈七尺五寸、檐高一丈二尺一寸。東廂後設神廚五間、廣六丈八尺、縱二丈三尺五寸、檐高一丈二尺五寸。神庫南北各三間、廣三丈七尺、縱二丈三尺五寸、檐高一丈一尺五寸。宰牲

prescribed for the three other mausolea, with the same dimensions, except for the »side-buildings". In the King ling, the kitchen, the store-house and the slaughter-house stand farther off, being mentioned after the tablet-house in front of the temple-gate, and after the stone images in the road of the Spirit; in the T'ai ling and the Yü ling they stand between that tablet-house and the images. The ordinances also speak of a »well pavilion" [1], erected to the east, one chang square and with a roof of 0,75 chang in height.

A Lung-ngen men evidently forms the main entrance to every mausoleum, no gate standing in front of it being mentioned in the fundamental rescripts or the supplementary ordinances. Like every temple-gate in the Cemetery of the Ming dynasty, each Lung-ngen men bears the characters expressing this word, on a board suspended over the entrance in the frontispiece; similarly, each temple is adorned with a board displaying the word Lung-ngen tien. We have already stated on page 1313 that these inscriptions are in three languages, and that the affixing of the boards is considered a matter of sufficient importance to be celebrated with a sacrifice to the Manes inhabiting the mausoleum, at the presentation of which they are duly informed of the affixing. We read in the ordinances: »In the first year of the Yung ching period the Imperial »Chancery issued inscriptions in two languages, prepared by the »Imperial hand for the stone tablets of the King ling, as also »inscriptions for the boards of the Soul tower, the temple and the »gate. The following manner of proceeding was then laid out in »obedience to an Imperial order, and favoured with the Imperial ap»proval: — On the engraving being finished by the Board of Works, »the matter shall be placed in the hands of the Bureau of Astrology, »which shall select an auspicious day, on the day previous to which a »respectful announcement of the matter shall be made at the sacrificial »table of the (still unburied) Emperor Shing Tsu; and on the auspi»cious day a President of the Board of Rites shall reverently hang the »boards in their places, with observance of the proper ceremonial" [2].

亭一座、重檐氣樓、廣二丈八尺五寸、縱如之、檐高一丈二尺.

[1] 井亭.

[2] 雍正元年內閣交出御書景陵碑文二道、明樓殿門牌扁三件。遵旨議准、候工部鐫刻完竣交欽天監選擇吉日、先期祇告聖祖仁皇帝几

The same procedure is stated to have taken place at the affixing of the sign-boards in the T'ai ling [1].

Like every mausoleum of the Ming dynasty, each of those of the House of Ts'ing is enclosed by a wall. The total length of that of the Hiao ling is stated to be 197,15 chang, or hardly one third shorter than that of the Ch'ang ling. The wall of the King ling measures 179,45 chang, that of the T'ai ling and the Yü ling respectively 194,51 and 190,32. The height is either 1,1 or 1,3 chang.

In the King ling »there is in front of the temple-gate a triple »three-span stone bridge, and to the west a level double bridge »of stone" [2]; — and in the Yü ling, »a moon-tips brook with »a triple three-span bridge of stone just in the middle, and a »level bridge on either side" [3]. Further, all the mausolea have »southward from the temple-gate, exactly in the middle, a tablet-»house of the road of the Spirit, measuring 2,7 chang on each side »and with a roof which is 1,7 chang high. The stone tablet it con-»tains is 1,85 chang high, by a breadth of 0,63 chang and a »thickness of 0,28; it stands on a dragon-shaped pedestal which is »1,55 chang long and 0,52 high" [4].

Now concentrating our attention for a few moments on the Hiao ling, we learn from the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li* that »there are on the »east of its tablet-house two level stone bridges, with a bower »in front, formed by the branches of a pine-tree intertwined like »coiling dragons. And in front of that tablet-house, right in the »middle, lies a three-span stone bridge, after which follows in »the same direction a seven-span stone bridge, and one with a »single span. Moreover, the road has on the east and on the west »a slab of stone, 1,36 chang high, 0,34 broad and 0,14 thick, »announcing that riders shall dismount here; and after these slabs,

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筵、屆期禮部堂官一人行禮恭懸牌扁. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 28; and *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 26.

1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 2; and *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 33.

2 前有三洞石橋三、迤西石平橋二.

3 前爲月牙河、中建三洞石橋三、左右平橋二.

4 南正中建神道碑亭一座、廣二丈七尺、縱如之、檐高一丈七尺。內碑一、高一丈八尺五寸、廣六尺三寸、厚二尺八寸、龍趺長一丈五尺五寸、高五尺二寸.

» to the south, right in the middle, follows a triple dragon-and-phenix » gate. On either flank of this gate extends a wall, adorned with » glazing; the openings of the gate can be shut by means of doors » which have red lintels and the building is 3,29 chang broad » and 2,15 high. Outside it there is on either side a guard-house, » consisting of three compartments, and stone images of living » beings are arrayed in front of the gate, to wit: three pairs of » civilians and three pairs of military officers, the former attired » with a gown and cap as prescribed for Imperial audiences, the » latter with a coat of mail and a helmet on; a pair of crouching » unicorns and standing unicorns, crouching lions and standing lions, » crouching and standing elephants, horses, camels and swan-ni[1], » in all eighteen pair; finally, a pair of »columns to look at", » 2,27 chang in height"[2].

Mr. Bourne, who penetrated as far as this avenue, describes it in the following words: »This road, leading from the great (Red) » Gate in the southern wall to the tomb of Shi Tsu, a distance » of over three miles, is the main artery of the mausolea enclosure, » and from it branch off the roads leading to the tombs of the » later Emperors, who, as our guide remarked, were but branches » of the Imperial genealogical tree; and therefore the relation of » their roads to that of Shi Tsu, the main stem. It is a magni- » ficent avenue, bordered on each side by groves of fir-trees planted » at regular intervals. Our guide asked me triumphantly whether » the requirements of Fung-shui were not perfectly fulfilled by this » road. I was certainly impressed by its position and surroundings. » To the north, straight in front, stood the snow-covered hills » under which the tomb of the founder of the dynasty is built;

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1 See pp. 1324 *seq.*

2 迤東石平橋二座、前設蟠龍松架。其亭前正中建三洞石橋一、又前七洞石橋一、一洞石橋一。東西有下馬石牌二、高一丈三尺六寸、廣三尺四寸、厚一尺四寸、南中爲龍鳳門三。門兩旁翊垣、均飾以琉璃、扉朱欞、廣三丈二尺九寸、高二丈一尺五寸。門外左右設班房各三間、前列石像生、朝衣冠介冑文武臣像各三對、臥立麒麟獅象馬駝狻貌各一對、凡十有八對、望柱二、高二丈二尺七寸.

» and to the south, in the line of the road, so that it exactly filled » up the break in the trees, stood another hill, four or five miles » distant; but, from the singularity of its position with regard to » the road, seeming to be as much a part of the tomb as the » monstrous stone figures of men and animals that guard the road » on either side, some standing, others crouching. Behind the stone » figures the groves of fir-trees were alive with birds of many spe- » cies, to whom this forbidden ground gives shelter.

» The stone figures which guard the road deserve a more parti- » cular notice. There are eighteen pair, or thirty-six in all, each » pair placed facing one another, one on either side of the road. » Walking towards the tomb from the south, we see two lofty » stone pillars, one on either side of the road, about two feet from » the top of which a cross-piece of stone points inward towards the » road. Between these pillars and the ornamental archway (read: » dragon-and-phenix gate) the figures are placed at equal distances. » Next to the pillars come the figures of beasts. They are mono- » lithic, and appeared to be of about the same size as those at the » Ming tombs".

The ordinances for the Hiao ling go on to say: »In front of » the »columns to look at" stands, right in the middle, a pavilion » with the tablet that commemorates the sage virtues and divine » feats. This pavilion has a double roof; it is 7,4 chang square, » and the roof is 3,2 chang high" [1]. It has, accordingly, almost the same size as the corresponding building in the Ch'ang ling, which measures 26 metres square (see p. 1198). »The stone tablet » inside it is 2,06 chang high, 0,67 chang broad and 0,23 thick, » and the pedestal, which has the shape of a dragon, measures » 1,63 chang in length and 0,56 in height. Two »sky-bearing » columns" stand in front of this building, and two behind it; » they are 2,5 chang high and 0,42 in diameter, and these di- » mensions are 0,52 and 0,87 for the pedestal. Each column is » surrounded by a stone balustrade, 0,55 chang high, and 1,47 » chang in length on every side" [2]. We cannot say whether similar

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[1] 其前正中建聖德神功碑亭一座。重檐、廣七丈四尺、縱如之、檐高三丈二尺.

[2] 內碑一、高二丈有六寸、廣六尺七寸、厚二尺三寸、龍趺長一丈六尺三寸、高五尺六寸。擎天柱前後各二、高二丈五尺、徑四尺二寸、座高

balustrades formerly existed at the corresponding columns in the Cemetery of the Ming dynasty, as we did not see a trace of them, nor did we find any mention of them in the books.

»In front of the tablet-house, on either side, is a guard-house »with three compartments. Farther southward, on the left, stands »a hall for the preparation of ceremonial dresses, composed of »three compartments and measuring 3,4 chang by 2,3; its roof »is one chang in height (comp. page 1308). Again farther »frontward, right in the middle, stands a great red gate, 11,76 »chang long by a breadth of 3,46, and with a roof which is »2,5 chang high" [1]. These dimensions are almost, if not exactly, the same as those of the red gate which forms the main entrance into the Cemetery of the Ming dynasty (see p. 1196). »Before the »gate, guard-houses of three compartments shall stand on each »side, and to the east and west, opposite each other, two stone »slabs ordering riders to dismount, 1,36 chang high, 0,34 broad »and 0,14 thick. And again farther on there shall be, right in the »middle, two stone decorative gates, 9,75 chang broad and 2,36 »high" [2].

This dry, skeleton-like summary of buildings and ciphers, however inattractive reading it affords, may, when combined with the data supplied by the fundamental rescripts for the mausolea, which we have translated on pp. 1307 *seq.*, tend to satisfy somewhat the thirst of our readers for some knowledge of the two sepulchral grounds of the now reigning Imperial family. No figures at all are given about the distances that lie between the several buildings, gates, walls and bridges. This suggests of itself that the

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五尺二寸、徑八尺七寸。四周石欄、各高五尺五寸、各面廣一丈四尺七寸.

[1] 碑亭前設東西班房、各三間。南左有具服殿三間、廣三丈四尺、縱二丈三尺、檐高一丈。前中爲大紅門、廣十一丈七尺六寸、縱三丈四尺六寸、檐高二丈五尺.

[2] 門前左右設班房、各三間、東西對立下馬石牌二、高一丈三尺六寸、廣三尺四寸、厚一尺四寸。又前正中石坊二、廣九丈七尺五寸、高二丈三尺六寸.

widest scope has been left on this head to the calculations of geomancers and architects, in connection, no doubt, with the configurations and dimensions of the ground disposed of for every mausoleum.

In one important respect the Eastern Cemetery differs from that of the Ming dynasty in Ch'ang-p'ing. While this latter has only one single Spirit's road, consisting of a great tablet-house, an avenue adorned with images, and a dragon-and-phenix gate, every Imperial tomb in the Eastern Cemetery possesses such a road of its own. According to the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, that of the King ling has, instead of a dragon-and-phenix gate, »a decorative »gate of stone, long 7,01 chang and 2,58 chang high, and »furthermore, five pair of stone effigies of living beings, arrayed on »the right and left, to wit: one pair of civil officers dressed with »a gown and a cap as worn at Imperial audiences, one pair of military »officers in coat-of-mail and with a helmet on, and one pair of »standing horses, standing elephants and standing lions. Besides, »it contains a pair of »columns to look at", 2,32 chang high, »with a stone five-span bridge in front, and southward from this »bridge a pavilion for the tablet which commemorates the sage »virtues and divine feats; this building has a double roof, it is »7,25 chang square, and its roof is 3,16 chang high. It con»tains two tablets, 2,3 chang high, 0,74 broad and 0,29 thick, »reared on pedestals which have the shape of a dragon and measure »1,6 chang, by a height of 0,61" [1]. The four »sky-bearing columns", their pedestals and balustrades all have the same dimensions as in the Hiao ling. An avenue of the above description, with buildings and monuments of the same dimensions, is prescribed for the Yü ling, but with other stone animals, namely: »a pair »of standing horses, unicorns, elephants, camels, swan-ni and

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[1] 石坊一、廣七丈有一寸、高二丈五尺八寸、左右列石像生、朝衣冠介冑文武臣像各一對、立馬立象立獅各一對、凡五對。望柱二、高二丈三尺二寸、望柱前建立五洞石橋一、橋南建聖德神功碑亭一座、重檐、廣七丈二尺五寸、縱如之、檐高三丈一尺六寸。內碑二、各高二丈三尺、廣七尺四寸、厚二尺九寸、龍趺各長一丈六尺、高六尺一寸.

» lions"[1]. Mr. Bourne says that there are five pairs of stone images in front of the Ting ling, but that they are most diminutive (page 30); and Mayers informs us, that such figures also adorn the Hwui ling[2].

Notwithstanding they have separate Spirit's roads, the Eastern Mausolea decidedly together constitute one great cemetery, possessing, as they do, in common all the buildings that stand outside the great tablet-house of the Hiao ling, and the principal of which are the red gate and the decorative gates. A similar arrangement exists for the Western Cemetery. Indeed, the T'ai ling, the first mausoleum built therein, which forms its main artery and, as the foregoing pages have shown, resembles the mausolea in the Eastern Cemetery in every respect, is explicitly stated by the ordinances to have an avenue which, like that of the Hiao ling, abuts on a great red gate, behind which is a hall for the preparation of ceremonial costumes, and before which two stone slabs stand, warning all comers to dismount, and three decorative gates. All these structures are stated to have like dimensions as at the Eastern Cemetery, save some slight differences of a few inches. But there are two stone lions outside the red gate, and a five-span bridge of stone in front of the decorative gates.

The avenues of stone figures in the Western Cemetery seem to be of very little significance. According to the ordinances, the T'ai ling and the Ch'ang ling are decorated with only one pair of civil and one of military officers, a pair of horses, elephants and lions, all in standing attitude, and a pair of columns[3]. Süen Tsung expressly forbade the erection of statues in front of his tomb, either by a desire to avoid lavish expenditure, or from superstitious ideas[4]. We have seen above, that some avenues in the Eastern Cemetery contain figures of swan-ni[5]. Some works say, this word denotes an animal belonging to the lion class. But it is clearly distinguished by the Chinese from the shi[6] or lion proper, as follows from the fact that images of this animal, too, are explicitly mentioned by the ordinances as standing in the avenues.

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1 立馬、立麒麟、立象、立駱駝、立狻猊、立獅、各一對.

2 Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XII, page 5.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch, 711, ll. 14 and 21.

4 According to Mayers; *op. et loc. cit.*

5 狻猊 or 狻麑.

6 獅.

The swan-ni is spoken of already in the *'Rh ya.* »It resembles a short-haired tiger, and devours tigers and leopards"[1], this work says; and Kwoh Poh, its commentator, adds: »Consequently it is a lion, and lives in the western regions"[2]. The word swan-ni may, perhaps, be an exotic name of the lion, or its name in some vernacular of south-western China, where we may suppose this animal to have been, or still to be, indigenous. Perhaps the lion-like monsters in the great Cemetery of the Ming dynasty, depicted by us at page 818 in Plate XX, represent swan-ni.

To those of our readers who have perused our disquisition on the Chinese eulogistic sepulchral tablets and thereby arrived at a proper understanding of their high significance in the Religion of the Dead, it will be self-evident that the most important monuments in the several Spirit's roads of the Imperial mausoleum-grounds are the tablets »commemorating the sage virtues and divine merits or feats". Nobody will, therefore, be astonished to hear that the biographies, graven in those stones, have altogether been piously composed by the Sons of Heaven in their own persons, either nominally or in reality, each of them having counted it among his sacred duties thus to perpetuate by his own writing-brush the glorious memory of his father. Their anxiety to give in this wise the strongest possible expression to their filial feelings, very soon began to drive them beyond the bounds of conciseness and to necessitate the erection of two tablets in every pavilion, one single slab, even of so stupendous a size as all of them are, becoming too small to bear so much laudation and magniloquence in two languages, especially if the defunct had reigned long.

The first for whom two tablets were raised was Shing Tsu, the second Emperor. We read: »With a view to the erection at the »King ling of a tablet recording the sage virtues and divine feats, »a Grand-Secretary, a President of the Board of Works and a Pre»sident of the Bureau of Astrology were commissioned in the third »year of the Yung ching period, to determine by survey and »calculation a square spot fitted to rear it on. They received the »following instructions from the Emperor: — 'The record of the »life of Shi Tsu, placed on his tablet, is brief and succinct. But »Shing Tsu having been on the throne for more than sixty years,

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[1] 狻麑如彘貓、食虎豹: § 18.

[2] 即師子也、出西域.

» and his feats and virtues being illustrious and perfect, a record of » his life must consist of so great a number of characters that one » tablet will not be large enough to bear them. On this account » two tablets must be erected, one for the Manchu, and one for » the Chinese version. We fear, however, that they will exercise a » wrong influence upon peace and rest if they be larger than the » tablet in Shi Tsu's pavilion. Therefore, should their breadth be » increased, they may certainly not surpass that tablet in height. » Deliberate minutely about this matter, and do your best to arrive » at a proper and reasonable conclusion. Respect this!'

» In obedience to these instructions, the said Ministers deliberated, » and they came forth with the following proposal, to which the » Emperor gave his approval: Two tablets of the same dimensions » and shape as the one standing in the pavilion of the Hiao » ling shall be erected; a square spot shall be sought by minute » survey and calculation, and a map made of it, to be submitted » to His Majesty's view; and on the carving of the inscription in » the stone being reported as finished, a felicitous day shall be se- » lected and the tablets erected in that place"[1].

Subsequently it become the rule to erect two tablets for each Emperor. The ordinances teach us, that the tablet-house of the T'ai ling contains a pair of the same size as those of the King ling[2], although the Emperor, whose fame they extol, only reigned a dozen years. In the Yü ling, too, there are two tablets. » In » the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Kia khing » period", thus we read, » the reigning Emperor issued an edict » of the following tenor: — 'Respectfully do We consider that Our

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1 雍正三年建景陵聖德神功碑遣大學士工部欽天監堂官相度立碑方位。奉旨、世祖章皇帝碑文字跡似小。聖祖仁皇帝在位六十餘年功德隆盛、文章字數甚多、一碑不能盡載。建立二碑、一刻清文、一刻漢文。其碑若比世祖章皇帝碑亭寬展恐有未安。卽或加寬必不可加高。爾等詳議、務期合宜。欽此。

遵旨議准、照依孝陵碑亭式樣建立二碑、詳加相度方位、繪圖進呈御覽、鐫刻告成擇吉建位. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, ll. 31 *seq.*; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 29.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 711, l. 14.

» deceased father Kao Tsung, the Emperor Shun, has from the mo-
» ment he assumed government over the vast Universe, promoted
» the improvement and perfection thereof during a great length of
» time. With laborious care He ruled His beloved people; in every
» direction He tried to exercise a prosperity-ensuring government, and
» like the fertilizing moisture of the heavens, He spread beatitude
» and welfare among the host of living creatures. In silent retire-
» ment He perfected in the finest details the purity of his virtues;
» His civil and military capacities, sage and divine, were so lofty
» and embraced so wide a scope, that it is hardly possible to find
» proper terms to denominate them. Therefore, whereas the great
» funeral ceremonies at the Yü ling are now reported as ended,
» a tablet commemorating His sage virtues and divine feats shall
» be reverently erected there, in order that the latter may be glo-
» riously proclaimed for ever and ever. Having Ourself adopted His
» rules of conduct and respectfully bearing in mind His compre-
» hensive example, We have carefully composed in Our private
» apartment the inscription to be placed on his tablets, amidst a
» flood of tears moistening the hairs of Our writing-pencil. We
» have displayed therein His grandness and energy; but as no man,
» even though his intellect were as bright as the sun and the moon,
» could possibly describe those qualities for more than a tenthousandth
» part, We have had to content Ourself with giving a condensed
» account of His acts, but in terms which have sprung from the
» profoundest feelings of Our heart; it may therefore only just make
» the gem of His purity shine like the noontide sun, and be believed
» for a myriad of sacrificial periods. In respect to the measures to be
» taken for the selection of a square spot and the erection thereon
» of a tablet-house, as also to the statute ceremonies which are to
» be performed in connection therewith, reports must be made to
» Us by Our Chancery and by the Boards of Rites and Works,
» after careful examination and respectful deliberation. Respect this!'

» In obedience to this edict, the following proposal was made by
» the Chancery and the said Boards, and approved by the Emperor: —
» With respect to a square spot at the Yü ling, on which the
» tablets are to be reverently erected, a High Minister delegated by
» the Throne, a President of the Board of Rites and one of the
» Board of Works shall be invited to go there beforehand at the
» head of some officials of the Bureau of Astronomy thoroughly
» versed in the geomantic arts; they shall join there the Princes
» and Magnates charged with the general management of the Eastern

» Mausolea (see p. 1339), and search out by survey and calculation » a fitting spot with reverent care, to finally report to the Throne » about these proceedings and ask for the Imperial decision. Auspi- » cious days for commencing the works, for doing the first digging » and for erecting the tablets shall be sent up to the Bureau of » Astronomy, that it may select therefrom those which are the » fittest. The construction of the tablets, the building of the tablet- » house, and other works of the kind shall be imposed upon the » Board of Works. One day before the works are to begin, a President » of the Board of Works shall inform the God of Earth of what » is going to be done, offering a sacrifice to this divinity; and on » the day preceding the erection of the tablets, a President of the » Board of Rites shall be ordered to inform the (occupant of the) » Yü ling of this matter, presenting at the same time a sacrifice » to Him. The ceremonial connected with those rites shall be con- » ducted by the Sacrificial Court, and the Han-lin College shall » compose the offertories. When the tablets are finished, orders shall » be given to a High Minister to inspect with reverent care the » inscriptions carved therein. The grandees that must be sent before- » hand to the mausoleum to seek a suitable spot for the tablet-house, » and those who are to inspect the inscriptions and to make the » announcements connected with a sacrifice, shall report to the Throne » about their proceedings, through the Board of Rites" [1].

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[1] 嘉慶四年十一月諭、欽惟皇考高宗純皇帝臨御區寓久道化成。勤政愛民、敷求郅治、如天之澤溥樂利於羣生。維德之純秉精誠於宥密、聖神文武巍蕩難名。今裕陵大禮告成、應恭建聖德神功碑、昭示永久。朕親承彝訓、敬念鴻謨、謹於齋居之次灑淚濡毫撰述碑文。闡揚駿烈、雖日月之光莫能描繪萬一、而事皆實蹟、言本至情、足以輝映貞珉、信乎億祀。所有相度方位建立碑亭及應行典禮、著內閣禮部工部敬謹詳議具奏。欽此。

遵旨議准、裕陵恭建高宗純皇帝聖德神功碑所有立碑方位應請欽派大臣一員及禮部工部堂官率領欽天監精通地理人員前往、會同總理東陵事務王大臣敬謹相度、具奏請旨。其興工

The measures prescribed in this edict have undoubtedly been followed at the erection of every tablet-house, they being laid down as general standard rescripts among the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites [1]. Our readers will be mistaken, if they think that those Imperial sepulchral biographies, carved in solid stone and carefully sheltered from atmospherical influences by a strong roof and massive walls, are valuable historical documents, doubly useful because no official history of the Ts'ing dynasty as yet exists. Being exclusively laudatory, as filial piety forbids a son to pass censure on his father's deeds, they cannot, indeed, claim to be trustworthy sketches of the characters of the sovereigns to the memory of whom they are sacred; moreover, bare feats and achievements are recorded therein with the utmost brevity and without any addition of detail, and in most cases even the dates are omitted This judgment we pronounce, however, over the tablet inscriptions for the three first Emperors alone, the only ones of which we have reprints, and that in the *Wen hien t'ung khao* [2]; of the others we never saw a copy. As our readers may desire to obtain an idea of the contents of such biographies, we paraphrase here that of Shi Tsu, the first Emperor, which is the shortest, containing only 1435 characters. The tablet was reared in 1668.

After mentioning the parents of whom this monarch was born, it goes on to relate that, before his birth, a wonderful light issued from his mother's body, and that she dreamed of a mysterious individual that handed a son to her, who, he said, would once wield the sceptre over the whole wide world. At the confinement, a red glare and savoury odours pervaded the Palace. When only six years old he could read, and recited by heart, without the help of his teacher, several columns of characters at once, after having merely looked over them. At that tender age he was placed on the throne of

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動土及立碑吉期交與欽天監選擇。製造石碑建立碑亭等事交與工部辦理。興工前期一日工部堂官一員告祭后土之神、立碑前期一日命禮部堂官一員告祭裕陵。其祭祀事宜由太常寺辦理、祝文由翰林院撰擬。碑石造成之日命大臣敬謹監看鐫字。所有應遣前往相度及監看鐫字告祭各大臣由禮部具奏. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 348, ll. 6 *seq.*

1 In chapter 143, l. 19.

2 Chapters 151 and 152.

China, and established his Court at Peking. The different parts of the Empire were then reduced to submission by military force, and sundry measures taken for the relief of the people, such as the abolition of taxes and tributes, and crushing statute labour at the frontiers. The Emperor at the same time devoted his attention to the digestion of a code of laws; he behaved most dutifully towards his deceased parents and grandfather, and gave his nights which so much zeal to the study of the Manchu and Chinese languages, that he became thoroughly versed in philosophy, natural science, astronomy, geomancy, rites and ceremonies, music, military tactics, jurisprudence, rates and taxes, medical science, in short, every branch of knowledge. In dressing and eating he observed moderation and simplicity; he made considerable outlays for the restoration of temples dedicated to Confucius, and gave much of his attention to the competitive examinations for official ranks. His Manchu and Chinese subjects he gave equality of rights, and he placed the civil and the military officers on the same level. He ordered his mandarins to be just and equitable, but to execute the laws with lenity. In his own person he ploughed the ground at the altar to the God of Agriculture, thus teaching the people by his example to devote themselves with zeal to the production of food. Wherever inundation, drought or any other calamity harrassed his subjects, he carried relief, doing so even to Yunnan and Kweicheu, after the people there had been reduced to submission by his armies. He established guards in the mausolea of the Ming dynasty, issued effective prohibitions for the protection of the trees growing there, and ordained that sacrifices should be presented to the last sovereign of that extinct House; moreover, he conferred honours upon the officers who had sacrificed their lives in its cause, and he succoured their families. No wonder, then, that the beneficial effect of his favours was felt unto remote regions beyond the frontiers of the Empire proper, »and, southward, even as far as the » Liu-kiu islands, Siam, Holland and the Western Ocean, so that » hundreds of transmarine kingdoms, seeing the four seas were without » any billows, exclaimed unanimously: A holy man has appeared » in the Middle Empire" [1]. Finally we are informed of the exact date of the Emperor's death, his age, and the duration of his reign,

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[1] 南至琉球、暹羅、荷蘭、西洋、海外等數百國見海不揚波、咸曰、中國有聖人出焉.

as also of his admirable testamentary disposition that all useless expenditure for the embellishment of his mausoleum should be abstained from, and no precious articles be buried with him. Subsequently, the whole biography is repeated in the shape of a eulogic metrical composition of thirty-two lines of eight characters, all the lines ending with the same rhyme, after which follow three extra lines of eight characters, constituting a hymn in praise of the mausoleum in which the remains of this great man repose.

This commemorative tablet-inscription, consequently, does not essentially differ from those which the Chinese have been wonted for many ages to exhibit on the graves of distinguished persons (see p. 1163), nor from the mo chi-ming, placed in the graves of the official and non-official class since more than a thousand years. Indeed, it likewise consists in a biography (chi), followed by a poetic eulogy (ming). The tablet-inscriptions for the second and the third Emperor are composed in quite the same way. That of Shing Tsu contains more than three times as many characters as his predecessor's. This can hardly be ascribable to the fact of his having reigned more than three times as long, since the tablet-inscription of his successor, who wore the crown for only a dozen years, is drawn out to almost quite the same length.

In either Cemetery, the oldest mausoleum stands, according to the ordinances, within a vast area surrounded by a wall. This wall has a total length of 6439,48 chang or nearly 22 kilometres in the Eastern Cemetery, by a height of 1,3 chang; in the Western it is 4399 chang or circa 15 kilometres long and 1,45 high. These enormous lengths suggest that either wall embraces, if not the whole Cemetery to which it belongs, a very large part of it, and that the Red Gate forms its main entrance. We believe the walls were built on account of geomantic considerations, the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Works making mention of »Fung-shui walls enclosing the Eastern and the Western Mausolea" [1]. Mr. Bourne says that, in the Eastern Cemetery, »the Great Wall, forming the northern boundary, is »met at Ma-lan Chen [2], a military station at the north-east corner »of the enclosure, at right angles by a plain brick wall, about »nine feet high, called the Fung-shui wall, which encloses the

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[1] 東陵西陵風水圍牆. Ch. 105, l. 3.

[2] 馬蘭鎮.

» ground set apart as specially sacred to the Imperial Dead. From » Ma-lan Chen this wall runs nearly due south as far as Ma-lan » Yü [1], after passing which place it trends slightly towards the west » and runs in a S. S. W. direction, until it is opposite the small » town of Sin-ch'ing [2], a distance of five miles, where it turns to » the west. The eastern side of the enclosure is thus about five » miles long. From the distances traversed within the wall, I should » think the width of the space enclosed, from east to west, must » be also about five miles. The area of the inner enclosure would » be, on this supposition, about 25 square miles or 16,000 acres. » But besides this, a wide tract outside the boundary wall, and » the ranges of hills on the south and south-west, belong to the » mausolea, and are forbidden ground. The Fung-shui wall only » supplies a boundary when there is no natural one. It shuts off » the valleys, but unlike the Great Wall, which seems to select » the highest peaks and the most precipitous crags and boldly scale » them, it does not ascend the hills... The Fung-shui wall is » pierced at several points on the east and south by small gates, » through which pass the materials used in building and repairs, » and all the traffic that is allowed. The main entrance is on the » southern side. It is called the great Red Gate, and is never » opened except for the passage of an Emperor" [3].

The Fung-shui walls by no means form the extreme limits of the burial-grounds. They are invested by a very broad tract of so-called chung ti [4]: »important ground", which term in general denotes all soil reserved for Imperial or Government use. The chung ti of the two Cemeteries are also known as »the grounds constituting the Dragon of the backside" [5], that is to say, the hills embodying the good celestial and terrestrial influences of the area they gird (comp. page 951). »Outside the outer wall surrounding » the mausolea", thus we read in the fundamental ordinances, »shall » be placed red posts, three in a mile, within which it shall be » forbidden to gather fuel or to till the soil. And outside this » cordon of red posts, either at forty pu therefrom, or at twenty, » a cordon of white posts shall be placed, followed ten miles beyond » by a cordon of blue posts, from which boards shall be suspended, » displaying a prohibition to this effect: 'Nobody belonging to the

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1 馬蘭峪. 2 新城.
3 Pages 24 and 27.
4 重地. 5 後龍地方.

» Army or to the people may gather earth or stones within these » posts, or erect any kilns, or steal timber. Those who disobey » this order shall be punished in accordance with the laws'" [1]. What these punishments are, our readers know from the supplementary article of the Code of Laws, translated on pp. 903 *seq.*

Imperial edicts teach us, that the population originally living within the white posts were not expulsed, but allowed to continue repairing their houses and graves with earth and stone, gathered for the purpose on the spot. In 1805 the necessity was pleaded forbidding the people living within the white posts of the Western Cemetery, on the north and the west of the Fung-shui wall, to build or restore thenceforth any houses or graves. But the Emperor, unwilling to vex them, sagaciously gave orders to take the white posts away, to change the red posts into white ones, and to erect a new cordon of red posts further on, which measures the geomancers declared not to be detrimental to the Fung-shui [2]. In 1822 the population within the blue posts was officially reported to amount to 504 families [3].

The extract from the Code, given on pp. 911 *seq.* of this work, teaches us that it is strictly prohibited to dig for ginseng in the reservation grounds, and it suggests, in consequence, that the Government monopolizes the advantages yielded by this precious product. That those grounds are covered broadcast with trees, and the inner grounds of the mausolea are likewise thickly wooded, is self-evident from the severe laws for the protection of those plantations, which we have translated on pp. 902—905 and 913. Speaking of the Eastern Cemetery, Bourne says: »Its whole enclosure is so thickly » wooded that no tomb can be seen from any other" [4]. The ordinances prescribe, in conformance with the fundamental rescripts

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1 陵寢外圍牆外每里立紅樁三爲界、禁止採樵耕種。距紅樁四十步或二十步外設白樁、距白樁十里外設青樁、樁上懸示禁牌、凡軍民人等不得於樁內取土取石設窰及採盜樹木。違者按律治罪. Supplementary *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 48, l. 8. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 712, l. 5.

2 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 712, ll. 6 *sqq.*

3 »Enquiries into the Organisation of the Central Power, published by Imperial Authority", 欽定中樞政考, an exhaustive official compendium of regulations regarding the Chinese Army. Chapter 13, l. 9.

4 Page 25.

(see p. 1308), that at each mausoleum in particular »the Spirit's »road shall be planted on both sides with trees, placed with »intervals of two chang in (transverse) rows of ten, which rows »shall be separated by distances of fifteen chang" [1].

The special Mausolea of Empresses.

After the above digest of official rescripts concerning the two Imperial Cemeteries, but little remains to be said about the mausolea of those Empresses who, for reasons exposed on page 1286, might not be buried in the tombs of their pre-deceased Consorts. For it is a positive fact, that the ordinances regarding the Chao-si ling, the Hiao-tung ling and the T'ai-tung ling, laid down in the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li* [2], show that these sepulchres closely resemble the Imperial mausolea in all essential features, and also that the dimensions of nearly all the principal structures are identical, save, here and there, a difference of a few feet or inches. For the tumuli, however, and the walls surrounding them, figures are given which show that their circumferences are hardly half as great as those of the corresponding structures in the Imperial tombs. In each of the three said mausolea the square fortress is a little smaller than the average size of those of the Imperial tombs, and no »moon-tips wall" is mentioned, nor a decorative gate in front of the grave-altar. Quite a different disposition of the buildings is found in the Chao-si ling, as its gate with glazed ornaments stands in front of the temple, and the latter is flanked by two Ling-ts'in gates with one opening each. For every mausoleum it is prescribed that trees shall stand along the Spirit's road arranged like those at the Imperial tombs, but no word is said of stone images, nor of appertaining dragon-and-phenix gates or tablet-houses, so that, evidently, such ornamentations are exclusively to be found at the tombs of Sons of Heaven. An idea of the superficies of the mausolea of the Empresses may be obtained from the ciphers which the ordinances give for the lengths of the square walls surrounding them. That of the Chao-si ling is stated to be 108 chang, and that of the Hiao-tung ling 189 or, according to the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, 162, while that of the T'ai-tung ling measures 98 chang.

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[1] 神道兩旁均封以樹、十株爲行、各間二丈、每間十有五丈. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 711.

2 In chapter 711.

The Chao-si ling has an outer wall besides, of a total length of 136 chang and a height of 1,23.

The reason why the Empresses who survived their husbands have had mausolea made for them as grand and gorgeous as those of the latter themselves, no doubt consists in that each of these women, too, was owner of the Empire for a time, and that during the reign of her son; for the great social law that whatever a child possesses is the property of its still living parents, allows of no exception, even in respect of the realm and the crown. The Imperial power devolving in this way on an Empress-Dowager may be practically exercised by her with great determination, if she possesses energy and pluck. The two mothers of Muh Tsung, mentioned on page 1299, are well known to have bent the Empire to their will during the whole of his reign.

The Mausolea of Imperial Concubines.

As was the case with the Ming dynasty (see p. 1240), the present reigning House is in the habit of giving the principal secondary wives of the Emperors a sepulture in the Imperial Cemeteries. In 1681, when Shing Tsu buried his two Consorts Hiao Ch'ing and Hiao Chao in the mausoleum destined for himself (see page 1290), he founded in the close vicinity a cenotaph for his fei [1], or Concubines of the third rank [2]. Some twelve of them were buried therein at different times, among whom there were some who had become entitled to a place in it in virtue of their elevation to the rank of fei after the Emperor's death [3].

Of his p'in, kwei-jen and shu-fei [4], Concubines of the three lower ranks, of whom he possessed some twenty-one in all [5], not one is stated to have been buried in that sepulchre. It is remarkable that this same Shing Tsu who felt so anxious to provide a beautiful mausoleum for his own Concubines, did not at all manifest such solicitude for those of his father, for we read, that »when the »burial ceremonies for Hiao Hwui, the Empress Chang, were »finished, auspicious times were selected to bury the fei and

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1 妃.

2 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 349, l. 11.

3 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, ll. 24 *sqq.*

4 嬪, 貴人 and 庶妃.

5 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, ll. 26—29.

» Palace Dames of the Emperor's father in separate graves" [1]. Their Soul tablets, however, seven in number, were placed in the temple of the Hiao-tung ling, the sepulchre of the said Empress [2].

When Kao Tsung assumed the reins of government, two secondary Consorts of his grandfather Shing Tsu were still alive, namely the Mongol or Manchu women Khioh Hwui [3] and Tun I [4], respectively Concubines of the second and the third rank during the reign of their spouse. Kao Tsung promoted them both a degree, and resolved to have a special mausoleum constructed for them. To this effect, »he » issued the following decree in the second year of his reign: — In » the early days of Our life, when We looked for protection unto » the benevolent love of Our Imperial Grandfather and were fostered » in the Palace under his cherishing hand, He charged the now » Grand Secondary Consorts of the first and the second rank to » guide Our steps and look after Us; and these women, respect- » fully embodying in themselves the holy affections cherished for Us » by Our Imperial Grandfather himself, manifested towards Us a » goodness and zeal of the highest order, perfect in every respect. » The remembrance of what they have done lives forth vividly in » Our mind, and has aroused in Us a desire to build an extra yuen- » tsʿin for them, which may become their abode when they shall » have lived a thousand autumns. We have therefore ordered the » Princes to examine the ancient rules on this head; and they » have reported that the erection of extra yuen-tsʿin was an » established rule in times of yore, so that, if We carry out Our » purpose, We shall act under the sanction of the ceremonial » institutions. We have also laid the matter before the Empress- » Dowager, and respectfully received Her gracious decision, allowing » Us to execute Our design and to order the Boards concerned » to search out by reverent and careful survey a spot in the close » vicinity of the King ling, and there to build the mausoleum. » The rescripts in force for such sepulchres shall be somewhat » liberally applied in this case, in order that the feelings of respect » and reveration (which We cherish for those women) may be clearly

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1 時孝惠章皇后山陵禮成、並擇吉安葬皇考諸妃及諸宮人於各墓. *Op. cit.*, ch. 151, l. 9.

2 *Op. et loc. cit.*

3 慤惠.

4 惇怡.

» exhibited thereby" [1]. The mausoleum was built eastward from the King ling, and Khioh Hwui was buried in it in 1743, Tun I following her twenty-five years later [2].

In the very same year 1737 in which he took his first measures for the erection of that sepulchre, Kao Tsung had an other built for his father's Concubines, which he inaugurated by the burial of two of them of the third rank [3]. After that, two more Concubines were deposited in it at different times. Finally, a mausoleum destined for his own Concubines arose in 1762 by the care of the same Emperor, as an appurtenance to the one he had then built already for himself and contained at the time, besides the remains of his first chief Consort, those of three of his first-rank Concubines (see pp. 1298 *seq.*). It is chronicled that he buried in the said year his first-rank secondary Consort Shun Hwui [4] in that new grave, and that it afterwards received the remains of eleven other Concubines of the three highest ranks [5]. The ordinances still make mention of a mausoleum for the Concubines of Jen Tsung, in which burial took place for the first time in 1803 [6]; and, no doubt, some more of such monuments have been reared in the course of the present century.

Those sepulchres for Concubines are no ling, but are officially called yuen-ts'in. As to the meaning of this term we refer to what we have said on page 444. Unlike the mausolea of the Emperors, they are not distinguished by special proper names. Each of them is merely indicated by the name of the mausoleum the

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1 乾隆二年諭、朕自幼齡仰蒙皇祖慈愛撫育宮中、又命太妃皇貴妃太妃貴妃提攜看視、兩太妃仰體皇祖聖心、恩勤備極周至。朕心感念不忘、意欲爲兩太妃千秋之後別建園寢。令王大臣稽察舊例、王大臣奏稱古有別建園寢之例、今若舉行於典禮允協。朕奏聞皇太后、欽奉懿旨允行、可傳諭該部於景陵附近之處敬謹相度擇地營建。其規制稍加展拓、以昭朕敬禮之意. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien shi li*, ch. 349, l. 12.

2 *Op. cit.*, ch. 349, ll. 13 and 15.

3 *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 13.

4 純惠.

5 *Ibid.*, ll. 15 *sqq.*

6 *Ibid.*, l. 18.

appurtenance of which it is; so, for example, that which contains the remains of Khioh Hwui and Tun I is called »Yuen-tsʿin for the first-rank Concubines belonging to the King ling"[1], these women having been wives of the occupant of the King ling; that for the other Concubines of this Emperor bears the name of »Yuen-tsʿin of the third-rank Concubines belonging to the King ling"[2]; etc. The special rescripts issued for each of those cenotaphs show that they closely resemble the mausolea of the Imperial Princes, of which we gave a description on pp. 1165 *sqq.* The *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien* says: »For Concubines of the three highest ranks or »Crown-Princes the crypts shall be of stone, and for Concubines »of the fourth or the fifth rank of bricks. In either case there »shall be a stone-paved moon-terrace. Earth shall be placed over the »crypts so as to form tumuli. Every one shall have a place in »accordance with her rank"[3].

According to the Collections of ordinances, each mausoleum assigned for the burial of Concubines contains the following structures: A gate with glazed ornaments, averaging 1,80 or 1,90 chang in length, and 0,88 or 0,96 in breadth. A temple for the worship of the Soul tablets, with minimum dimensions of 6 chang by 3,40, and maximum dimensions of 6,77 by 3,53; the temple to Khioh Hwui and Tun I, however, is longer and broader by about one third. A furnace in front of the temple, to the east. A triple main gate of a length between 3,38 and 3,85 chang, but measuring 4,72 chang in the mausoleum of Khioh Hwui and Tun I. The total length of the wall surrounding either mausoleum belonging to the King ling, is 155 chang; the wall of the Yü ling mausoleum is 130 chang long, and that of the other tombs averages between these two figures. On either side of the gate is a guard-house, and in front a single stone bridge. The gates, temples and walls are all covered with blue glazed tiles, as in the mausolea of Imperial Princes of high rank[4]. Stone tablets in the Spirit's roads are not mentioned at all. A mausoleum belonging to the Chao-si ling, founded by Shi Tsung in the first year of his reign[5], was

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[1] 景陵皇貴妃園寢. [2] 景陵妃園寢.

[3] 妃皇太子均以石、嬪貴人以甎爲壙。均砌月臺。上築土爲塚。各以位次序列. Chapter 76, l. 3.

[4] The above information is drawn from the Supplementary Edition of the *Ta Tsʿing hwui tien*, ch. 48, and from the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 714.

[5] *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 20.

built on a scale exceptionally small, the length of the wall being only 71 chang, and that of the temple 4,25.

The Administration of the Mausolea.

An all-pervading bureaucratic officialism dominating the Chinese State, it can hardly be expected that the tombs of the Imperial Family should not be under its sway. Indeed, they constitute an integral part of the machinery of the State, ranking, as they do, with the principal places for the exercise of the Imperial or official Religion.

The weal and woe of the Imperial House, the maintenance and glory of its throne, being entirely dependent on the condition and preservation of those sepulchres, it is quite natural that the chief control over them is exercised by very high members of that House itself, that is to say, by some Princes of sundry ranks, »members »of the Imperial Family entitled Wang, Baira, or Kung, and »other High Ministers, as also a staff of Body Guard officers, etc." [1]. In either Cemetery they constitute a so-called »Yamen for the General Management of Matters relating to the Mausolea" [2], or »Yamen intrusted with the Management of Matters" [3], to which are attached one or two Assistant Secretaries [4], and some Writers, either two or four [5]. The buildings erected for this staff in or near the Eastern Cemetery are, according to the ordinances: a mansion for the Baira, composed of 130 compartments; a mansion of 60 compartments for the Kung; 390 apartments for the officers and soldiers of the Body Guard; an office-building consisting of 23 apartments; 4 apartments for each Assistant Secretary and each Writer. And in the Western Cemetery we have a mansion of 60 compartments and another of 40, respectively for the Baira and the Kung; 60 apartments for the High Ministers, 96 for the Body Guards, and 49 constituting an office-building [6].

These two high Committees also have to point out to the Crown the most eligible situations for all the mausolea that are to be made [7].

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1 宗室王貝勒公大臣、及侍衞等. Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 7.

2 總理陵寢事務衙門.

3 承辦事務衙門. 4 主事.

5 *Op. et cap. cit.*, ll. 9 and 11; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch 84, ll. 3 and 4.

6 Supplementary *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48; *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, l. 8.

7 Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 17.

No doubt they then dispose of the guidance of the Chinese geomancers, eighteen in number, who are attached to the Imperial Bureau of Astrology with the title of Yin-and-Yang Masters [1], and who, apart from some other functions, »have to augurate about »the erection of buildings by observing the influences of the Yin »and the Yang" [2].

Of the six great Boards established at Peking none, of course, has so often to interfere with the mausolea as that of Works, the execution of all technical undertakings projected by the State being incumbent on it. We may repeat here what we have already stated on page 1310, namely, that a special subdivision of this Board, called The Administrative Bureau of Government Reservations, is charged with the execution of all the rescripts touching mausolea and sepulchres of any sort. This bureau is composed of four Manchu and one Chinese Senior Secretaries [3], five Manchu and one Chinese Second Class Secretaries [4], and two Chinese and three Manchu Assistant Secretaries [5], one of which latter must be a member of the Imperial Clan [6].

In either Cemetery this Bureau is represented by a so-called »Yamen of the Board of Works" [7], established respectively in a place called Shih-men or Shih-men Yih [8], situated south-east of the Eastern Cemetery, and in Yih-cheu, the chief city of the department of the same name in which the Western Cemetery lies (see p. 1293). These Yamen consist of the following members:

Senior Board Secretaries, 郎中; in the Eastern Cemetery 1, in the Western 1.

Second Class Secretaries, 員外郎; in the Eastern Cemetery 4, in the Western 3.

Assistant Secretaries, 主事; in the Eastern Cemetery —, in the Western 3.

Writers, 筆帖式; in the Eastern Cemetery 4, in the Western 2.

Hired Clerks, 書吏; in the Eastern Cemetery 2, in the Western 2.

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1 陰陽生.

2 相陰陽以卜營建. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 86, l. 1.

3 郎中. 4 員外郎. 5 主事.

6 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 70, l. 2, and the Supplementary Edition of that work, ch. 48.

7 工部衙門. 8 石門 or 石門驛.

Moreover, forty patrolling soldiers under a Pa-tsung [1] or Sergeant are attached to each Yamen for the guarding of its stores. In the Eastern Cemetery these men are drafted from the garrison of Ma-lan Chen, a military station situated, as we saw on page 1331, at the north-east corner of the immured grounds; in the Western they are drafted from the T'ai-ning Chen [2] garrison, a station which we cannot find on any of the maps at our disposal.

Each of these two Yamens employs an official seal, kept by its Senior Board Secretary. For the accommodation of their constituents there have been erected, both in Shih-men and Yih-cheu, an office building and a store-house, besides several apartments to live in [3]. Since 1740 immediate control has been exercised over them by the Princes and Magnates entrusted with the general management of the Cemeteries. To these grandees they have to refer for verification of their estimates of the outlays required for building and repairs, for wages and food for the workmen, etc. [4]. Every year, in the tenth month, each Yamen for the General Management has to report to the Throne as to the repairs that are to be undertaken in the Cemetery entrusted to its supervision. A Vice-President [5] of the Boards of Works in Peking is then sent to the spot with a suit of subalterns, to verify the report and make an estimate of the costs; and thereupon it is proposed to the Throne to allow the supreme Yamen in question to order the local Yamen of the Board of Works to undertake those repairs under its constant control. And when the repairs are finished, a Vice-President of the Board of Works, commissioned for the purpose by the Throne, inspects them thoroughly, and for the good and due control of all following repairs he registers them at his Board. It is prescribed that for no works whatever may the original estimate of costs be exceeded or any suppletory funds be granted. The yearly outlay for repairs may not exceed nine hundred taels in the Eastern Cemetery, and five hundred in the Western [6]. These sums are strikingly small; but unpaid or badly paid labour may make up the rest. In accordance with a special decree issued by Shing Tsu in 1669, the

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1 把總. 2 泰寧鎮.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, l. 8; and the Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48.

4 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, l. 1; and *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 137, ll. 15 *sqq.*

5 侍郎.

6 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, l. 14; and the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Works, ch. 105, l. 2.

projects for all works or repairs that need not be performed on fixed annual dates, are to be sent to the Board of Rites at Peking, in order that it may have felicitous days selected on which to execute them [1].

The localities whence the two Yamens of Works are to draw building-materials, or where they must be made, are carefully stated in the Ordinances. Many are situated at respectable distances. The blue and the white stone required for the Eastern Mausolea are to be fetched »out of the great quarries in the grounds of the family Lu in the district of Fang-shan" [2], located about two days west of Peking; and blue sand-stone for those tombs must be blocked out from the Ma-ngan Shan [3] or Horse-Saddle Mount in the district of Yuen-p'ing [4], at more than one day's journeying west of Peking [5]. We have related already on pp. 1249 *seq.* in what manner enormous blocks of stone are conveyed from those places to their destination. For the stone works artisans were brought from the provinces of Peh-chihli, Shantung and Shansi, apart from numerous bodies of workmen provided by the Board of Works. In the beginning, the Governor of Shantung was charged with the delivery of bricks of a certain kind manufactured in Lin-ts'ing [6], a region situated in that province, on the Grand Canal, no less than three geographical degrees southward from Peking [7]. In 1719, however, he was released from this obligation, such bricks thenceforth being obtained from Wen-ts'üen [8], in the Tsun-hwa department [9], where most of the bricks for the Eastern Cemetery had been made from the commencement; and in 1752 Wen-ts'üen even became the exclusive place of manufacture by special Imperial ordinance [10]. »Old-fashioned city-wall bricks" [11] required for the mausolea are paid there two candareens and one cash [12] a piece [13]. The kilns are worked in free labour by the common people, under the control of the local

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1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, l. 11.

2 房山縣盧家莊大石窩.

3 馬鞍山. 4 宛平.

5 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, l. 4; and *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 137, l. 14.

6 臨清.

7 *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 137, l. 14. 8 溫泉.

9 *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 15; *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, l. 5.

10 The same works, *loc. cit.*

11 舊樣城磚. 12 二分一釐.

13 Rules and Regulations for the Board of Works, ch. 106, l. 3.

Authorities, as also by criminals condemned to light statute labour; and every manufacturer has to hold an official license to exercise his profession [1]. »The bricks, tiles, lime and stones, yearly required »for the mausolea, must all be burned or gathered for the works »of repair at appointed spots situated so far from the hills, that »they cannot affect the grounds which constitute the pulses of the »Dragons" [2]. For the Western Cemetery, too, the stone is obtained from the Fang-shan quarries [3].

In each Cemetery, the Yamen of the Board of Works gives employ in every mausoleum to a permanent body of labourers, placed under a Ling-ts'ui [4] or »Urger", *i. e.* a Corporal. In the Hiao ling, the King ling and the Yü ling it consists of 20 artisans [5], 17 waterers and sweepers [6], and 70 foresters [7]; for the other mausolea other figures are given. As the sundry Collections of ordinances do not always coincide in point of these figures, we think the latter were modified from time to time, in connection with circumstances. Whenever they received orders to this effect from the Board of Works, the Governors of Peh-chihli levied those men, for the Eastern Cemetery, in Fung-jun [8] and the other districts adjacent to the Tsun-hwa department; and for the Western, in Yih-cheu, Choh-cheu [9], Lai-shui [10], etc. It is from among the descendants of those men that the permanent labourers, required for the mausolea of younger date, have been for the most part selected, new enlistments in behalf of these tombs having only taken place to supply the deficiences [11].

The men thus attached to the mausolea, either by compulsion, or of their own free will, are officially styled jen-yih [12], a term generally denoting people sent on Government labour. From the outset, apparently, the Authorities did not conduct these enlistments with much care and discrimination, as in 1758 Kao Tsung had to

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1 *Op. cit*, ch. 107, l. 4.

2 陵寢歲需甎瓦灰石悉於去山遙遠無關龍脈之地酌定處所燒造採取以資修造之用. *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 76, l. 4.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, l. 5; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 137, l. 15.

4 領催. 5 匠役.

6 灑人 and 掃人. 7 樹戶.

8 豐閏. 9 涿州. 10 淶水.

11 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, ll. 1 *seq.*; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 137, ll. 16 *seq.*

12 人役.

formally forbid the sending of any more such vagabonds and suspected characters to the mausoleum-grounds, ordaining that only such people should be made to settle there, about whom satisfactory information had been furnished by the Authorities of the place of enlistment [1].

Besides the construction and the repairs of edifices, bridges, walls etc., the Board of Works has to devote its best care to the greenwood with which the two Cemeteries are clad in every direction, and to defray from its treasuries the expenses the planting entails. The foresters whom, as we saw above, it maintains in its service for the purpose, have to occupy themselves in the main with sowing or planting new trees in the place of those that die, or are uprooted by storms. Considering how much respect and care have, since very ancient times, been manifested in China for grave-trees, and how much utility for the preservation of Fung-shui is ascribed to them, we cannot feel surprised that the present dynasty has always shown itself warmly interested in its own sepulchral forests, issuing all sorts of edicts regulating their management. In 1694 Shing Tsu prescribed the planting of the trees at respective distances of two chang, that is to say (see p. 1334), the same that separate them in the rows flanking the several Spirit's roads. In 1748 it was decreed by Kao Tsung, that the Yamens for the General Management of the Mausolea should hold quinquennial inspections, in order to ascertain how many trees had in the mean time died, and report to the Throne how many new ones ought to be planted in their stead, at the cost of the Board of Works, by the joint care of the Imperial Household Department and the two Yamens of the Board of Works.

From an edict issued in 1759 we learn, that up to that year it was customary for the officials in the Eastern Cemetery to sell all the dead trees the timber of which was not wanted in the construction of buildings or in the repairs. That custom, the edict says, had worked very injuriously, many good trees having untimely fallen under the axe, a prey to official rapacity; therefore, wishing to put a stop to such spoliation, the Emperor ordained that no wood should thenceforth be disposed of by sale, unless sawn asunder and piecemealed beforehand. Returns of the proceeds, thus the edict further prescribed, would have to be rendered to the Treasurer of the Provincial Exchequer [2], and the proceeds in

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1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, ll. 2 *seq.*

2 藩司.

the first place be used to defray the costs of the food etc. for the sustenance of the wood-cutters and their helpers, and the distribution of petty rewards and fees among meritorious officials. Still the edict ordained, that the people living around should every year in the grass-cutting season be allowed to explore the woodlands for grass and shrubs, under condition not to carry any saws or axes about with them.

The foresters charged with planting and sowing do not receive any wages for the trees they place, until after three years, nothing being then paid them for those that have not taken root[1]. Outside the Fung-shui walls the forested grounds are in each Cemetery entrusted to the vigilance of Chinese troops, about which we shall have more to say on pp. 1349 *sqq.*

Such functions as do not fall within the special sphere of action of the Board of Works and its two Yamen established at the Cemeteries, are exercised, for each mausoleum separately, by a Committee of civil officers, likewise working under the control of the respective high Yamen for the General Management. Those several Committees are constituted in much the same wise. In their most complete form they consist of the following members, detached, either really or nominally, from sundry Boards and Courts in the Metropolis:

1. One Comptroller-General (總管) of the Imperial Household Department (內務府), who keeps the Seal (掌關防). He is an officer of the second rank.
2. One Senior Secretary (郎中) of the Board of Rites, an officer of the fourth rank.
3. Two Second-Class Secretaries (員外郎) of the Board of Rites, and one of the Imperial Household Department; fifth rank.
4. One Officer for the Presentation of Tea (尚茶正), to wit, at sacrifices to the Manes, and two Officers for the Presentation of Eatables (尚膳正); fourth rank.
5. One Assistant Secretary (主事) of the Household Department; sixth rank.
6. One Manager of the Household Department (內管領).
7. One Assistant Manager of the same Department (副內管領); sixth rank.
8. Two Reciters of Offertories (讀祝官) of the Board of Rites.

1 The above information is gleaned from the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, ll. 14 *sqq.*

9. Four Ceremonial Ushers (贊禮郎) of the same Board.
10. Four Writers (筆帖式) of the Board of Rites; two of the Household Department; and two of the bureau of the Comptroller-General, the principal functionary in the Committee.

Some Committees have no Comptroller-General among their members. The dignity of Seal-keeper in such cases devolves upon the Senior Secretary of the Board of Rites, and he shares it with an extra Senior Secretary of the Household Department. In the Committee of the T'ai ling, a Senior Secretary of the Board of Works has a seat at the side of the Senior Secretary of that of Rites, and it counts among its members a Second-Class Secretary of the Board of Works, replacing one of those of the Board of Rites. Nor does every Committee contain all the other members mentioned in the above table. But those variations we pass by in silence.

The Committees appointed for the special mausolea of Empresses differ little from those that are instituted for the mausolea of the Emperors. They are not presided over by a Comptroller-General. The Committees intrusted with the care of the sepulchres of Concubines consist merely of Reciters of Offertories, Ceremonial Ushers and Writers, and, in some cases, one or two Officers for the Presentation of Tea and Eatables, and Assistant Secretaries or Assistant Managers of the Imperial Household [1]. It is, however, probable that each of these tombs stands also under the control of the Committee for the mausoleum of the corresponding Empress. The Collections of ordinances teach us, that every Committee was appointed as soon as the first corpse was deposited in the mausoleum concerned.

For the accommodation of those several administrative corporations numerous buildings exist in both Cemeteries under the care of the two Yamen of the Board of Works. The Ordinances prescribe, that there must be in the Hiao ling six apartments for each of the members of the Household Department placed in our list under nos. 3—6, three for those mentioned under 7 and 10, three for each member of the Board of Rites mentioned under nos. 2, 3, 8 and 9, two for the Writers of this Board, and four for a Second-Class Secretary of the Board of Works, attached to the Committee. The officers belonging to the Board of Rites are, moreover, allotted in that mausoleum a special office building of

1 The above particulars are collected from the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, ll. 8 *sqq.*, the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 84, ll. 2 *sqq.*, etc.

forty apartments. It is also prescribed that three apartments are to be assigned there to each of four Inspectors [1] belonging to the Household Department, besides a certain number to be allotted to the servants and retainers [2], male and female, forty of whom are attached to the members of the Committee belonging to the Imperial Household Department, and 136 to those belonging to the Board of Rites [3].

Similar rescripts existing also for the other mausolea, those of Empresses and Concubines included, every cenotaph teems with such accessional buildings, which, being probably of wood, clay and other light material, must contrast strongly in aspect and size with the majestic edifices, bridges, gates and walls constituting the mausolea proper. These monuments of death contain, however, many more dwellings and huts, numerous other people finding employ within their precincts. Apart from the afore-mentioned labourers and artisans of the Board of Works, we read, for instance, in the Imperial rescripts issued for the Hiao ling as soon as Shi Tsu was buried therein: »The Imperial Equipage Department shall »establish in this mausoleum twenty-four Imperial chair-bearers, »the Board of Revenues two Storehouse-keepers and one Urger, »the Board of Rites and that of Works over 320 workmen of all »sorts. Cow-stalls and goat-pens shall be built in it, and petty »officials be appointed for the rearing of sacrificial cattle; besides, »there shall be two farm managers, each with an allotment of seven »khing and twenty meu of land, and one gardener shall be »assigned, with one khing and fifty meu, all for the production »of rice, flour and vegetables (required for the sacrifices)" [4]. Similar rescripts were, according to the principal Collection of ordinances, issued for the other mausolea. In the ordinances respecting the T'ai-tung ling and the Ch'ang ling we read,

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1 内監. 2 執事人役.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, ll. 1 *seq.*; Supplementary Edition of the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 48. The figures given in the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 137, l. 17, slightly differ from the above.

4 鑾儀衛設校尉二十四名、戶部設庫尉二人、領催一名、禮工二部設各項人役三百二十餘名。又置牛羊圈、設吏以飼犧牲、設莊頭二人、各給地七頃二十畝、園頭一人給地一頃五十畝、以供米麵菜蔬. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 7.

besides all the above, of »two Mongol milkers, twelve but-» chers, four bird-snarers, four men charged with the cultivation » of fruit, two oil-manufacturers, two sugar-makers, two flour-» makers, two makers of vermicelli, two wine-distillers, two condiment-» manufacturers, four falconers, forty grass-cutters, seventeen court-» sweepers, and fifteen rearers of cows and goats" [1]. As many of those men belong to the Board of Revenues or to that of Civil Office, and the mausolea are all garrisoned, the Supreme Boards, excepting that of Punishments, all have their representatives in each of them.

The two above quotations teach us, that the food, beverage and delicacies, which are to be sacrificed at regular times in every mausoleum to the Manes of its occupants, are grown or fabricated within its precincts, and that the cattle required for the same purpose is raised on the spot. The number of cows to be kept in the King ling is fixed by the Ordinances at fifty-two, against only five head prescribed for the T'ai-tung ling; their numbers for the other mausolea all lie between these two. The Ordinances fix the daily fodder-rations for the bovine cattle at four pints (shing [2]) of peas and three bunches of hay or straw a head. The Code of Laws protects the cattle from ill-treatment and thieves by a special article, of which we have given a translation on page 909. There are also in the two Cemeteries numerous horses, the steed being inseparable from the trains of Chinese officials, and especially indispensable to Manchu soldiery, a body of which has its quarters in every mausoleum. Every Senior Secretary is entitled to keep five servants or followers [3] and seven horses; a Second-Class Secretary and an Assistant Secretary may have four followers and six horses, and every Reciter of Offertories and Ceremonial Usher two followers and three horses. These officers and their servants each receive a daily allowance of eight hoh [4] and three choh [5] (0,83 shing) of rice,

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[1] 擠奶蒙古二名、屠戶十二名、網戶四名、果戶四名、油匠二名、糖匠二名、粉匠二名、麵匠二名、酒匠二名、醬匠二名、鷹手四名、割草人四十名、掃院人十七名、餵牛羊人十五名. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 347, l. 24, and ch. 348, l. 17.

[2] 升. A measure nearly equal to an English pint.

[3] 隨帶跟役. [4] 哈. [5] 勺.

as also two shing of peas and two bundles of straw or hay for every horse [1].

The Garrisons of the Mausolea.

From our description of the principal Cemetery of the House of Ming our readers know, that just as was, probably, the case with the burial-places of the dynasties that have successively swayed the Chinese Empire, it was placed under the protection of a large division of military with headquarters in two neighbouring fortified stations, and that every mausoleum possessed a special garrison besides. A similar organisation exists for the Cemeteries of the present reigning House.

A brigade detached from the Chinese land-forces or »Green Army" [2], thus called from the colour of their standards, is garrisoned in the environs of each Cemetery, to protect the forbidden grounds from intrusion and the Fung-shui from attacks and injury. At the Eastern Cemetery it has its headquarters in Ma-lan Chen (see p. 1331). An office building exists there in behalf of the Tsung-ping 總兵 or »General", an officer of the second military rank; it contains eighty-two compartments. Further we find in that station a smaller office for a Yiu-kih 遊擊, an officer of the third rank; one for a Sheu-pi 守備 or »Chief of the Guards", belonging to the fifth rank and commanding the Left Battalion (左營) of the brigade; and one for such an officer of the Right Battalion (右營). Besides, five stations possess each an office of four compartments for a Ts'ien-tsung 千總 or »Chiliarch", a military official of the sixth rank, while ten other stations have such a building for a Pa-tsung 把總 or Sergeant, belonging to the seventh rank [3].

Of the privates commanded by these officers no returns are given in the ordinances. But, no doubt, they are numerous, as the apartments assigned them as lodgings amount to the respectable number of 1368 [4].

The Chinese garrison of the Western Cemetery is organised on the same foot. In its headquarters at T'ai-ning Chen (see p. 1341)

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1 Rules and Regulations for the Board of Revenues, 戶部則例, ch. 93, l. 9.

2 綠營.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, ll. 8. *sqq.* Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48.

4 The last named work, ch. 48.

officers are stationed with the same titles and ranks as at Ma-lan Chen, and with similar office buildings. The number of apartments, built there for the use of the privates, is 1687 [1].

In each Cemetery troops must be regularly detached from the headquarters to be stationed in the passes and defiles in the hills around, where barracks are built to afford them shelter. Some of the outlets of the Eastern Cemetery are mentioned in the Ordinances by the following names: the Nien-yü Pass, in the north-east; the Outlet of Hing-lung and that of the Si-fung or Western Hill; the Valley of Wei-tszĕ; the Tung-kheu or Eastern Outlet; the Tung Pien-men or Eastern Side-gate; the Ching-kwan Outlet [2], etc. Mention is also made of several stations merely occupied by »pickets" [3] of a few men under the orders of a Wai-wei [4] or Corporal, having in the first place to keep a watchful eye upon the trees [5].

The command of the Brigadier General residing at Ma-lan Chen is not restricted to the double battalion of the Eastern Cemetery. It extends also over the garrisons of the cities of Tsun-hwa and Ki-cheu [6], which flank the Cemetery on the east and west, and over some other stations in the environs. His colleague of the Western Cemetery likewise has command of other garrison stations, such as Yih-cheu, where he is himself established; Lai-shui [7], situated a few hours farther off, to the north-east; Tszĕ-khing Kwan [8], a pass through the Great Wall in the rear of the mausolea; Kwang-ch'ang [9], likewise lying near the Great Wall, farther westward; Fang-shan, the chief city of the district where the marble quarries are situated (see p. 1342), etc. Both Generals are under the orders of the Governor-General of Peh-chihli, and under those of the T'i-tuh [10] or Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in the province [11].

The duties incumbent on these Chinese troops in the main consist in preventing any infraction of the prevailing prohibitions, such as cultivating the ground, digging, erecting kilns or furnaces,

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1 The same works, *in loc. cit.*

2 鮎魚關、興隆口、西峯口、葦子峪、東口、東便門、正關口. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, l, 11.

3 堆撥. 4 外委. 5 *Op. et loc. cit.*

6 薊州. 7 涞水. 8 紫荊關.

9 廣昌. 10 提督.

11 Inquiries into the Organisation of the Central Powers, ch. 1, l. 14.

damaging the trees, etc. (see page 1333). They have immediately to arrest every transgressor, and to deliver him up to the Princes charged with the General Management, that they may chastise him as the laws translated on pp. 903, 911 and 913 demand. The reader has seen, that those articles prescribe condign punishment to be inflicted also on the soldiers and their chiefs, should they fall short in preventing such crimes as the above, or help the perpetrators in making their escape. On the other hand, those men are entitled to rewards if they show extraordinary zeal in effecting arrests. According to a decree of the year 1807, the officers of a picket or station are to be twice honorably mentioned in the books of their chiefs whenever they lay hands upon one chief culprit or three accomplices ere they did any injury to the trees, but only once for the capture of one or two accomplices. And should the soldiers act without any direct orders from their chiefs, eight taels are to be paid to their leader and four to his associates, if they catch the chief culprit or three or more accomplices, but only half these amounts if they seize one or two accomplices. No rewards are awarded for arrestations effected after the theft or the felling was accomplished; but in such cases no punishment for want of vigilance is inflicted upon the arresters. Should a station or a picket, by arresting the chief offender, have saved any trees from damage in a tract not under its immediate control, its officers are promoted one degree in rank, and they are mentioned one, two, three or even four times, according to whether one, two, three, four or more accessories were seized. If the seizure of the chief culprit were effected by the soldiers without direct orders, their leader is rewarded with ten taels and one good mark for great merit, and his associates with five taels and one mark for simple merit, while for the seizure of one or two accessories the rewards are respectively five taels and $2^1/_2$, and for three or more accessories twice these sums. Foreseeing, no doubt, that all those tempting rewards might be conducive to the arrest and molestation of inoffensive people, the same decree specially calls to mind that such iniquities are punishable according to the laws on unlawful arrestation [1].

It is also incumbent upon the officers in the military stations to send in without delay, to their highest immediate chief, the particulars

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1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, ll. 9 *seq.*; and the Inquiries into the Organisation etc., ch. 13, ll. 6 *seq.*

about every tree blown down by storms or withered in the tract placed under their special control. A report is then rendered to the Princes, who send information as to the number and dimensions of such trees to the Yamen of the Board of Works, the bureau of the officers belonging to the Board of Rites, and the Yamen for the General Management, in order that these corporations may at all times know where to find good timber for the construction and repairs of the edifices, and fuel for burnt sacrifices. And in the event of the timber and fuel, thus gained, not coming up to the requirements, the deficiency must be supplied exclusively from the environs beyond the blue posts[1], so that, evidently, no live sepulchral tree may be felled for any purpose whatever in the sacred grounds.

Apart from the Green Army troops constituting a garrison in either Cemetery, each mausoleum is occupied by Manchu soldiers belonging to the Eight Banners. In an Emperor's mausoleum this force has the following formation:

One Tsung-kwan 總管 or »Commander", an officer of the third rank.

Two Yih-ling 翼領 or Yih-chʿang 翼長, »Wing Commanders"; fourth rank.

Sixteen Fang-yü 防禦, »Chiefs of the Guards"; fifth degree.

Two Hiao-khi-kiao 驍騎校, »Mounted Aide-de-Camps or Adjudants"; sixth degree.

Two Pih-tʿieh-shih 筆帖式, Writers.

Eighty Ling-tsʿui 領催, »Urgers", viz. a kind of Corporals, and Ma-kiah 馬甲 or »Horsemen", first class private soldiers.

In none of the mausolea specially built for Empresses do we find a Commander or any Wing Commanders. The mausolea for the Concubines are garrisoned on the same footing, but the Chiefs of the Guards there are either eight or four in number, with only one Aide-de-Camp and forty Corporals and privates.

Six or seven apartments are allotted to each Commander, three or five to a Wing Commander, three or four to a Chief of the Guards, four to a Writer, and either two or three to an Aide-de-Camp, a Corporal or a soldier[2].

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1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 712, l. 10.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 713, ll. 1—7; Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48, and ch. 36, ll. 16 *seq.*; Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, ll. 8 *sqq.*; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l. 13.

By simple computation, we find the total of those Manchu garrisons to be circa 1300 men in the Eastern Cemetery and 800 in the Western. Apparently the Chiefs of the Guards are settled in the mausolea for good and succeeded by their offspring, for we read in the fundamental ordinances: »When any Fang-yü » appointed for the defence and protection of the mausolea resigns, » whose functions have been exercised there by more than three of » his ancestors consecutively, and who is over eighty years old, » one of his sons or grandsons is to be selected to succeed him. » And if, though he may not have served until his eightieth » year, there be among his sons and grandsons any individuals » possessing an official degree and answering to the qualifications » required, one of them may be selected as chief candidate for » the post" [1].

Throughout each Cemetery, small »picket rooms" [2] are built for the use of the Manchu garrisons. They are described as standing outside the great red gate, as also in front of the great tablet-houses, and at the upper ends of the avenues of stone figures. Moreover, as stated above, on the said spots and before every temple-gate there are on either side two guard-houses [3] of three compartments [4], so that all the principal passages are guarded in the same manner as the chief entrance of a Yamen is usually flanked by police-rooms.

b. The Three Mausolea in Manchuria.

The Manchu dynasty, now on the throne, traces its origin to an ancestor denoted as Aisin Gioro [5], *i. e.* »the man bearing the surname of Gold", a descent being thereby suggested from the Tatar Kin [6] dynasty or »the Golden", which conquered Northern China from the Sung dynasty in the twelfth century, and ruled those parts

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[1] 守護陵寢防禦缺出、其出缺之人在陵寢守護過三世、已逾八十年者、於伊子孫內揀選一人承襲。如守護未至八十年而伊子孫內有品級相當人材可觀者、准揀選一人作爲擬正. Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch 68, l. 18.

[2] 堆撥房.

[3] 班房.

[4] *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 711.

[5] 愛新覺羅.

[6] 金.

until they were incorporated with the realm of the Mongols in 1234. Aisin Gioro is stated to have lived in the valley of Hotuala [1], in which Yenden now stands; but his history is shrouded in mist. He stands at the head of a pedigree of ancestors, worshipped by the dynasty with an established ceremonial as tutelary divinities of its throne and crown, and he is known by the temple name of Chao Tsu [2], »the Ancestor who laid the Foundation", which was conferred on him, together with the honorary title of Yuen Hwang-ti [3], »the First or Original Emperor", in 1648 by the youthful Emperor Shi Tsu five years after ascending the Chinese throne. Since 1636 his family had worshipped him under the posthumous name of Tseh Wang [4], »Prince or King Tseh", bestowed on him in that year by Shi Tsu's father, T'ai Tsung [5], a Tatar king who waged war at that time against China with remarkable boldness and energy.

Three descendants of Aisin Gioro have held a like position as he himself in the ancestral worship of the dynasty since the beginning of its reign. They were likewise endowed with the title of Wang in 1636, and with the following temple names and posthumous names in 1648: —

Hing Tsu 興祖, Emperor Chih 直皇帝. Great-grandson of Aisin Gioro.

King Tsu 景祖, Emperor Yih 翼皇帝, fourth son of Hing Tsu. He is known in the Annals as the Baira of Ninguta [6], a town in Kirin.

Hien Tsu 顯祖, Emperor Süen 宣皇帝, fourth son of King Tsu.

The eldest son of Hien Tsu, known as the Wise Baira [7], or more generally as Novurh-hochih or Nurhachu, submitted several Mongol princes to his power, and was proclaimed Emperor by them in 1606. In 1616 he styled himself Emperor Ying Ming [8] and adopted the title of reign T'ien ming [9], »Appointment by Heaven". He died ten years afterwards, at the age of sixty-eight. When his eldest son T'ai Tsung, who succeeded him, conferred, as we have seen, the title of Wang on the first four ancestors, Ying Ming was synchronously endowed by this prince with the temple name of

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1 赫圖阿喇. 2 肇祖. 3 原皇帝.
4 澤王. 5 太宗.
6 寧古塔貝勒. 7 聰睿貝勒.
8 英明皇帝. 9 天命.

Tᶜai Tsu [1], as also with a posthumous name which Shing Tsu, on mounting the throne in 1662, replaced by that of Emperor Kao [2].

The hostilities of the Manchus against the Ming dynasty, carried on with vigour in Tᶜai Tsu's reign, reached their apogee under his son and successor, who gave his House the name of Ta Tsᶜing [3], »The Great Pure", in 1636. In 1643 he died, and received the temple name of Tᶜai Tsung [4], with the posthumous title of Emperor Wen [5]. In the next year the Manchu armies captured Peking and there enthroned Tᶜai Tsung's ninth son, a child hardly six years old. He is the monarch that has been known since his death by the temple name of Shi Tsu, and was the first to be buried in Chinese soil [6].

Under pressure, no doubt, of his Chinese councillors, the boy-Emperor, following the example of the founders of former dynasties and of the first monarch of the House just dethroned, changed the tombs of his forefathers into stately cenotaphs, expecting them to become strong basements for the Fung-shui and prosperity of his family and crown. The four eldest ancestors originally rested, in the company of their respective principal consorts, at about ten Chinese miles from Hing-king [7] or Yenden, now a petty village on the top of a small detached hill, with mouldering gates and walls, and containing little more than an insignificant magistrate's office [8]. But when Tᶜai Tsu in 1622 founded the city of Tung-king [9] not far from the site of the present Liao-yang [10], and there established his court, he transferred thither, two years afterwards, the tombs of his father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, and that of Hiao Tsᶜzĕ [11], his own spouse and his successor's mother, who had died in 1603 [12], placing them all in mount Yang-lu [13], four Chinese miles north-east of the city [14]. This great re-interment was performed with much pomp and ceremony. Tᶜai Tsu himself with numerous magnates received the cortege at twenty miles from the town,

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1 太祖. 2 高皇帝. 3 大清.

4 太宗. 5 文皇帝.

6 The above particulars are gleaned from the *Tung hwa luh*, ch. 1, the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 239, ll. 1—13, etc.

7 興京. 8 James, The Long White Mountain, page 231.

9 東京. 10 遼陽. 11 孝慈.

12 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, l. 2. 13 楊魯山.

14 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 4. Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48, l. 26. *Tung hwa luh*, ch. 1, ll. 17 *seq.*

lying with their faces in the dust; and he made libations at the tomb in his own person [1].

The graves of the two remotest ancestors, left in the old spot, were rebuilt into a gorgeous mausoleum soon after the capture of Peking. We read in the Collections of ordinances: » In the beginning » of the reign of the dynasty, the earth required for the respectful » restoration of the Yung ling was gathered eastward from it, » at more than a mile's distance; the bricks were burned beyond » a distance of seven miles to the south-west, and the rock-lime » at more than four hundred miles in the same direction. Small » stones were gathered in Chang-kia Kheu, and the stone required » for the tablets and their dragon-shaped pedestals was brought from » the Hiang-lu Mounts at Shing-king (Mukden). In the fourteenth » year of Shi Tsu's reign (1657) the works at the mausoleum » were finished. All the officers who had directed the works, » then received titles of nobility and rewards in the shape of » court dresses and saddle-horses, in accordance with the length of » the time they had been on the spot, while the other officials » employed and the workmen were rewarded with white metal or » textile fabrics" [2].

The next Imperial measure, taken in the following year, was to convey the remains of King Tsu and Hien Tsu from Tung-king to the new mausoleum and afford them a resting-place by the side of the two first ancestors, the geomancers of the Bureau of Astrology having demonstrated that the Fung-shui there was very excellent. One year after that, this family tomb was endowed with the name of Yung ling [3]. » In 1661 the temple was built, and it » received the name of Khi-yun tien, 'Temple of the Springs of » the Imperial Destiny'; its gate was at the same time styled Khi- » yun men, 'Gate of the Springs of the Imperial Destiny', and

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1 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 4 *seq.*

2 國初定恭修永陵於東一里外取土、西南七里外燒甎、西南四百里外燒石灰。小石採於張家口、碑石龍趺石取於盛京香鑪山。十四年永陵工成，分別在工久暫理事官各給世爵、仍賞朝衣鞍馬、其餘官役賞白金布疋有差. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 10; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 139, l. 46.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 4, and ch. 723, l. 5; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, ll. 4 *seq.*; Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48, l. 26; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 6 *sqq.*

» a stone tablet was raised, commemorating the transportation of » King Tsu and Hien Tsu to the Yung ling" [1]. The name of Khi-yun was not new. Already ten years before, it had been bestowed by the same Emperor upon the hill on which the mausoleum stands, he then deeming it proper to imitate the Ming dynasty in increasing the efficacy of the heights dominating the Fung-shui of the Imperial burial-grounds, by giving them felicitous names. For this reason he then also bestowed an efficacious name, namely that of Tsih-khing Shan [2], » Felicity-accumulating Hills", on the mounts at the graves of King Tsu and Hien Tsu, then still located at Tung-king [3].

At 240 Chinese miles or circa 140 kilometres west of Yenden, and at about half that distance north of Tung-king, stands the city of Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, also officially known by the Chinese name of Fung-tʿien fu [4]. This place, then called Shen-yang [5], was Tʿai Tsung's residence. In 1629 he there buried his father, twenty Chinese miles from the walls [6], to the north-east, interring at the same time and place the remains of his mother Hiao Tsʿzĕ, conveyed to this end from Tung-king [7], where, as we saw, her consort had buried them five years previously. The tomb was styled Fuh ling [8] in 1636 [9]. Tʿai Tsung himself departed this life seven years afterwards, and in the next year he was buried ten miles to the north-west of Mukden, in a sepulchre to which on this occasion the name of Chao ling [10] was given. His spouse Hiao Twan [11] survived him till 1651, in which year her body and soul joined him in his last resting-place [12].

In that year, Tʿai Tsung's son endowed, as we have stated, the mausoleum-hills at Yenden and Tung-king with felicitous

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1 十八年建永陵饗殿、稱啟運殿、門稱啟運門、立景祖顯祖遷祔永陵碑. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 5; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 11.

2 積慶山.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 2, and ch. 723, l. 5; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 80, ll. 2 *seq.*; Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48, l. 26: *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 6.

4 奉天府. 5 瀋陽.

6 *Tung hwa luh*, ch. 2, l. 5.

7 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 13. 8 福陵.

9 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 6; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 14.

10 昭陵. 11 孝端.

12 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 22.

names. Simultaneously he gave the hills at the Fuh ling and at the Chao ling the respective names of T'ien-chu Shan [1], »Stanchions of Heaven or of the Imperial Dignity", and Lung-yeh Shan [2], »Hills ensuring Prosperity to the Imperial Rule" [3]. At that time the work at these mausolea was being energetically carried on, for we read, that places whence the required materials were to be fetched, or where they were to be fabricated, were officially appointed in the year 1651, and that the big blocks of stone were to be extracted from the quarries in the hills south of Yih-cheu, a distance of over eight hundred kilometres! [4] It certainly attests the efficiency and power of the new dynasty, that »the works at »the two mausolea were completed in the very same year. The »officers charged with the direction and execution of the works »had titles of nobility conferred upon them and were rewarded »with court dresses and saddle-horses, while the subordinates em»ployed at the works received bounties in the shape of dresses and »caps, saddle-horses or white metal" [5]. »It was then fixed that »a body of officers should be appointed for the administration of »each mausoleum, as also people to guard and protect it; and »regulations were enacted for the exercise of sacrificial worship »there" [6]. It was not, however, before 1668 that a tablet commemorating »the sage virtues and divine feats" was erected in the Fuh ling and in the Chao ling by the care of Shing Tsu, who himself composed the biographies engraved thereon [7].

Thus far for the history of the so-called San ling [8] or »Three Mausolea". The sources from which we have drawn our data also teach us, that the four ancestors, buried in the Yung ling, lie under separate barrows, for they say, for instance, that when Jen Tsung visited the place in 1805, »he lifted up his eyes to the four

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[1] 天柱山.

[2] 隆業山.

[3] *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, ll. 6 and 8; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 80, l. 3; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 15 and 22.

[4] *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 10; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 139, l. 46.

[5] 是年福陵昭陵工成。監造官各給世爵、仍各賞朝衣鞍馬、其在工官役賞衣冠鞍馬白金有差.
T. Ts. h. t. shi li, ch. 723, l. 10; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 139, l. 46.

[6] 又定每陵各設官員及守陵人戶、併定祭儀.
T. Ts. h. t. shi li, ch. 346, l. 3; *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 80, l. 3.

[7] *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 9; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 15 and 23

[8] 三陵.

mounds, and sacrificed spirits to each separately" [1]. It is also stated »that Hing Tsu was assigned the place in the centre, and that King »Tsu and Hien Tsu were deposited left and right of him" [2], which arrangement is quite in keeping with the general Chinese ideas on the order of seniority. It seems that, when the Yung ling was erected, the remains of the first ancestor had entirely vanished and that ceremonial clothes were buried in it as a substitute, for we read: »The Yung ling is the place where worship is paid to »a gown and cap of Chao Tsu, only a gown and a cap of this »Emperor being carefully preserved in it" [3].

The Collections of ordinances furthermore teach us, that every ancestor enjoys in this mausoleum the company of his principal spouse, and that these four women are worshipped as titulary Empresses, which dignity Shi Tsu bestowed on them at the same time as when he raised their husbands to the titulary Imperial rank [4]. And, in accordance with a custom the dynasty has observed in respect of every deceased Empress down to this day, each ancestress officially bears the same posthumous honorary name as her husband [5]. All that we find recorded about their burials is, that »when King Tsu and Hien Tsu were conjointly removed »from Tung-king to the Yenden mausoleum in 1658, and buried »there, their spouses were synchronously dealt with in the same »way" [6]. That the two mausolea at Mukden each likewise contain the remains of an Empress, we have already stated. T'ai Tsung possessed a secondary Consort, who, having given birth to Shi Tsu, was raised by the latter to the titulary dignity of Empress

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1 皇帝瞻望四陵、各奠酒. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 349, l. 4.

2 典祖卜兆正中、景祖顯祖昭穆序列. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 1.

3 永陵敬奉肇祖衣冠之所、陵內肇祖原皇帝惟謹藏衣冠. *Op. et cap. cit.*, ll. 1 and 12.

4 *Op. cit.*, ch. 241, ll. 1 *seq.*

5 Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 1; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 3.

6 順治十五年自東京陵並奉景祖翼皇帝翼皇后顯祖宣皇帝宣皇后於典京陵安葬. The General Memoirs concerning Mukden, 盛京通志, a work composed by a commission of twenty-nine scholars and officials in 1736, as an improved and augmented edition of a similar work which had appeared under the same title in 1684 and had likewise been compiled by a committee of twenty-nine members. Chapter 7.

on his accession; and our readers have seen on page 1292 that this woman, who is known by the temple name of Hiao Chwang, was buried several years afterwards in a special mausoleum, erected for her in the Eastern Cemetery.

It would be interesting to know something about the shape of the tombs of all those Manchu chiefs before they were rebuilt by Shi Tsu into their present form. But we find absolutely nothing on this head in the books. A point about which we have perfect certainty, is that Shi Tsu, in spite of his extraneous descent, modelled those graves all according to the mausolea of the Ming dynasty. This fact, like many others, illustrates the remarkable speed and readiness with which the conquerors adopted the civilisation of the Chinese, and adapted themselves to their institutions. But, with the culture of the conquered race, the victors naturally received its evil fruits and in the first place the Fung-shui superstitions, the vaunted product of China's highest wisdom and learning. We find it explicitly stated, that in 1657 »a proposal was approved »by the Throne, to the effect that such houses and dwellings »occupied by officers, soldiers and workmen in the Three Mau»solea, as interfered with the Fung-shui, should all be removed" [1]. Moreover, we have seen above (p. 1356) that King Tsu and Hien Tsu were transferred from Tung-king to Yenden expressly on account of the exquisite geomantic qualities of the mountains there. And the *Wen hien t'ung khao* says: »The extensive basis on which the »existence of the Imperial Family shall rest for ten thousand genera»tions, is in point of fact rooted in those hills" [2].

It was, no doubt, with the object of prompting them to produce, through the mediation of the tombs, an ever-flowing source of prosperity in behalf of the Imperial Family, that Shi Tsu, on giving those hills high-sounding names in 1651, at the same time ordained that they should thenceforth be objects of Imperial worship honoured with sacrifices, conjointly with the principal mountains, seas and streams, outside the northern wall of Peking on the great altar of the Earth, the second high Divinity of the State [3]. This high position they have held in the official Pantheon down to the present day. It may be stated here by-the-bye, that

1 議準三陵官員兵丁匠役所住房屋有礙風水者悉令遷移. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 139, l. 46.

2 朝宗萬世鴻基實肇於此. Ch. 150, l. 3.

3 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 3; *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 3.

similar honours were afterwards allotted also to the mountains in the rear of the two Cemeteries in Peh-chihli, as soon as burials had taken place there [1].

That the Three Mausolea are built, as we have said, on the same lines as those of the Ming dynasty, may be seen at a glance from the official rescripts regarding the buildings and structures which compose them. But they are laid out on a more modest scale, some buildings and structures, which the Ming tombs possess, being wanting. The Yung ling, which is the plainest, has no square fortress, nor a Soul tower; at least, the Regulations make no mention of such structures. »Its Pao ch'ing has a circumference »of 86,16 chang. In front of it stands the Khi-yun temple, »an edifice consisting of three divisions formed by the pillars; »it is covered with yellow tiles, with four doors and eight »windows, and is placed on a terrace that has an elevation of »0,29 chang and a circumference of 31,9. Inside it are four large »warm porches, containing Imperial couches with curtains, cover- »lets and pillows, and clothes-horses at the service of the deified »Rulers; besides, there are on the spot four small warm porches for »the respectful worship of the (eight) Soul tablets. In front of the »porches eight Dragon seats and Phenix seats are placed (respectively »for the Emperors and the Empresses), and four tables, each »of which bears the five sacrificial implements; further there are »eight court-lamps, and three carpets adorned with dragons; and »awnings (umbrellas?) of yellow cloth, affording protection from »rain and heat, are stretched over the spot, three of either kind.

»In front of the temple is a triple stone-paved ascent, the mid- »dlemost part of which is adorned with coiling dragons. Both on »the east and west is an accessional temple of three divisions, the »western having in front a towery building for the burning of sacrificial »silks. And southward from the temple, right in the middle, the »Khi-yun gate stands. Outside this gate the ground is walled in »on the eastern, the western and the southern side; the length »and the breadth of this wall amount to 66,2 chang, and it »has a Red Gate on the east and on the west. A triple stone-paved »road runs through the middle of this enclosure. Eastward stands »a building for the preparation of fruit, and westward another »for the preparation of sacrificial viands; in front, in the middle, »stand four pavilions for the tablets commemorating the feats and

1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, l. 6, and ch. 347, l. 1. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, ll. 6 and 32.

» virtues [1]. In front of these pavilions there is, to the east, a building » for the sacrificial prayer-boards, as also a guard-house, and to » the west a tea-house with a refreshment-house and a building for » cleansing the sacrificial utensils; furthermore, a pavilion for the » inspection of sacrificial victims and a fruit-house are located out- » side the western Red Gate. Finally, there is a principal Red Gate » exactly in the middle of the southern façade of the wall, and » outside it a bridge of wood, to the west. In front of the ming » t'ang a tablet indicates the place where all comers are to alight » from their horses; and to the east, the west, the south and the » north of the mausoleum a tablet is erected to mark out its limits. » The total circumference of these limits is 2288 chang" [2]. Of the posts and the fences that surround the Yung ling, we shall speak on pp. 1366 *seq.*

The ming t'ang, mentioned in this extract, is evidently the area that extends in front of the mausoleum. The meaning of the word is a puzzle to us, as it is also to the Chinese themselves. It is probably an antiquated and obsolete term, being hardly ever

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1 The eulogic inscriptions of those tablets are reproduced in the *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, ll. 8 *sqq.* They are of the greatest insignificance.

2 寶城週長八十六丈一尺六寸。前建啟運殿三間、覆以黃琉璃瓦、門四、窗八、臺高二尺九寸、週長三十一丈九尺。殿內大暖閣四座、設寶牀、帷幔、衾枕、揮椸、以奉神御、小暖閣四座、恭奉神牌。閣前設龍鳳寶座八、五供案四、朝鐙八、龍毯三、上蓋黃布雨旱罩各三.

殿前礓磋三路、中飾盤龍。東西配殿各三間、西配殿前有焚帛樓一座。南正中爲啟運門。門外東西南三面繚以垣、袤廣共六十六丈二尺、東西紅門二。內正中礓磋三路。東爲果房、西爲膳房、前中並建功德碑亭四座。亭前東爲祝版房、齋班房、西爲茶膳房、滌器房、其省牲亭果樓均在西紅門外。南正中爲正紅門、門外之西有木橋。明堂前有下馬牌、陵之東西南北各設界牌一。統計週圍界址凡二千二百八十八丈.
T. Ts. h. t. shi li, ch. 723, ll. 5 *seq.* Supplementary Edition of the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 48, l. 26.

met with in books. Perhaps it signifies: »Court for the Manes", or »Court to which people resort to worship the Manes". The only passage known to us, which sheds some light on its meaning, is the following: »The ground in front of a grave is called ming »t'ang, and also khüen t'ai, 'terrace for the contract of the »purchase of the ground'. The Records of the Conversations with Chu »Hi say, that it is not clear what a ming t'ang is, and therefore »an explanation was afterwards sought in the writings of the authors »of the T'ang dynasty, in which it was discovered that this dynasty »ordered the name (of ming t'ang) to be changed into that of khüen »t'ai. This term occurs in the present books of geomancy; khüen »means a contract (comp. p. 1078), and the place where the con»tract for the purchase of a plot of ground is buried is called khüen »t'ai, 'contract-terrace'. Such a purchase deed is either of earthen»ware, or of stone, upon which is inscribed how many strings of »money have been paid (for the ground). When (paper) money used »in behalf of the deceased man is buried on that spot, the spirits »of the ground and the dragons of the earth cannot quarrel and »wrangle for it; so do the poor and uninfluential, when having to »present a sacrifice, also set out their cups and dishes there, calling »them a repast on the soil" [1].

The official rescripts, thus passed in review, show that the Yung ling, although this mausoleum and its adjacent grounds cover a very large area, does not much surpass in grandeur the mausolea of high Princes of Imperial lineage. It does not even possess an avenue adorned with stone figures, at least, the Rescripts mention none. The two Mukden mausolea are larger, and more complete and finished. Nearly all such edifices and structures as constitute the cenotaphs in the Eastern and the Western Cemetery are found within their walls, and are, moreover, of corresponding dimensions. We read that each mausoleum has a tumulus of 33 chang in circumference, surrounded by a wall

[1] 墓前地名明堂、一名券臺。朱子語錄云不曉、所以後見唐人文集中言某朝詔改爲券臺。案今地理書有券臺之說、券契也、埋地契處曰券臺。地契用甎石爲之、上書財若干緡。爲死者用財葬於此、山神土龍不得爭競、貧無力者遇祭祀則以藉尊俎、謂之土筵席 *Pao weng tsih* 抱甕集, by Kin Kiu-kao 金九皋; quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 99, l. 11.

of circa 60 chang, as also a »moon-tips" wall, a glazed reflection wall, and a square fortress. In the Fuh ling the last-named building is nearly 114 chang in circumference, and in the Chao ling 79. »It bears four corner-turrets" [1], non-descript structures of which the regulations concerning the other mausolea nowhere make any mention. In their midst a double-roofed soul tower rises, containing the grave-stone. Beneath the square fortress is a »cavern-gate" [2], which we conjecture to be a door in the mouth of the tunnel; in front of it stands a stone table, bearing five sacrificial implements, and farther on, in the same direction, we have a double ornamental gate, resting upon stone posts. The next building we arrive at, is the temple, no gate with glazed ornaments being mentioned. In both mausolea, the temple, like all those in the Eastern and the Western Cemetery, bears the name of Lung-ngen tien. It is roofed with yellow tiles; it has four entrances and eight windows, and stands upon a terrace, which is either five or six Chinese feet in elevation, and 36 chang in circumference. A sculptured balustrade of stone extends around the terrace. As each mausoleum contains the remains of one Imperial couple, there is in each temple only one great and one small »warm porch", furnished with the same things as the porches in the Yung ling temple. For the same reason, each temple contains no more than one Dragon seat and one Phenix seat, with one table bearing the five sacrificial implements. Moreover, it is furnished with four additional chairs, placed on the right and the left, and with four tables, six court-lamps, seven carpets adorned with dragons, and fourteen awnings against rain and heat, made of yellow silk. It is worth noting, that there is preserved in the temple of the Chao ling »a case containing a bow" [3]. May we suppose this weapon to be a relic inherited from the warlike T'ai Tsung?

In front of the temple we have, in both mausolea, a similar stone ascent as in the Yung ling, and a similar set of buildings. But the Chao ling contains two accessional furnaces, flanking the principal one. Further, in both mausolea, the temple-gate, called Lung-ngen men, has a triple roof, and a triple stone-paved ascent in the middle of the front. On its eastern side is a tea-house and a refreshment-house; on the west a fruit-house and a building for the cleaning of sacrificial

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[1] 上有角樓四座.
[2] 洞門.
[3] 盛弓櫃一.

utensils; on the south a pavilion for the inspection of sacrificial victims, and a guard-house. Proceeding onward, we arrive at the pavilion with the tablet commemorating the sage virtues and divine feats. The inscriptions, carved in these two monuments, were (see page 1358) composed by Shing Tsu, and from the reprints given in the *Wen hien t'ung khao* (ch. 150) we see that they bear quite the same character as those afterwards made for the Emperors proper of the dynasty. In each mausoleum the tablet-house is surrounded by four columns, officially named h w a p i a o c h u [1], »glorifying columns". A stone road runs from this edifice to the great Red Gate. In the F u h l i n g this road appears to descend at a strong incline, it being stated to contain 108 paved steps [2]. In both tombs the road is guarded on either side by stone figures, representing two lions, two tigers, two camels, and two horses; in this part of the C h a o l i n g there are, moreover, two unicorns.

The wall enclosing the F u h l i n g on four sides has a length of 580 c h a n g, and that which surrounds the C h a o l i n g measures 496 c h a n g. Both walls have in the southern façade, exactly in the middle, a gate known as the principal Red Gate, and another gate of that name on the east and west. The first-named gate is flanked on the outside by a pair of stone lions, two stone glorifying columns, and two tower-like buildings containing tablets of stone; and a tablet is erected close by, inscribed with an order to riders to dismount. At the C h a o l i n g we have outside the gate, besides all these decorations, a pavilion for the changing of costumes [3], as also a building for the inspection of sacrificial victims, a building for the preparation of viands [4], and a stone bridge standing exactly in the line of the road, behind the columns and the lions. Finally we find there, somewhat farther on to the south, a special decoration not mentioned in the ordinances respecting any other mausolea, viz. »two stone life-guard horses, called the Great white one and the Little white one" [5].

The accessible grounds in front of the principal Red Gate of the F u h l i n g are described by Mr. James, who visited them, in the following terms: »The south or principal gate (see Pl. L)

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1 華表柱. Compare page 825.

2 亭前礓磋一百八層.

3 更衣亭.

4 饌造房.

5 立仗石馬二、曰大白小白.

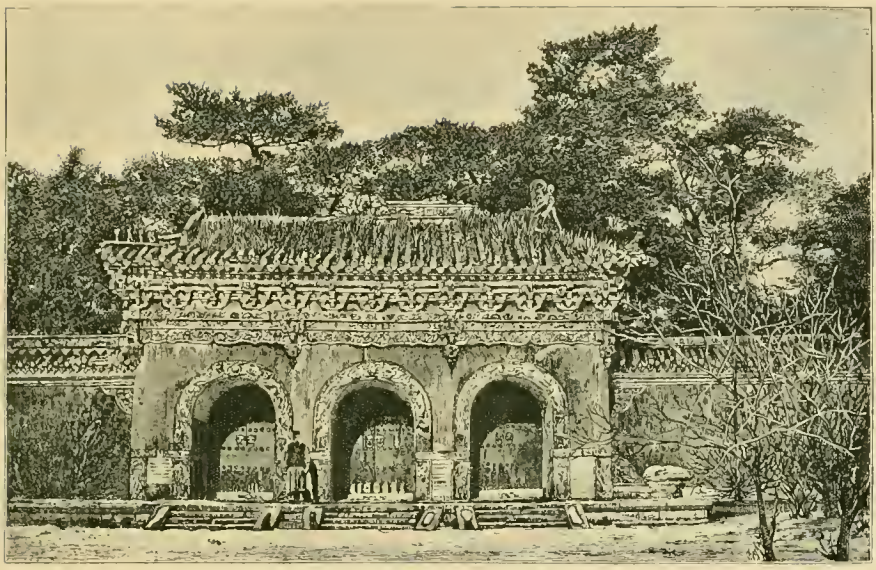
» is a handsome structure, with three openings and a richly decor-
» ated roof; and let into the wall on each side is a bas-relief in
» green majolica, representing a huge Imperial dragon. This is the
» finest piece of fictile ware I ever saw in China. The road up to
» the gate passes first between two lofty p'ai leu of massive carved
» stone, the bases of the columns being carved into the likeness of
» frogs. Beyond are two pillars, each with a lion on the top, and,
» finally, two noble lions couchant guard the sacred portal. To the
» centre of each door is affixed a huge quaint knocker of copper,
» once richly gilt, representing a bull's head. The shrubs have
» grown wild in the park around, and roofs and paths are moss-
» grown. But on the whole the tomb is well preserved" .... And
of the foreground of the Chao ling the same author says:
» Outside the main entrance, at the top of a flight of steps, stands
» a splendid marble p'ai-leu (see Pl. L), a noble monument indeed,
» and at the beginning of the avenue leading up to it are two
» gigantic slabs resting on the backs of tortoises, which warn the
» traveller, in several languages, 'Here every one must get off
» his horse'" [1].

As the Ordinances do not mention the p'ai-leu or decorative gates of which these extracts speak, we are tempted to believe that they were constructed after the Ordinances were published, that is, in the course of the present century.

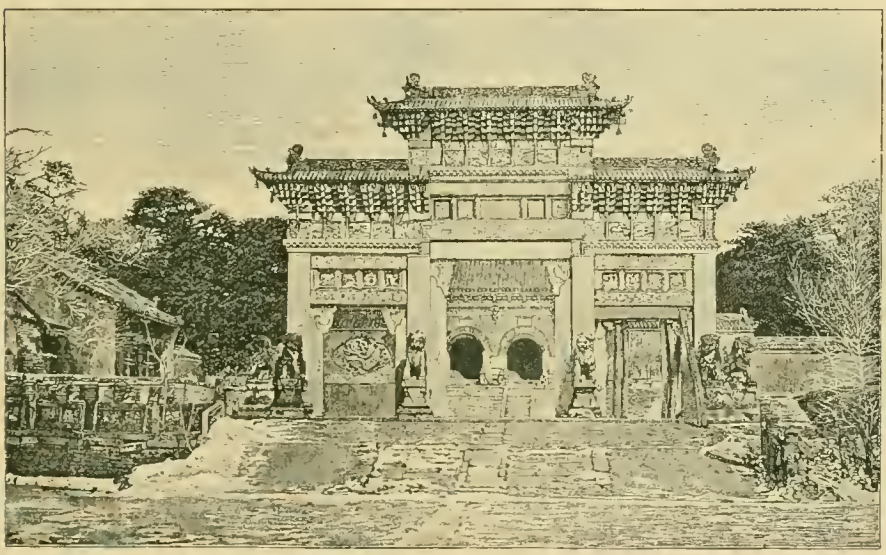
As is the case with the Yung ling, the limits of the Fuh ling and the Chao ling are marked out by tablets, erected at the four cardinal points. Those limits have a respective length of 2960 and 2560 chang [2]. There is also around each mausoleum a triple cordon of posts, arranged just as at the Eastern and the Western Cemetery. In 1778 it was decreed, that at twenty chang from the red posts should be erected 64 white posts at the Yung ling, and 261 at the Fuh ling, and besides, ten miles beyond these white posts, 36 blue posts in the first-named mausoleum, and 40 in the other. That decree also prescribed that the Chao ling should have 90 white posts, placed at twenty chang from the red on the south, the west and the north, and at ten chang on the eastern side, as also 40 blue posts, arrayed ten miles beyond the white. No such things as the gathering of

1 The Long White Mountain, pp. 226 *seq.*

2 The above information about the Fuh ling and the Chao ling is drawn from the *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, ll. 6—9, and the Supplementary Edition of the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, ch. 48, ll. 26 *seq.*



South Entrance to the Fuh ling.



Decorative Gate at the Chao ling.

timber and fuel, agricultural pursuits, the pasturing of cattle, burying etc. might take place within the white posts, nor might any kilns for bricks or lime be erected within the blue; and boards displaying these prohibitions were to be suspended from the posts [1].

Besides, the three Mausolea are each surrounded by a cordon of palisades, called »deer horns" [2]. These fences consist of lines of wooden St. Andrew crosses which run at right angles through a long heavy cross-beam, as close as they can lie; the lower ends of the crosses, fixed in the ground, are heavy and longer; their upper ends taper to a point, and half of them point outwards, half inwards. They are sometimes seen surrounding Government offices in Manchuria, and being ponderous and unmanageable, make it difficult for men, and especially for cavalry, to pass. The long barriers which formerly crossed Liao-tung over its whole length and breadth, likewise consisted of such fences [3]. That they stand in very great numbers around the mausolea, may be deduced from an ordinance issued in 1803, authorizing an outlay of 9240 taels of silver in behalf of the three mausolea for the repairs of 2810 fences; as also from an edict of the same year, prescribing that 140 fences should be renewed every year at the Yung ling, a hundred at the Fuh ling, and sixty at the Chao ling [4]. Mr. James states, that the deer-horn fence of the Yung ling extends around the base of the hill upon which the mausoleum stands, and that it takes in a circle of about twelve English miles [5].

Close to the Fuh ling, on its right side, stands the mausoleum of a concubine of T'ai Tsu, buried there in 1644, three months before the capture of Peking [6]. She is known by the honorary name of Sheu Khang [7], bestowed on her by her grandson Shi Tsu eighteen years after her burial, together with the dignity of Concubine of the first rank [8]. This tomb is evidently of very plain construction, the ordinances concerning it mentioning nothing else than a temple with three divisions, a building for tea and refreshments, with a

1 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 27. 2 鹿角.

3 Ross, The Manchus, page 31. The Long White Mountain, pp. 117 and 6.

4 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 21.

5 The Long White Mountain, p. 231.

6 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 150, l. 14.

7 壽康.

8 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, l. 5.

fruit-house on the east and on the west, and a main gate[1] in front, as also a wall surrounding it, 47 chang in length[2]. Another mausoleum, for which exactly the same rescripts were made, with this exception that the wall must measure 49 chang, is located on the right or inferior side of the Chao ling. It contains the remains of a first-rank concubine of T'ai Tsung, named I Tsing[3], who was endowed with this rank and name in 1652, likewise under Shi Tsu's reign[4]. Concerning the burial-places of other concubines of these two dynastic ancestors, who are stated to have had respectively twelve and eleven of them[5], no rescripts whatever are found in any Collection of ordinances. But there is no doubt that some of them were buried in the vicinity of the two Mukden mausolea, it being officially recorded that Emperors on visiting the latter from time to time, had sacrifices offered to certain secondary Consorts by proxies. Those records at the same time teach us, that such Imperial delegates also sacrificed on such occasions to certain Imperial Princesses and at vicinal tombs of sundry Princes and officers of merit[6], and that, whenever an Emperor personally sacrificed at the Yung ling, they had to do the same thing at the graves of two Princes situated within its precincts, and at some tombs in the adjacent grounds, but not to any concubines[7].

In 1657, six years after the completion of the Fuh ling and the Chao ling, the Yung ling was finished, and the three Mausolea were then together entrusted to the care of the Board of Works, established at Mukden. This Board is one of the five Departments for the central administration of Manchuria, which were instituted by T'ai Tsung before the conquest of China[8] and still exist at the present day; they bear the same names as the Boards at Peking, but there is no Board of Civil Office. In the said year,

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1 正門.

2 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 8. Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 48, l. 26.

3 懿靜.

4 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, ll. 9 *seq.* Supplem. Ed., ch. 48, l. 27. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, l. 6.

5 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 241, ll. 5 *sqq.*

6 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, ll. 16, 20 and 24; ch. 347, ll. 13, 18, 27 and 35. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80.

7 *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 346, ll. 20 and 23; ch. 347, ll. 12, 17, 26 and 34. *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80.

8 The Long White Mountain, p. 150.

» namely the fourteenth of the Shun chi period, it was resolved » that, whenever any of the three mausolea should need repairs, » the President of the Board of Works at Mukden, on receiving » written information about the matter from the Seal Keeper » of that tomb, should, in the company of the latter, convince » himself with his own eyes (whether the repairs were really » necessary), and thereupon send written orders to the Board to » select auspicious dates, to make ready the thousand men with » the necessary materials, and to commence the works. And should » there not be workmen and materials enough, a written estimate » of the money and rations required should be sent to the Board, » and the necessary outlay be made by the latter" [1]. Those »thousand men" are also charged with the fabrication of bricks and tiles, for which they are paid according to the quantities delivered [2].

With the object of lessening the dangers of the tombs being neglected by the Mukden magistrates, Jen Tsung prescribed: »At » every biennial time of inspection, the Ministers of the High » Council of State shall request the Emperor to appoint a commission » of some members of His family with the ranks of Wang, Baira, » Bei-tszĕ and Kung, and some Grand-Secretaries of the Impe- » rial Chancery, Presidents of the Six Boards, etc., with orders to » travel to the mausolea and examine them. Should they find that » the mausolea are damaged without repairs having been under- » taken, the commission shall interrogate the Governor-General of » Manchuria and the President of the Board about the matter, » and thereupon report to the Throne" [3]. The Ordinances do not enable us to make out whether there exists any relation between this high Inspecting Commission and the Committee of Management of which we have spoken on page 1339, nor whether the

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[1] 順治十四年定、三陵遇有應修處所、照掌關防官來文盛京工部侍郎會同掌關防官驗視、移文工部選擇吉期、豫備千丁及需用物料興修。如不敷、估計應用錢糧、移文工部給發. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, ll. 10 *seq.*

2 *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 139, l. 51.

[3] 每閱二年由軍機大臣奏請簡派宗室王貝勒貝子公、暨大學士六部尚書等數人前往查勘一次。如有欹損不行修理者、即將該將軍侍郎參奏. Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 21.

latter extends its control over the three tombs in Manchuria.

That those tombs have been objects of unremitting solicitude to the dynasty, as being supports for its own weal and the nation's prosperity, is self-evident from the long, unbroken chain of repairs, embellishments and improvements, recorded in the Ordinances [1]. Shi Tsung even had the whole geomantic compound of water streams in front of the Fuh ling improved by extra canalisation, and the direction of sundry brooks and rivulets modified. These works were carried out in compliance with the views of Kao Khi-choh [2], Governor of the province of Fuhkien, a great authority in matters of geomancy who, having come to Peking about the year 1729, was not only, as we saw on page 1293, employed by the Emperor to search for a new Cemetery, but was also despatched to Mukden, with orders to examine there the system of water streams at the Fuh ling, which, according to some rumours, did not answer to the old orthodox geomantic doctrines. The learned dignitary did not, of course, fail to detect therein a great many faults. But barely five years later, when heavy rains in the summer season swelled the brooks, the products of his geomantic hydraulics were severely damaged, banks and dykes being destroyed and new heavy charges consequently imposed upon the treasuries.

The long series of ordinances for the preservation of the three mausolea show that they are clad with Fung-shui trees, and that the adjacent grounds are also wooded. This is confirmed by Mr. James, who writes that the mound of the Fuh ling stands on a hill, deep in a sombre grove of pines, and that the Chao ling is likewise located in a deep grove of ancient cedars, surrounded by delightful shrubberies full of hawthorn and other sweet-flowering trees, where pheasants crow in the balmy spring-time [3]. Some of the trees have been objects of peculiar Imperial attention. We read for instance, that in 1778 »a poem by the Imperial hand, entitled »'The Spiritual Tree', having for its theme a noble elm in front »of the tumuli of the Yung ling, was graven in a stone in the »western accessional temple of the mausoleum, in obedience to an »Imperial order" [4]. In 1731 it was ordained by decree, that the

1 *T. Ts, h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, ll. 11 *sqq.*

2 高其倬.

3 The Long White Mountain, pp. 226 and 227.

4 乾隆四十三年御書神樹賦用紀永陵寶頂前瑞榆一株遵旨勒石於永陵西配殿內. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 16.

grounds surrounding the Fuh ling should be divested of houses and cultivated fields, and compensation be paid to those sustaining loss of property in consequence of this measure; and in 1778 another decree prescribed the removal of tombs out of the vicinity of the three mausolea [1].

The best warrant that these tombs have never fallen a prey to neglect, we have in the fact that they were often personally visited by the Sons of Heaven. Shing Tsu sacrificed at the Fuh ling and the Chao ling in 1671 [2], and at the three mausolea in 1682 and 1698 [3], and in 1722 he delegated his son to present sacrifices there in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of his reign [4]. Kao Tsung visited the three tombs in 1743, sacrificing at them all with great display of pomp [5]; in 1754 he went there anew [6], and in 1755 ordered his son to go there and inform the ancestors and ancestresses of the conquest of Dzungar [7]; finally he was himself in those sacred grounds in 1778 and 1783 [8]. The Ordinances also make mention of a visit paid by Jen Tsung to the three Mausolea in 1805 [9]. Those Sons of Heaven seem invariably to have used the high-road running from Peking almost due eastward as far as Shan-hai Kwan [10], where the Great Wall terminates at the sea-shore, and from thence, in a north-easterly direction, through the coast-districts of the Gulf of Liao-tung.

Like the mausolea in the Eastern and the Western Cemetery, those in Manchuria are each administered by a special committee. The Fuh ling and the Chao ling committees each consist of a Seal-keeper and two Assistant Seal-keepers, whose other titles and dignities are not mentioned; two Officers respectively for the presentation of Tea and Eatables; one Manager of the Household Department; and four Writers belonging to the Mukden Board of Rites. The Committee for the Yung ling is only composed of a Seal-keeper, an Assistant Seal-keeper, and two Writers [11]. Those three corporations were instituted already in 1651, when the first Emperor of the dynasty had been seated on the throne for eight years [12].

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1 *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 26.
2 *Op. cit.*, ch. 346, l. 14.
3 *Ibid.*, ll. 18 and 23.
4 *Ibid.*, l. 26.
5 The same work, ch. 347, ll. 11 *sqq.*
6 *Ibid.*, ll. 17 *sqq.*
7 *Ibid.*, l. 19. Those visits are also recorded in the *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80.
8 *Ibid.*, ll. 26 and 34.
9 The same work, ch. 349, l. 4.
10 山海關.
11 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 84, l. 2; Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 8.
12 *T. Ts. h. t. tseh li*, ch. 80, l. 3.

The Manchu Banner force, occupying each mausoleum, is under the general orders of a Commander, who is assisted by two Wing Commanders and sixteen Chiefs of the Guards (comp. p. 1352); besides, an officer denoted by the title of Overseer of the Workmen [1] and assimilated with the fourth degree of military rank, is attached to each garrison [2]. The adjacent grounds are also guarded by soldiers, »it »having been ordained in 1725 to establish four watch-posts all around »the reservation grounds of the Fuh ling, and to detach officers »and troops to occupy them" [3], and a similar order having been issued twenty-five years afterwards for the Chao ling [4]. The three garrisons probably have their headquarters at Mukden and Yenden. Mr. James makes mention of a village called Yung ling, filled with soldiers who guard the tomb which bears this name [5].

The Ordinances teach us, that in the early years of the reign of the Ts'ing dynasty the Mukden Board of Rites was entrusted with the regulation of the ceremonial connected with the annual sacrifices at the three Mausolea, and that the Emperor Shi Tsu was wont to delegate on special occasions sôme Princes thither, to offer sacrifices [6]. In 1660 he ordained, however, that an Imperial Prince of the ninth order and a Gioro with the sixth rank of hereditary nobility should thenceforth reside at the Fuh ling, and a Prince of the sixth or eighth order, likewise assisted by such a Gioro, at the Chao ling, and that these magnates should act there as his proxies for the presentation of sacrifices; they were also to travel in turn to the Yung ling, and there perform similar rites [7]. But this regulation was abolished in 1669, and replaced by one to the effect that the four principal yearly sacrifices were to be celebrated by envoys from the Governor-General of Manchuria, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Presidents of the Mukden Boards [8]. In 1736 the old regulation was put into force again, and six Princes of the lowest orders then volunteered to settle in Mukden, to thenceforth perform at the tombs the functions of chief sacrificants [9].

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1 司工匠.

2 Supplementary Edition of the *T. Ts. h. t.*, ch. 36, l. 16: Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 143, l. 8; *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l. 13 and ch. 89, l. 25.

3 雍正三年奏准福陵官山週圍設斥堠四所、分委官兵守護. *T. Ts. h. t. shi li*, ch. 723, l. 26.

4 *Op. et loc. cit.*

5 The Long White Mountain, page 231.

6 *T. Ts. h. t. tsch li*, ch. 139, l. 17.

7 The same work, ch. 80, l. 5.

8 *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 10.

9 *Op. cit.*, ch. 139, l. 18, and ch. 80, l. 32.

The Board of Rites at Mukden also extends its care over some grounds in the mausolea, or near them, that are reserved for the production of the articles required for the numerous sacrifices to the Imperial Dead. The Ordinances prescribe, that there must be two expanses of plough land, tilled by ninety farmers and yielding stated quantities of rice, barley and wheat, sorghum, yellow peas and green peas, small peas, hemp seed and oil seed. Furthermore, ten orchards, under the care of 168 gardeners, must be kept for the production of fixed quantities of pine seed, hazel nuts [1], grapes, Berberis seed [2], hawthorn fruit [3], dried pears, etc.; two orchards in the Fuh ling and one in the Chao ling, producing plums, apricots, cherries, pears and hawthorn fruit; and finally, in each of the three mausolea, two gardens for the cultivation of melons and vegetables. There must be 270 honey gatherers, and a number of pheasant shooters and fishers. During ten days preceding each sacrifice, fifteen milch cows must be driven up out of the pasture-lands of the mausoleum concerned and be regularly milked, the intendants of those grounds having to supply every year 1826 pounds of sacrificial butter. These men also have to provide the bovine cattle and sheep or goats that must be used as sacrificial victims; and should they be unable to deliver the number required, those wanting must be purchased at the cost of the Mukden Board of Revenues. This Board has also to provide salt, eggs and other things required for the sacrifices [4].

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[1] 榛子. [2] 枸杞子. [3] 山楂.

[4] *Op. cit.*, ch. 139, ll. 19 *seq.*

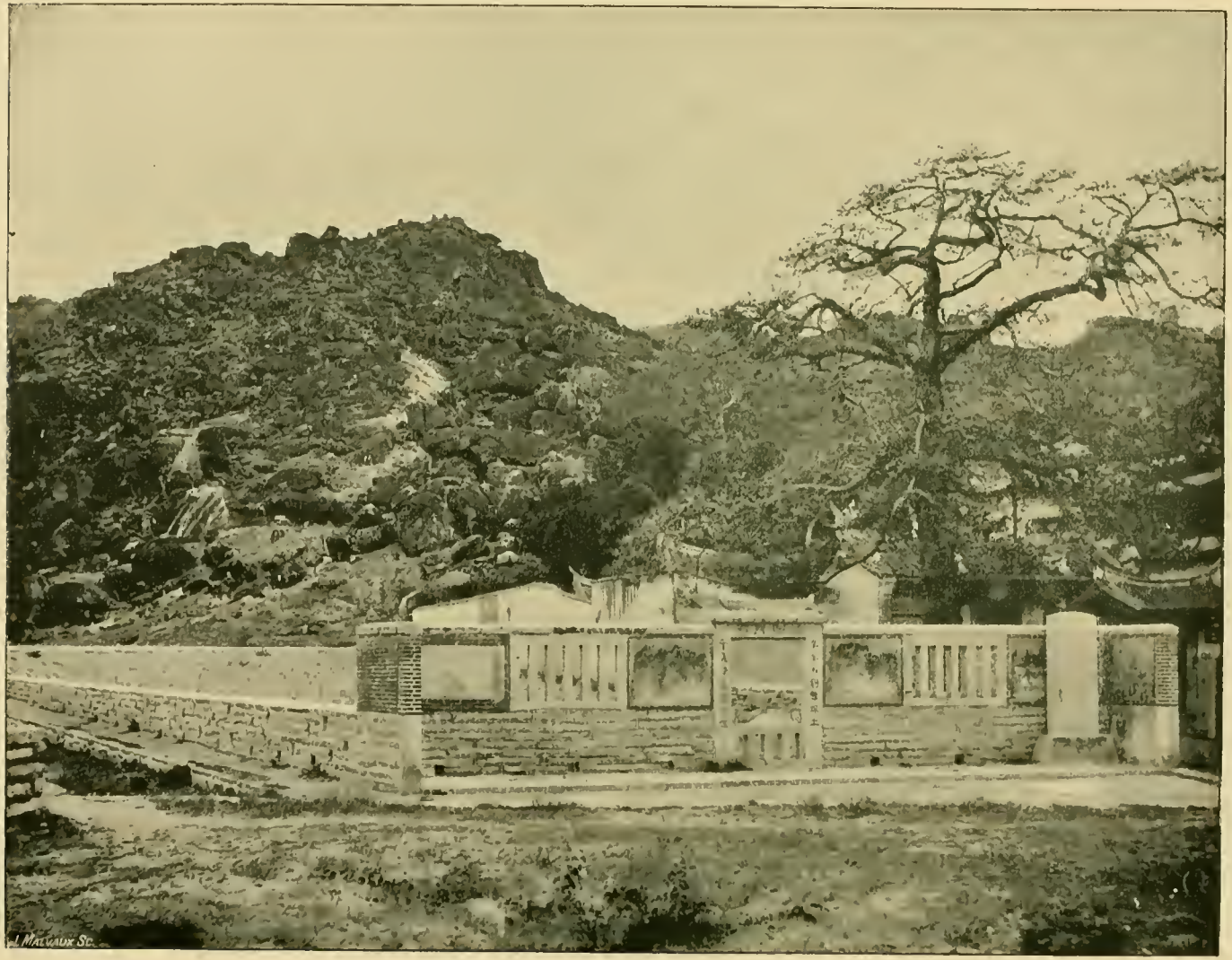
CHAPTER XV.

ON GRAVEYARDS AND FREE BURIAL-GROUNDS.

The inhabitants of the Chinese Empire are not bound by any institutions or laws to inter the dead in grounds specially set apart, by official or private care, for burial purposes. Every one of them is at liberty to place them in whatever soil he has acquired the ownership of, or the right of use (comp. pp. 1076 *sqq.*). As a consequence, graveyards in China bear quite another character than in most European countries. They are principally the family graves, to which we have devoted a special chapter elsewhere in this Volume (p. 829), most of which contain a restricted number of corpses; among them may also readily be ranked the mausolea of Princes of Imperial lineage, and even the vast cemeteries for Sons of Heaven.

Apart from such private graveyards, there exist cemeteries of a semi-public character in the vicinity of almost every village, namely, grounds in which, owing to their good Fung-shui, the villagers are laid down for eternal rest in separate graves (comp. p. 832). We may rank them likewise among the family graveyards inasmuch as village communities are generally composed of members of one clan, considering themselves to be descended from the same common ancestor. That burial-grounds of this kind existed already many centuries before the beginning of our era, is, as we have shown on page 830, explicitly stated by the *Cheu li*. Village cemeteries often cover a vast area, as almost every family maintains its graves for years and years, as long as it is hoped they will emit blessings; and even when the owners neglect them completely, they long remain untouched, everybody standing in awe of the souls that dwell therein, and of the severe laws for the protection of corpses and graves.

In mountainous parts, like Fuhkien and Kwangtung, village cemeteries seldom withdraw much useful ground from agricultural pursuits, they being generally located on barren, treeless mountain slopes, dried and scorched every summer by a tropical heat. Being parts of the communal landed property of the villagers,



Cemetery seen from the Outside.

they stand, like the village itself, under the control of its chiefs and elders. They generally afford resting-places for the dead in sufficient numbers, and it rarely occurs that well-to-do persons, wiser than the rest in Fung-shui matters and highly solicitous for their fortunes and those of their offspring, prefer to place their graves elsewhere.

Grounds studded with graves because their Fung-shui is considered to be of an excellent quality, are to be found near towns, cities and, in general, near every densely populated place. Such *t'iông soa*[n] [1] or »grave grounds", as they are called at Amoy and in the districts around, are public in the true sense of the word, it being allowed to every one, whatever family or clan he may belong to, to bury there his dead, provided he have acquired from the proprietors of the soil the ownership or usufruct of a plot. Many such grounds in the course of time become free burial-places used by the indigent alone. For when a ground becomes so crammed with graves as no more to afford room for making tombs of any good size, it is the natural course of things that only the poor, whose graves are of the plainest sort, will continue to make use of it; graves of the better kind suffering frequent violation by their hands, will disappear in course of time, or be removed elsewhere by their careful owners; the proprietors of the soil, standing powerless against numerous burials stealthily performed there by people who cannot afford to pay them anything, will renounce in the end their ownership, as yielding them no profit at all. And now, every poor man who has a corpse to bury merely searches out a few feet of ground between the countless tumuli, and there thrusts the coffin into the soil, only a few inches below the surface.

Every burial-ground in the vicinity of populous places may in this way become what the Chinese at Amoy appropriately call a *bān jín tui* [2], »accumulation of myriads". Being exclusively used for burial of the poor and the childless, such free cemeteries are devoid of any monumental graves. There is no room for trees to grow, not a handful of mould in the barren soil for a shrub to thrive. Even the sparse sods are regularly scorched away by the heat and the summer drought, or scraped for fuel by the poor. Many a *bān jín tui* looks like a snowy field, when the plastering craze of a grave-repairing society has been at work in it (comp. page 865). There is no fence or enclosure of any kind around

[1] 塚山. [2] 萬人堆.

such grounds; no control is exercised over them by the magistracy or the public, but it is the dead themselves who there protect the dead. Their souls, which hover about the spot, seldom allow any violation of the graves to pass unavenged, and on the other hand reward those who respect and protect their beloved resting-places.

Filial piety, in conjunction with the conviction that graves, if placed under the influences of a good Fung-shui, will create happiness, impels every son that has buried his parents in such mean burial-ground, to remove them to a worthier place as soon as his means allow him to defray the costs. But how to recognize the grave in a ground where coffins lie crammed like herrings in a barrel, and where thousands of tumuli, uniformly pargeted by benevolent men, are undistinguishable from each other? The answer is, that he must prick some blood out of his finger and drop it on the bones, they assuredly being those of his parents if it adheres to them, or if it is sucked up by the pores. The reliability of this strange assaying method, based, as it is, upon childish ideas about consanguinity, is firmly believed in, so firmly even that the Government itself officially recommends and prescribes its application in judicial affairs and at coroner's inquests. In the standard work on medical jurisprudence, entitled *Si yuen luh* (see page 137), which was written about the year 1247 by Sung Tsʿzĕ [1] and has been used in the tribunals ever since the 15th. century, we read:

» If the bones of a father or mother lie somewhere in a place » that belongs to others, and a son or daughter desires to identify » them, then let this child prick some blood from its body and » drop it on the bones. If they are those of the man or woman » who gave birth to it, the blood is absorbed; otherwise it is not » imbibed.

» (Note). I have heard of the existence of the following method » of mixing blood. Two persons prick their blood into the same » water, and if there exists between them such a relationship as » that of a mother and her son, or a father and his son, or a hus- » band and his wife, the two drops will immediately mix together; » if they do not mix, there exists no such relationship. — Should » the bones have been washed with salt water, the blood will not » be imbibed, even though indeed it has trickled out of a father

[1] 宋慈.

» and his son. This circumstance is sometimes turned to account » for the commission of felony, and therefore it is necessary to » be watchful against it.

» Should children have lived separated from their parents since » their youth, or brothers from their brothers, and wish to make » sure of their relationship, then, if they find it difficult to make » out whether a relationship exists in fact or only in appearance, » they must be ordered to prick blood from their bodies, and drop » it into the same vessel. If the relationship exists in reality, the » blood will coagulate into one mass; if not, there will be no curdling. » But when fresh blood comes into contact with salt or vinegar, » it coagulates under all circumstances, and hence it occurs that, » with the object of committing a felony or fraud, the vessel is » first rubbed in with salt or vinegar. Therefore the authorities » must always have the vessel washed and cleaned under their own » eyes before making an experiment with blood drops, or purposely » fetch a new vessel from a shop, whereby such tricks will be » entirely frustrated" [1].

That the Chinese place an implicit trust in such assaying of human bones by means of filial blood, will little astonish us if we take into account that the artifice was known in times long past, and practised with brilliant results by a long series of virtuous generations. We read, in fact, in the Histories of the fifth century of our era the following episode of the life of »Sun Fah-tsung, » a native of Wu-hing, also known by the name of Tsung-chi.

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[1] 父母骸骨在他處、子女欲相認、令以身上刺出血、滴骨上。親生者則血入骨、非則否.

聞有合血之法。兩人各刺血滴一水內、如係子母父子夫妻、其血卽合一、否則不相屬。骨經鹽水洗過、雖實爲父子滴血、亦不能入。此作奸之法、不可不豫防.

親子兄弟或自幼分離、欲相識認、難辨眞僞、令各刺出血、滴一器之內。眞則共凝爲一、否則不凝也。但生血見鹽醋則無不凝者、故有以鹽醋先擦器皿、作奸朦混。凡驗滴血時先將所用之器當面洗淨、或於店舖特取新器、則其奸自破矣. Chapter 1, l. 57.

» His father, together with one Sun Ngen, sank into the silt » on the sea-shore and thus lost his life. His remains were not » recovered. Fah-tsung's mother and elder brothers then died for » want of food, so that, young as he was, he had to take » to a wandering life, and could not go back to his native » place before he had reached his sixteenth year. Standing quite » alone in the world, he toiled hard, doing his work in the » frost and sleeping in the open field, until he was able to pur- » chase coffins and to make a grave, in which he buried his » mother and brothers in a plain manner, but with observance » of the prescribed rites. His father's body not having been recovered » from the water, he repaired to the sea-shore to seek it. Having » heard it was said by the people that, if a man drop his blood » on the bones of his nearest relations, it will entirely coagulate » or be absorbed, he carried a knife with him on his rambles » along the coast; and whenever he found any withered bones, » he cut into his flesh and moistened them with his blood. Con- » tinuing in this way for more than ten years, there was not » one hale spot on the skin of his legs and arms; his blood dried » up, and his pulses ceased to beat. Realizing in the end the im- » possibility of his finding the remains, he wore the mourning-garb » and the headband until the end of his days, always dwelling on » the grave" [1].

On another page of the Histories of the same epoch we read of an Imperial Prince trying a similar experiment to find out whose son he was. Tsung [2], King of Yü-chang [3], born of a secondary consort of Tung Hwun, who reigned at the beginning of the sixth century (comp. p. 714), was generally supposed to be a son of Wu

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[1] 孫法宗一名宗之、吳興人也。父隨孫恩入海溢被害。屍骸不收。母兄並餓死、法宗年小流迸、至十六方得還。單身勤苦、霜行草宿、營辦棺槨、造立冢墓、葬送母兄儉而有禮。以父屍不測、入海尋求。聞世間論是至親以血瀝骨、當悉凝浸、乃操刀沿海、見枯骸則刻肉灌血。如此十餘年、臂脛無完皮、血脉枯竭。終不能逢、遂衰絰終身、常居墓所. History of the South of the Realm, ch. 73, l. 10. See also the Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 91, l. 11.

[2] 綜. [3] 豫章王.

of the Liang dynasty, this monarch being well known to have lavished many of his favours upon that woman. »Having heard of » the popular belief that, if blood of a living person is absorbed by » the bones of a dead man upon which it is dropped, those persons » are a father and his son, the Prince furtively opened Tung Hwun's » grave, took a bone out of it, and put it to the proof by means of » some blood from his own arm. He also killed a lad, cut a bone » out of the corpse, and made a similar experiment with it; and » both the experiments proved the supposition to be true"[1].

Apart from the numerous free burial-grounds used by the poor, which originate in the way above-described, many are brought into existence by the initiative of mandarins. No doubt, every age has produced pious servants of the Crown who have manifested in such a delicate, praiseworthy manner their solicitude for the manes of the uncared-for dead. On page 917 we have shown that printed evidence exists of one Ts'ao Pao having done so already in the first century of the Christian era in behalf of numerous corpses that he found unburied in the district under his rule. Similar instances are chronicled in the books of subsequent ages. During the Sung dynasty, free cemeteries were, by order of the Throne, to be laid out in many parts of the Empire for the neglected bones of soldiers, for we read: »In the fourth year of the Shun yiu period (A. D. » 1244) the Emperor decreed, that the officers ruling in the two » Hwai regions, in King-hu and in Szĕ-ch'wen[2], should establish » free grounds for the burial of the remains of the soldiers who » had fought in battle during an unbroken series of years"[3]. And when the Ming dynasty swayed the Empire, the founding of free cemeteries was incumbent on the whole mandarinate, the first sovereign of this House »having decreed in the fifth year of his » reign, that wherever the poor might happen to have no grounds » at their disposal, the local officers should select a vast area to

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[1] 聞俗說以生者血瀝死者骨滲卽爲父子、綜乃私發齊東昏墓、出骨瀝臂血試之。并殺一男、取其骨試之、皆有驗. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 55, l. 2. History of the South of the Realm, ch. 53, l. 10.

[2] The great divisions or lu 路 of Central and South-west China under the Sung dynasty. The Chinese text has 京湖, which evidently must be 荊湖.

[3] 淳祐四年命兩淮京湖四川制司收葬頻年交兵遺骸立爲義塚. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 43, l. 1.

» make a free cemetery, and have them bury the dead therein" [1].

The majority of the free graveyards founded in former ages by the authorities, have probably owed their origin to their zeal to check cremation. Indeed, this wide-spread custom, looked down upon with great aversion and disgust by the Government, could hardly be combated with success unless good opportunity were afforded the poor of interring their dead at little expense. Some notes on this subject will be found in our dissertation on Cremation, which forms the final section of the next chapter.

The two quotations, just made from Chinese books, show that cemeteries laid out for gratuitous use were denoted in China, many centuries ago, by the term i ch'ung 義塚, the literal sense of which is: »cemeteries owing their existence to a sense of duty towards others", or »made by people possessed of this virtue". The meaning of the word ch'ung we have explained on page 442. In general, the character 義 enters into the composition of terms denoting things made with a benevolent purpose and for public utility, as, for example: 義廠, store-houses, such as are mentioned on page 922, where coffins are given gratuitously to the poor; 義學, free or public schools; 義井, wells for public use; 義倉, granaries erected on behalf of the people to provide in their wants in times of dearth; etc.

Still nowadays the term i ch'ung is in general use in China as an appellation for cemeteries founded by magistrates, and so it is in Amoy, in the language of which place it has the form of *gī t'iông*. On page 924 we have spoken of such burial-places laid out in that part of the Empire for the soldiers of the garrisons formerly occupying the island of Formosa, or for victims of epidemics and sundry other calamities that can no longer be traced. It admits of no reasonable doubt, that among the events which cause such cemeteries to arise all around in China, famine and inundations occupy the principal place, side by side with rebellions entailing the death of countless loyal warriors and peaceful people. At Amoy, no special custodians are, as a rule, appointed to administer and guard such grounds. Some stand there under the patronage of notables and gentry constituting committees

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[1] 洪武五年詔定若貧無地者、所在官司擇寬閒地爲義塚、俾之葬埋. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 22.

View of the Interior of a Cemetery.

of so-called *táng sū* (see page 922), who from time to time collect money among themselves and others for repairing the graves.

Most of these graveyards are not fenced in at all, but accessible on every side. Only a few of those well cared for are enclosed by a wall of granite blocks or of battered clay and earth, just high enough to keep out the cows and swine. The cemetery of which we have offered a picture to our readers in Plate LI, at page 1374, has a wall of solid masonry on the front side, raised on a strong basement of granite, and adorned with frescoes. Over its whole top this wall is covered with granite slabs; it has a gate in the middle, the sill, posts, lintel and roof of which are all granite monoliths, and with a low balustrade of the same material between the posts to keep the cattle out. On the lintel we read: »This happiness-producing ground is a place of resort of all alike" [1]; and the posts display the following distich, likewise carved in the stone:

» Halfway their lives even men of fame and wealth are gathered together in the grave-grounds;

» After a thousand years the wise and the unlearned shall all lie together in the same plot of ground" [2].

As geomancy forbids the encumbering of the prospect in front of graves (see p. 945), the wall has on either side of the gate a large square opening, with solid bars of stone. Two stone tablets, the one let into the masonry of the wall, and the other reared on a pedestal, commemorate the history of the cemetery, giving also the names of those who took the initiative in establishing it and contributed money for its maintenance. A broad ledge of granite extends along the whole fore-front, abutting at either end on a small wall which projects from the main wall at right angles.

On entering the enclosure, we behold many hundred low tumuli (see Plate LII), plastered all over with white or bluish mortar. They lie in long parallel rows which face the same side, namely that which was deemed felicitous in the year in which all those human remains were confined to the earth (comp. page 976). Each mound has a grave-stone in front. Many of these stones bear no inscription, the names of the individuals resting behind them having remained unknown to those who gave them a burial. The foremost rows

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[1] 福地同歸.

[2] 半生名利會埡土、千載賢愚共一坵.

consist of full-sized barrows, all perfectly alike, containing encoffined corpses of soldiers of the Formosan garrisons and of other people; in the rear the rows are formed by tumuli of diminutive size, containing bone-urns. Indeed, the charitable corporation which established the cemetery in concert with the magistrates, did so with the object of giving also a decent burial to the encoffined and urned skeletons, which stood forgotten in large numbers all about the town and its vicinity.

That the authorities are nowadays bound by the duties of their office everywhere in the Empire to further such benevolent work, and even to establish free burial-grounds by their own initiative, our readers have seen on page 922. In most cases, assuredly, they leave such matters to private enterprise, merely giving their high patronage, which costs them nothing. It is hardly necessary to add here, that cemeteries founded and maintained by public charity are seldom in a good condition. Hardly ever are they kept in constant, good repair, but, once finished, they are left untouched for many years, until their deterioration becomes such as to move charitable people to patch them up, out of compassion for those souls. A glimpse of a cemetery quite out of repair our readers may catch from Plate LIII. In its fore-ground stands a large sepulchre, in which a great number of bone-urns lie buried under one broad pargeted tumulus; it is constructed exactly like a private tomb, and ornamented with a shed, such as we have described on page 1087. The grave-stone bears the words »Great Dormitory"[1]; the lintel displays the inscription »Cloudy Dwelling of the Souls"[2], and the epigraph, carved on the posts, forms this distich:

»The generations of the past having no offspring,

»The living of the present make for them common habitations"[3]. Within the shed is a storey of wood, partly open in front, wherein the soul tablets of numerous forgotten dead lie mouldering to dust. A small altar dedicated to the God of the Soil stands beside the spot, a few paces off.

Such an urn-grave exists in many cemeteries. In some instances we saw on its grave-stone the inscription »All Souls' Resort"[4];

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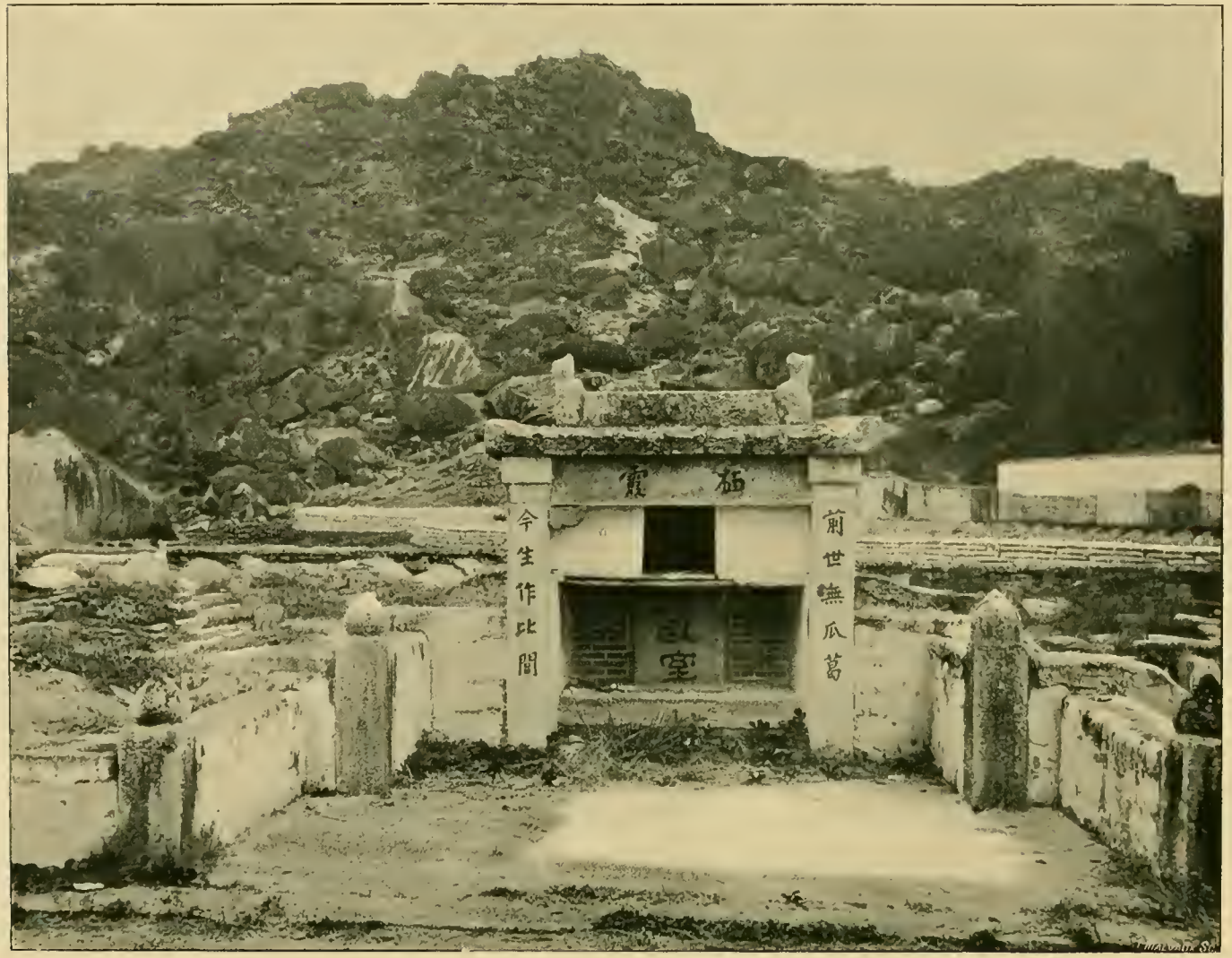
[1] 大臥室. [2] 神霞.

[3] 前世無瓜葛、今生作比鄰.

[4] 衆神歸.



Cemetery with a large Grave for Bone Urns.

in other cases that stone bore the name of the God of the Soil, and was placed between two other stones, the left displaying the words »Hall for men" [1], and the right one »Apartment for Women" [2]. Thus carefully had the living grouped the souls of the dead around their tutelary divinity, right under its protecting hand, properly attending at the same time to a sedate separation of their sexes; indeed, the Chinese are well aware that also in the World of Shades morality and fashion require the women to live in decent retirement in the secluded »apartments", and the stronger sex alone may move about in the »hall" of the house. By no means, of course, is this separation prosecuted so severely at every urn-grave, high feelings for the maintenance of sexual morality in the spirit-world not being cherished by all charitable corporations.

[1] 男堂. [2] 女室.

ADDITIONAL CHAPTER.

ON SOME EXCEPTIONAL WAYS OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD.

The last chapter has brought to a close our series of treatises on the Grave and the principal customs grouped around it. Sacrifices and other ceremonies performed at graves have not been enlarged on as yet, and that because they concern the soul, that dwells on the spot, rather than the material remains, a systematic treatment of those subjects consequently claiming a place in our Second Book, which is devoted to the soul and its worship.

But the title of the present Book promises a description of the Disposal of the Dead in general. Hence we are not justified in laying down our pen without giving some information about other ways, besides burial, in which lifeless human bodies were formerly disposed of in the Chinese Empire, or are still so at present, namely, throwing them away, or into the water, or burning them. After all that this Book has taught the reader as to the peculiar Chinese ideas of the necessity to keep corpses, coffins and graves in existence as long as possible, we need certainly not now repeat our remark, made on page 280, that such methods, entailing, as they do, a quick destruction of the corpse, have never assumed in the Empire the position of established customs. To the present day they are no better in the eyes of the Chinese than odious aberrations from the correct path which a long series of generations were so wise and generous to trace out distinctly for the maintenance of pure filial devotion.

1. On the Custom of Throwing Away the Dead.

It can hardly be called in question that in ancient Chinese days, when civilisation was still in its lowest stages, it was not unusual to throw away the dead. Mencius refers to this custom in his boisterous style, which contrasts so sharply with that of other ancient authors of his country. »In former generations", he says, »there

» were people who did not bury their parents, but, when their parents » died, took them up and carried them into some water-ditch. On the » next day, when passing by the spot, they saw jackals and wild cats » devouring them, and flies and gnats biting at them. The per- » spiration started out upon their fore-heads, and they turned away » their eyes, not to behold the sight. It was no ordinary human » perspiration, but a perspiration rising from their hearts up unto » their faces and eyes. Forthwith going home, they returned with » baskets and shovels, and covered the bodies. Verily, this was the » correct way; therefore, when filial sons and humane men inter » their parents, they assuredly act in the proper manner" [1].

This extract intimates, that the practice of throwing away the dead prevailed no more on any large scale when Mencius lived; else he would certainly have spoken in the present tense. His statement is corroborated by the *Cheu li*, for the reader has seen on page 914 some rescripts which that work contains for the guidance of certain officers charged with the clearing away of unburied human remains and the maintenance of ordinances as to how to deal therewith. That there was then much work for those officers to do, may be inferred from the fact, likewise recorded in the *Cheu li*, that » four common officers of inferior rank were attached to them, and » forty servants" [2]. The statement of the *Li ki* and of Kwan Chung that dry bones and rotten remains ought to be cleared away and buried in the vernal season (see page 919), also points to many corpses being thrown away in old pre-Christian days. In connection herewith it becomes interesting to read in the *Tso ch'wen*, that in the year 528 before our era the Ruler Ling of the kingdom of Ch'u, of whom we have spoken on page 725, on hearing of the assassination of his sons, asked in despair whether there were parents loving their sons as much as he loved his, and was answered by one of the bystanders: » They love them more, for the common people

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[1] 蓋上世嘗有不葬其親者、其親死、則舉而委之於壑。他日過之、狐狸食之、蠅蚋姑嘬之。其顙有泚、睨而不視。夫泚也非爲人泚、中心達於面目。蓋歸反蘧槤而掩之。掩之誠是也、則孝子仁人之掩其親亦必有道矣. The works of Mencius, section 滕文公, I.

[2] 下士四人、徒四十人. Chapter 34, l. 16.

» know that when they are old, if they have no son, they shall » be cast into water-ditches" [1].

That many corpses were thrown away in China in every age, especially in times of great mortality, can be easily proved from its historical books. We read *e. g.* in the biography of the virtuous mandarin Ku Hien-chi of the fifth century, whose praiseworthy measures in behalf of the dead in Heng-yang we spoke of on page 1070: »That country had for many years been scourged » by epidemics victimizing the greater half of the people, in con- » sequence of which coffins were still so high in price, that the » dead were all merely wrapped in rush mats, and cast away along » the roadside. On his alighting from his carriage, Hien-chi charged » the district magistrates placed under his orders, to search for the » relations of those dead people and to order them to bury the » same; and for the dead whose families had died out, he spent his own » official income, ordering measures to be taken for their protection" [2]. And the »Supplement to the History of the Empire of the T'ang Dynasty" [3], a collection of miscellanies by the hand of Li Chao [4], chiefly referring to the eighth century and a part of the ninth, relates: »In the first year of the Ta lih period (A. D. 766) » a terrible epidemic prevailed in Kwan-tung (in Honan province), » and its victims became as abundant as hemp. Ching Sun, a » native of Yung-yang, then placed himself at the head of some » persons of influence, and they made one large tomb in every » village for the burial of the corpses that were thrown away. He thus » became known as the Gentlemen of the Burial in the Villages, » and earned a reputation as a humane and public-spirited man" [5].

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[1] 甚焉、小人老而無子知擠於溝壑矣. The thirteenth year of the Ruler Chao's reign.

[2] 先是郡境連歲疾疫死者大半、棺木尤貴、悉裹以葦席棄之路傍。憲之下車、分告屬縣求其親黨、悉令殯葬、其家人絕滅者憲之爲出公祿、使綱紀營護之. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 52, l. 2. See also the History of the South, ch. 35, l. 15.

[3] 唐國史補. [4] 李肇.

[5] 大曆初關東大疫死者如麻。滎陽人鄭損率有力者、每鄉大爲一墓以葬棄尸。謂之鄉葬翁、然有仁義之聲. *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 82, l. 162.

It is superfluous to add any more instances to the above, as we have formerly (pp. 917—921) placed before the reader quite a series of extracts recounting of Emperors and grandees, who took active measures for the burial of corpses which the living lacked means or solicitude to commit to the earth.

Not at all, however, do those instances justify the inference, that throwing away the dead, except in the most ancient times of which Mencius speaks, has ever been practised anywhere in China as an established system. In the main they teach us that it prevailed merely occasionally, especially in times of epidemic, famine, rebellion and other calamities, which, decimating the people, overburdened the survivors with burials. Further we learn from many instances, that it has always been a common thing to throw away corpses of strangers and childless people, or, at any rate, to put them down somewhere unburied, which is tantamount to throwing away. That even nowadays the remains of strangers are generally placed in coffins of the cheapest sort and then deposited in hills or fields, is what the reader has seen already on page 139; — beggars and other poor people having no offspring to care for them, are often dealt with in the same way, and so are lepers, about whom we shall have a few words more to say on page 1390.

A really systematic throwing away only prevails in regard of corpses of infants. Countless are the babes that, closed in urns or wooden boxes, are abandoned in the open country and so given a prey to ravens, dogs and swine, or to quick dissolution under the operation of weather and vermin. We need hardly repeat here that this state of matters is to a certain extent the result of the Fung-shui theories, inasmuch as the bones of infants are not sufficiently solid to serve the living as durable fetiches able to yield profit and felicity by the mediation of the graves in which they lie (comp. page 1075). In many parts of the Empire we saw filled infant boxes in profusion along city-walls, the lid fixed on by means of frail willow withes or hempen strings. In the chief city of the department of Ts'üen-cheu some large square projectures from the city-walls are generally used by the people as receptacles to throw their dead children into. These curious brick structures, if seen from the outside of the walls, look like salient crenellated bastions, but in reality they are square chambers, quite open at the top, which, having no apertures whatever in the four sides, are only accessible from above by means of ladders. In

those chambers we saw the bottom thickly covered with putrescent remains and rags of clothes and matting they had been wrapped in, as also with the skeletons of some dogs that, allured by the smell, had climbed down along the dilapidated walls and, unable to get out, died of thirst.

Throwing away the corpses of infants probably prevails in the northern parts of the Empire on a more extensive scale than in the southern, where the mountainous condition of the soil almost everywhere affords waste ground in abundance to bury them in. Hence, special shelters built by benevolent people for the use of parents to throw their dead children in, are, relatively speaking, scarce in the South. Under the name of »baby-towers" such structures have often been mentioned by European authors. They are of stone blocks or of brick, and measure some five metres in diameter; their shape is either round, polygonal or square, and they form a single compartment with a tiled roof. Corpses are to be dropped in through a window-like aperture, from which the winds, birds and bats are warded off by a square wooden shutter, turning in hinges fixed in the lintel. Any one who wishes to throw in a corpse, has first to push the shutter back, which thereupon of itself resumes the perpendicular position. Some baby-towers have two such apertures, placed opposite each other, the one on the left or principal side for receiving the infants of the male sex, and the other for the female bodies. To prevent mistakes, the left shutter is often marked with the inscription »male infants" [1], and the other with »female babies" [2]. Thus lascivious intercourse among the little souls within the tower is virtuously suppressed, and morality furthered in the World of Death. Baby-towers have no doors, never being entered by living man, and because doors might enable voracious swine, dogs and rats to intrude.

To inform the people that such charnel houses are destined to rid them of their dead infants, they sometimes display on a slab of stone, fixed in the frontside, an inscription, reading: »Pagoda or Tower for hoarding up bones" [3], or »Place of resort for infants" [4], etc. Not seldom another slab is inserted in the wall, or reared close by on a pedestal, to exhibit the names of the virtuous men who, out of compassion with the countless infant

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[1] 男兒. [2] 女兒.
[3] 積骨塔. [4] 孩兒歸所.

souls doomed to suffering because of their bodies being mercilessly abandoned by their parents to decomposition in the open air, defrayed the expenses connected with the erection of the building. Both to those men and to the babies that stone is of the greatest utility, enabling the latter, as it does, whenever a fit of retributive gratitude seizes them, to see at a glance whom in the first place they have to make rich, healthy and happy, and to bless with children.

It is self-evident that in many parts of China where female infanticide is frequent, baby-towers are not only the depositories of victims of this vice, but also occasionally receive living infants. But that, as some foreign authors have pretended in their works, any such buildings should owe their existence to the special purpose of ridding parents of their living progeny, must be rejected as a fable.

2. Water Burial.

If the passages quoted on page 1385 from the works of Mencius and from the *Tso ch'wen*, are to be taken in their literal sense, it would follow that it was far from unusual for the living in ancient China to rid themselves of the dead by throwing them into ditches and canals. But, certainly, it would be preposterous to admit on the authority of those passages, that water-burial was then practised methodically, as those ditches and canals may be mere metaphors, emphasizing the disgust and horror which the throwing away of the dead then raised in sensitive filial hearts.

As far as we know, there is nothing in the Chinese books to justify the supposition, that throwing the dead into the water has ever been considered as anything else but a crime. The reigning dynasty severely forbids it in its Code of Laws, decreeing therein, in an article which we have quoted on page 871, that any one who renders himself guilty of it shall be punished in the same way as those who mutilate a corpse, be he, or be he not, a kinsman of the dead person thus abused. This article was copied to the very letter from the Code of the Ming dynasty [1], as well as every fundamental article in the Law of Burial. Both Houses even proscribed the throwing of defunct relations into the water in the case of the latter themselves having ordained to be so

1 See the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 130, l. 11.

treated after their death, as an article in the two Codices runs thus: »Whoever, in obedience to the testamentary behests of a »relation higher than himself in the family hierarchy, destroys the »corpse of that relation by fire, or throws it into the water, shall »receive one hundred blows with the long stick. And if such a »corpse be that of an inferior relation of the perpetrator, the »above punishment shall be abated two degrees" [1].

Nowadays, the Chinese people generally entertains a strong aversion to water-burial. This may be illustrated a little by the following incident, which occurred in 1888 under the eyes of a friend of ours, on board a steamer cleared out at Swatow for the Deli tobacco-districts. Two emigrant workmen having died of cholera, arrangements were forthwith made to put their corpses overboard; but all the passengers rose as one man to prevent it. After much clamorous discussion they gave in to the arguments of the tropical heat and the dangers of contagion, stipulating, however, that the corpses should be floated away in a wooden water-tank that stood on the deck. The whole passenger-hold was then ransacked for paper mock money, so useful in the World of Shades; but nothing being discovered, the comrades of the dead men placed real coppers in the tank, together with a letter entreating whosoever might find the corpses to generously give them a decent burial on shore. In that very same year, the magistrates of Amoy, with whom the author of these lines had to communicate about the export of labourers to Deli, implicitly insisted with patriarchal care upon every passenger steamer carrying a good number of air-tight coffins, fit to preserve for the harbour of destination those who might die at sea, thus sparing them a horrid »burial in the bellies of the fish" [2].

According to the Amoy islanders themselves, they are in the habit of throwing the corpses of lepers into the sea, or they place them, in coffins, on the seashore or in the open country, it being feared that, if buried, they will convey the dreaded disease to their descendants. It is, indeed, quite logical that a people, among whom the conviction prevails that graves yield

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[1] 其從尊長遺言將屍燒化、及棄置水中者、杖一百。卑幼並減二等. *Op. cit.*, ch. 129, l. 9; and the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, ch. 17, § 喪葬.

[2] 魚腹葬.

felicity to the descendants of the occupant if felicitous influences settle therein, should also believe that graves containing incurable diseases must necessarily infect the offspring. It is not uninteresting to see from the story reproduced on pp. 297 *seq.*, that the throwing of lepers into the water already had its advocates in the fourth century of our era.

For many centuries, water-burial prevailed on a large scale in China in connection with cremation, inasmuch as osseous remains, gleaned from the ashes of funeral pyres, were often cast into water-streams, or placed in water-pits dug for the purpose. Some particulars about the custom in this peculiar form our readers will find in the next following pages.

3. Cremation.

The quick destruction of human corpses having, since very ancient times, been odious to the Chinese as imperiling the happiness and safety of the living, while their preservation in the ground was always esteemed by them as the highest duty prescribed by filial piety, it must appear a strange thing, that that very same people has for many centuries much practised cremation. Buddhism having imported it into their country as an auxiliary expedient to sublimate the departed into a better condition, or even into the highest state of bliss and perfection, cremation was in the first place largely practised with the Buddhist monkhood, from which it passed over to the laity, assuming for a long time considerable proportions. But in a subsequent period of general abatement of the influence of the Church cremation fell a prey to the general odium, so that at the present day it hardly occurs anywhere, except within the pales of Buddhist monastic life.

Being of religious origin, cremation is mostly denoted in China by clerical terms, expressive of the metamorphosis the funeral pyre is intended to effect, viz. 化人, »transformation of man"; 化身, »transformation of the body"; 火化, »metamorphosis by fire". Without the clerical sphere it bears no such high-sounding names, being simply called 燒尸 or 焚尸, »incineration of corpses". A term of illogical composition, and nevertheless very common in the books, is 火葬, »fire-burial".

There is nothing in the ancient literature of China to entitle us to admit that cremation was a common thing there in pre-Christian times. A treatise which passes for a product of the hand of a

certain Philosopher Lieh (see page 680), makes mention of its having been practised in a country named I-khü, which Chinese authors are wont to place in the north-eastern part of the present province of Kansuh, somewhere in or about the department of Khing-yang [1]. »Westward from Ts'in", that work relates, »lies »the State of I-khü, where people collect wood on the death of »every near relation and pile it up in order to burn the corpse. »When the fire is blazing and the smoke whirls up, they say »that the defunct ascends to distant regions; and they are not »deemed to be filial sons until they have done such things" [2]. This passage does by no means negative our premise that cremation is an exotic importation, the province of Kansuh forming no part of the Empire proper in those early days, and its inhabitants then being classed by the Chinese among certain barbarian tribes comprised under the generic name of Jung [3]. Still in the third century of our era cremation appeared so strange and horrid a thing to the Chinese proper, that an author of that time, in a book he published under the title of *Poh wuh chi* (see page 422), inserted the above passage among a series of what he called »Strange Customs" [4], adding this remark: »In the Middle Kingdom that practice has never been condemned with sufficient emphasis" [5].

That the incineration of the dead was extremely revolting to all feelings in ancient China, is intimated by the following episode, related by the *Tso ch'iwen* in its record of events for the year 504 before our era: »The army of Wu having defeated that of Ch'u at »Yung-sheh, was itself routed by the forces of Ts'in, and retreated »into Kiün. Tszĕ-khi proposed to burn that place, but Tszĕ-si »said: 'And the bones of our fathers and elder brothers, which »lie there exposed? We have not been able to collect them, so »that they will be destroyed by the fire at the same time; we »may not do it!'. Upon which Tszĕ-khi retorted: 'Our kingdom is »in danger of perishing; if the dead have consciousness, they will »enjoy the old sacrifices even after being devoured by the flames;

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[1] 慶陽.

[2] 秦之西有儀渠之國者、其親戚死聚柴積而焚之。燻則煙上、謂之登遐、然後成爲孝子. Ch. V. On page 680 the reader has seen that this passage occurs also in the works of Mih-tszĕ.

[3] 戎. [4] 異俗.

[5] 中國未足爲非也.

» why then should we shrink from burning them?' So they did » set the city on fire and fought another battle, in which the » army of Wu was worsted" [1].

From the commencement of the Christian era, Buddhism in China had a period of rapid growth, gradually working itself up to a glorious position; and yet we find in Chinese books for nearly a thousand years very little which refers to cremation. That it prevailed in the fourth century in the northern parts which correspond with the present provinces of Shantung, Shansi and Peh-chihli, and that on no small scale, we may learn from the fact that Shih Lih, the warlike founder of the State of Chao, spoken of on page 612, » issued a written order, forbidding the people » of his realm being disallowed to marry while in mourning, and » ordaining that in point of cremation and burial they should be » made to follow their established customs" [2]. And that cremation also was in vogue four centuries later, follows from the circumstance that it is mentioned by Tu Yiu, the author of the *T'ung tien*, who lived between A. D. 735 and 812. »In ancient times", he wrote, » the dead were conveyed to the open country and covered » there with firewood, and the osseous remains were thus committed » to the earth (comp. page 281). Therefore, when we act in the » same way, we follow the customs of antiquity and do not offend » against the rules of propriety. On account of the laws against » it, cremation is no longer practised nowadays" [3].

On the downfall of the T'ang dynasty cremation was apparently deeply rooted in the customs of the nation, for even the highest in the Empire then practised it. We read, indeed, that when

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[1] 吳師敗楚師于雍澨、秦師又敗吳師、吳師居麇。子期將焚之、子西曰、父兄親暴骨焉、不能收、又焚之、不可。子期曰、國亡矣、死者若有知也可以歆舊祀、豈憚焚之。焚之而又戰、吳師敗. The fifth year of the reign of the Ruler Ting. See also the Annals of Wu and Yueh, ch. 2.

[2] 下書禁國人不聽在喪婚娶、其燒葬令如本俗. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 105, l. 2.

[3] 古者送死於中野、衣之以薪、而葬其骨。然則此亦古俗也、未爲害義。今則以法律之不復火化矣. *T'ung chi*, quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l. 3.

Ch'uh [1], the last Emperor of the short-lived House of Tsin, had been dethroned in 946 by the Ki-tan Tatars and thereupon banished to Kien-cheu, he was categorically ordered by his own mother Ngan, and by the chief consort of his paternal uncle Kao Tsu [2], his predecessor on the Throne, to cremate them after their death. »The Concubine-Dowager Ngan", thus the Standard Histories of that time relate, »accompanied Ch'uh on his journey to the North »from Liao-yang to Kien-cheu, and died on the road. When her »death was imminent, she said to the Emperor: 'You must burn »me to ashes and strew them in the wind towards the South, in »order that my disembodied soul may be enabled to go back to the »Middle Kingdom'. At her death, neither brambles nor any trees »were to be found in the stony country. They therefore demolished »a servant's travelling-car to use it for cremating her, and took »the scorched bones with them to Kien-cheu. Then the Empress-»Dowager Li also died, and they buried the remains of both women »simultaneously" [3]. About this Empress, Kao Tsu's consort, we read, that in A. D. 950 »her disease took a bad turn, and that she »said to the Emperor: 'When I am dead, you must burn my remains »and send the ashes to the Buddhist Fan-yang monastery, »lest you cause me to become a spectre in this land of slaves'. »Thereupon she died; the Emperor, with the Dames of the Palace, »the officers of the deceased, and the eastern and western servants »all loosened their hair and, bare-footed, carried the coffin to the »grounds allotted them for their sustenance. There they cremated »the remains, subsequently committing them to the earth" [4].

After having been left well-nigh uncensured by Chinese authors

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[1] 出. [2] 高祖.

[3] 安太妃從出帝北遷自遼陽徙建州、卒於道中。臨卒謂帝曰、當焚我爲灰、南向颺之、庶幾遺魂得反中國也。既卒砂磧中無草木。乃毀奚車而焚之、載其燼骨、至建州。李太后亦卒、遂并葬之. History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 17, l. 5. Old History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 86, l. 2.

[4] 疾亟、謂帝曰、我死焚其骨、送范陽佛寺、無使我爲虜地鬼也。遂卒、帝與皇后宮人宦者東西班皆被髮徒跣扶舁其柩至赐地。焚其骨、穿地而葬焉. The same works, *loc. cit.*

for a long series of centuries, cremation suddenly begins to greatly move their minds and writing-brushes under the Sung dynasty. The reign of that House was marked by a vigorous revival of the Confucian School, giving birth to numerous literati who, full of contempt for all customs and manners not practised by the ancients, turned their choler against exotic Buddhism, fulminating especially against cremation and decrying it as the height of cruelty towards the dead, the most execrable of all sins against filial devotion. Though not succeeding in putting down cremation, those scripturists undermined it thoroughly, even so that at the present day it has become hardly more than a shadow of what it was during the Sung dynasty.

We cannot, of course, follow all those scholars in their crusades against the custom they sought to subvert. Were we to do so, we should have to indulge in much superfluous work, as each of them simply reiterates the arguments of every other. We shall only refer to such of their writings as shed some light upon the views held by their class on the matter in question, and which may show how great at the time the development of cremation was. Let it be stated beforehand, that cremation was far from being favoured by the Imperial House of Sung, as we read that its founder »in the third year of the Kien lung period (A. D. » 962) issued an edict, in which he decreed: 'Cremation, uni- » versally practised during recent generations, is a great offence » against the Ritual Rescripts, and ought from this moment to » be forbidden'" [1].

Foremost among the enemies of cremation stands Szĕ-ma Kwang. » Among the people of this age", thus he wrote, »it occurs that » when itinerant officers die in a distant region, their sons and » grandsons burn the encoffined corpses and collect the remnants, » to send them back home for burial. Considering that it is on » account of their affection for the remains of their parents that » filial sons dress and bury the same, and that the laws are very » severe against those who mangle or destroy corpses of persons that » are not even their relations, how severely then should the same » laws act against sons and grandsons who commit so shocking a

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[1] 建隆三年詔曰、近代以來率多火葬、甚愆典禮、自今宜禁之. *Tung-tu shi lioh* 東都事略, »Record of Matters relating to Tung-tu", the present Ho-nan-fu 河南府 in Honan province; quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l. 2.

» deed! Cremation has originally come forth from the barbarian » tribes in the West, but by practising it a long time we have » become so familiar with it, that those who witness it do not » feel shocked, which no more astonishes anybody at all. Is not » this state of things very saddening? When Ki-tszĕ of Yen-ling » travelled to Tsʿi and lost his son there, he buried him between » Ying and Poh, and Confucius declared that thus he acted in con- » formity with the ritual rescripts [1]. This fact proves that, if the means » fail to send the dead home, we are fully allowed to bury them on » the spot; and is not it better to do so than to burn them?" [2].

Chʿing I-chʿwen, Szĕ-ma Kwang's learned contemporary whose acquaintance our readers have made on p. 715, likewise sided with the antagonists of cremation. We read in the Complete Writings of himself and his elder brother Hao [3], who is generally called Ming-tao [4]: » It was a law of the ancients that only the corpses of men who had » committed the greatest of crimes should be given to the flames; » and nevertheless, cremation, the worst of customs of our modern » times, has assumed the position of a formal rite, a rite which » even filial sons and affectionate grandsons do not consider as » heterodox. But there is more: — the Imperial Family has overtly » enacted a series of rescripts which, starting from the principle that » cremation is no forbidden thing, prescribe, for instance, that in » respect of warriors in distant garrison stations, it is allowed to » perform cremation and send the bony remains home, as also » that it is permitted to burn human bodies without three miles » of the Imperial Altars in the suburbs. We have, however, here » merely to do with extraordinary rescripts in point of cremation, » rescripts existing on account of the fact that no objections are

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1 This is a reference to the episode mentioned by us on page 663.

2 世人又有遊宦沒于遠方、子孫火焚其柩收燼歸葬者。夫孝子愛親之肌體故斂而葬之、殘毀他人之尸在律猶嚴、况子孫乃悖謬如此。其始蓋出於羌俗、行之既久習以爲常、見者恬然、曾莫之怪。豈不哀哉。延陵季子適齊其子死、葬于嬴博之間、孔子以爲合禮。必也不能歸葬、葬於所在可也、豈不猶愈于焚之哉. *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l 3. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, ch. 63.

3 皓. 4 明道.

» raised against the practice because the nation has quite familiarized » itself with it. Should some madman or drunkard wantonly cast a » slight insult at the coffin of his deceased forefather, the matter » would be readily looked upon with the deepest hatred and un- » bounded animosity. But if nearest relations trail each other into » a fire, no aversion at all is felt. Is not this a deplorable state » of things?" [1].

An interesting notice on cremation, showing its intimate connection with the Buddhist religion, we owe to one Cheu Hwui [2], an author of the twelfth century, who lived in Hang-cheu, the then Imperial residence, now the capital of the province of Chehkiang. »In the villages on the right tributaries of the Cheh (one » of the chief rivers in Chehkiang, giving its name to this pro- » vince), it is customary, when anybody dies, even though he » be a person of wealth and influence, not to prepare the » smallest piece of ground for him as a resting-place. People there » go so far as to burn the dead. If some Buddhist monastery » wishes to make money, the inmates slightly excavate a few » feet of ground, and in the little water that stands in those pits » they throw withered bones, carelessly mixing up those of the two » sexes. No sooner are they so full that nothing more can be put » in, than the bones are taken out under the cover of night, and » by full baskets strewed about the open fields. The relations do » not perceive it, and regularly continue on the annual festivals to » place offerings of embaled articles at the borders of those tanks.

» This state of things, bitterly saddening though in fact it » is, has hitherto not been stopped by the Authorities. When Fan » Chung-süen governed the country of T'ai-yuen (in the west of

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[1] 古人之法必犯大惡則焚其尸、今風俗之弊遂以爲禮、雖孝子慈孫亦不以爲異。更是公家明立條貫、元不爲禁、如言軍人出戍許令燒焚將骨殖歸、又言郊壇須三里外方得燒人。則是別有焚尸之法、此事只是習慣便不以爲事。今有狂夫醉人妄以其先人棺槨一彈、則便以爲深讎巨怨。及親拽其親而納之火中則略不以爲怪。可不哀哉. '*Rh Ch'ing ts'üen shu*, 二程全書, quoted in the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l. 3.

[2] 周煇.

» Shansi), the grounds in Ho-tung were so scarce that, to spare » them for other purposes, the people did not inter their parents. » He therefore had all the unowned cremated remains collected » by his subalterns for burial, using separate pits for the bones » of either sex. And all around in the country under his juris- » diction he posted up proclamations ordering his example to be » followed; in consequence of which not less than ten thousand » people received a burial [1]. Besides, he himself composed a » treatise of several hundred characters, with the earnest purpose » to break down the custom in question and to regulate and » modify such wretched habits. It was then the sixth year of the » Yuen yiu period (A. D. 1091). In the Shun hi period » (1174—1190) a Resolution was taken by the Authorities, to » the effect that unowned encoffined bodies that had been pre- » served in Buddhist religious edifices for many years, should be » buried by the mandarins. But this Resolution was never seriously » enforced, so that encoffined bodies are at present kept in such » places as openly as before" [2].

It appears that, in spite of the energetic opposition carried on

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1 This statement is recorded in the Standard History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 314, l. 23. The real name of this virtuous office-bearer was Shun-jen 純仁. Chung-süen is an honorary name conferred on him on his death by the Emperor.

2 浙右水鄉風俗人死、雖富有力者、不辨蕞爾之土以安厝。亦致焚。如僧寺利有所得、鑿方尺之池、積涔蹄之水以浸枯骨、男女骸骼淆雜無辨。旋即填塞不能容、深夜乃取出、奮貯散棄荒野外。人家不悟、逢節序仍裹飯設奠於池邊.

寔爲酸楚而官府初無禁約也。范忠宣公帥太原、河東地狹、民惜地不葬其親。公俾僚屬收無主燼骨、別男女異穴以葬。又檄諸郡倣此、不下數萬計。仍自作記凡數百言、曲折致意規變薄俗。時元祐六年也。淳熙間臣僚亦嘗建議柩寄僧寺歲久無主者官爲掩葬。行之不力、今柩寄僧寺者固自若也. *Ts'ing-p'o tsah chi* 清波雜志, »Miscellaneous Memoirs of the Limpid Waves", that is to say, of the gate of the Limpid Waves at Hang-cheu, near which the author spent his life; ch. 12. — Our readers will remember (see p. 128) that still at present many encoffined corpses are preserved in Buddhist temples.

against it in the eleventh century, cremation continued to thrive as a healthy growing plant, for we read of new campaigns opened against it in the century that followed. This time, as before, it was the Confucianist mandarinate that headed the aggressive party, a mandarinate burning with zeal for the restoration of morals to their most ancient purity. It seems that, on the other hand, hardly any man able to handle a writing-brush ever set himself up as a defender of cremation, for no publication in favour of it have we ever seen.

It is especially the precious Standard History of the Sung dynasty that gives us reliable information about this anti-cremation crusade in the twelfth century. It relates, for instance, »that in »the 27th. year of the Shao hing period (1157) one Fan T'ung, »Superintendant of the Collation and Registration Office, memo»rialized as follows: — 'Nowadays there exists among the people »a class, known as the cremators. As long as their parents live, these »men entertain anxious cares that their means to provide them »with the necessities of life might prove insufficient; but on their »death they burn them and throw away the remains. How is it »that they treat them generously only while they live, and so care»lessly after their death! In the worst cases, the remains are thrown »into the water after the cremation. The feelings of those who are »acquainted with those things are shocked at the sight.

»The reigning dynasty has ordained that the poor who have no »grounds to bury their dead in, shall be allowed to do so in land »reserved for the Government. In Ho-tung the burial-grounds are »scarce (see page 1398), and the population there is so dense that »all the dead are burned or thrown away, even by the nearest »relations. When Han Khi ruled the country of P'ing-cheu, he »drew money from the official treasury to purchase several khing »of land, which he ceded to the people to bury their dead in; »and down to the present day he is praised for it[1]. Indeed, it is »a duty incumbent on the officers entrusted with administrative »power, to bring about, each one in his turn, a universal im»provement in the morals and customs, and to prevent the people »from deviating from the Ritual Rescripts.

»The gruesome custom of burning the dead is at present spreading »with a violence which daily increases. Bearing, as it does, on the

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1 He lived from A. D. 1008—1075. A biography of him is given in the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 312.

» civilisation of manners and customs, it is reasonable to forbid » it, and at the same time to order the officers of the Govern- » ment to appoint waste land, in order that the poor may get » grounds to bury their dead in. Such measures will contribute a » little to the improvement of manners and customs'. — This » proposal was approved.

» And in the 28th. year of the same period, Yung I, Minister » of the Revenue Department, made the following proposal: 'The » servants of the Crown have unanimously requested that cremation » may be forbidden and orders issued to the provincial districts » to appoint waste land, and to enable the poor to bury therein » their dead. Verily, such official measures would be wise and » good. I have heard that the people of Wu and Yueh (Kiangsu » and Chehkiang) are in the habit of making great outlays for the » interment of the dead, not performing it before they have hoarded » up wealth for that purpose, and that on the other hand people » of small means there indulge in indifference and carelessness with » regard to the disposal of the deceased. The consequence is, that » cremation has hitherto generally been considered in those parts as » the most convenient way, and practised to such an extent, that now » it has grown into a regular custom. It will therefore be difficult » to forcibly abolish it; and this renders it but the more urgent to » enlarge the grounds, used for burial, in the departments and » districts where peace has long prevailed and the population, in » consequence, has regularly increased. In the vicinity of city-walls » it will not be easy for the magistrates to find land fit for the » purpose, and it is to be feared that nobody's mind will acquiesce » in a prohibition of cremation ere such grounds have been singled » out, and there thus be places enough to commit the dead to » the earth. I therefore beg to request that — apart from the » notable, the wealthy and the gentry, to whom cremation must » be strictly forbidden — the poor lower classes, travelling strangers » and people from distant parts shall be allowed to dispose of » their dead in any way they prefer, but that, when waste grounds » shall afterwards have been set aside, further Imperial decisions » shall be taken. The Emperor hereupon decreed that measures » should be taken in conformity with this advice, and ordained » that grounds should be reserved for the purpose in question in the » several parts of the Empire, in accordance with former decrees"[1].

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[1] 紹興二十七年監登聞鼓院范同言、今民俗

In spite of the numerous burial-grounds, laid out throughout the Empire in obedience to such orders from the Throne, cremation continued to flourish luxuriantly, even attaining so high a development, that still a hundred years later another statesman saw himself obliged to fulminate against it in a language harsher than any used before. He bore the name of Hwang Chin [1] and was Chief Magistrate of the district of Wu [2], which embraces the environs of Su-cheu-fu, the present capital of Kiangsu province. In an official

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有所謂火化者。生則奉養之具唯恐不至、死則燔爇而棄捐之。何獨厚於生而薄於死乎。甚者焚而置之水中。識者見之動心。

國朝著令貧無葬地者許以係官之地安葬。河東地狹人衆、雖至親之喪悉皆焚棄。韓琦鎮并州、以官錢市田數頃、給民安葬、至今爲美談。然則承流宣化、使民不畔於禮法、正守臣之職也。

方今火葬之慘日益熾甚。事關風化、理宜禁止、仍飭守臣措置荒閒之地、使貧民得以収葬。少裨風化之美。從之。

二十八年戶部侍郎榮嶷言、比因臣僚陳請禁火葬、令州郡置荒閒之地、使貧民得以収葬。誠爲善政。臣聞吳越之俗葬送費廣、必積累而後辦、至於貧下之家送終之具惟務從簡。是以從來率以火化爲便、相習成風。勢難遽革、况州縣休息之久、生聚日繁、所用之地必須寬廣。乃附郭近便處官司以艱得之、故有未行標撥者既葬埋未有處所而行火化之禁、恐非人情所安。欲乞、除豪富士族申嚴禁止外、貧下之民并客旅遠方之人若有死亡、姑從其便、候將來州縣標撥到荒閒之地、別行取旨。詔依、仍令諸州依已降指揮措置標撥. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 125, ll. 2 *seq.*

1 黃震. His biography is given in the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 438, ll. 17 *sqq.*

2 吳縣.

memorial, still nowadays generally considered to be the ablest treatise ever written on the subject, he poured out his full disgust of cremation, setting forth the arguments, raised against it by Chinese minds in general, in a form so elaborate, that no other document is to be found expounding them better. It therefore calls for a full translation in these pages.

»In the second year of the King ting period (A. D. 1261)", thus we read in the *Jih chi luh* (ch. 15), »Hwang Chin, in his »capacity of Prefect of the district of Wu, requested that he should »be discharged from rebuilding certain pavilions for the incineration »of human bodies. The memorial, which he presented to that effect, »ran as follows:

»Owing to regulations, in force since a long time in these parts »under my administration, there exists a Buddhist monastery »there, frequented by the people to offer incense; it bears the »name of »The General Succour", and is situated south-west of »this city, a mile off. Long ago, some ten hollow pavilions for the »cremation of human bodies were built in that convent, for the »sake of gain. Throughout the city the silly people were prevailed on »to convey the bodies of their deceased parents thither and consigned »them to the burning flames; they then took up the remains of the »bones unconsumed by the heat, to throw them into a deep pool of »water. Alas, what wrong had those men done, that after their death »they were thus subjected to the highest degree of mutilation?[1].

»Already a long time my heart was sincerely pained at those things. »But as I am a man of no account, whose official position is but »lowly, I did not give any utterance to my feelings, however much »I longed to do so. On the sixth of the fifth month there suddenly »arose a nocturnal thunder-storm; it whisked away nothing else than »those so-called cremation-pavilions, sweeping them down entirely. »It is my conviction that their foul stench had spread so far, as to »cause the offended spirits of the dead to conjointly lay their com-

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[1] 景定二年黃震爲吳縣尉、乞免再起化人亭。狀曰、

照對本司久例有行香寺、曰通濟、在城外西南一里。本寺久爲焚人空亭約十間、以罔利。合城愚民悉爲所誘、親死即舉而付之烈燄、餘骸不化則又舉而投之深淵。哀哉、斯人何辜而遭此身後之大戮耶.

» plaints before the Imperial Heaven, and that Heaven, convulsed » with rage, destroyed those crematories, root and branch. The » next day the monks of the convent, becoming aware of what had » happened, reported the matter to me; and I then drew up this » circumstantial report, in order to make you, Prefect of this de- » partment, rejoice together with me in the destruction of those » pavilions. What judge would now venture to listen to the requests » of those monks, and charge me, the Magistrate of the district, to » have those structures rebuilt under my own jurisdiction? [1].

» I say that those pavilions were built to incinerate the parents of » the people. But a man who burns his parents commits the grossest » possible sin against the hiao; therefore, may those pavilions » be re-erected? The ancients beat their breasts and stamped their » feet at the slighter and the fuller dressing, at the provisional » burial and the burial proper, because the mere removal of their » parents' corpses struck them with dismay; how then can men » nowadays go so far as to fling those bodies into the flames! » Taking them up to cast them into a fire is the very highest pitch » of cruelty; there is in such deeds nothing that tallies with the » natural feelings of man. Ch'i-yiu [2], who invented fivefold cruelties, » and Cheu of the Shang dynasty [3], who punished men by binding » them against hot tubes, turned their cruelties against the living » alone, and never went so far as to mutilate people after their » death. Chen Khin predicted that some calamity would befall » Hia-fu Fuh-ki, and after the burial of the latter smoke whirled » up from a fire that destroyed him, Heaven itself probably » sending this disaster down on him [4]. From the fact that his fate

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1 震久切痛心。以人微、位下、欲言未發。乃五月六日夜風雷驟至、獨盡撤其所謂焚人之亭而去之。意者穢氣彰聞、冤魂共訴皇天、震怒爲絶此根。越明日據寺僧發覺陳狀、爲之倫申、使府蓋亦幸此亭之壞耳。案吏何人敢受寺僧之囑、行下本司勒令監造.

2 A rebellious vassal, who reputedly lived in the 26th. century before our era and was defeated and killed by the Emperor Hwang. See the Historical Records, ch. 1, l. 3.

3 Cheu Wang, mentioned in the foot-note on page 116.

4 Chen Khin was a very virtuous grandee in the state of Lu. He is also known as Chen Hwoh 展獲, and as Liu-hia Hwui 柳下惠. He lived in the century preceding that of Confucius. The prediction in question he uttered in 624 B.C., when

» was called a calamity, it is evident that incineration is a calamity [1].

» When Tszĕ-khi of the kingdom of Ch'u wished to destroy by » fire the army encamped at Kiün, Tszĕ-si dissuaded him from » doing so, as even he shrank from burning the corpses of his » enemies [2]. — When the feudal Ruler of Wei dug up the grave » of Ch'u Shi-ting-tszĕ and burned the corpse in the open field, » he committed a deed such as had never occurred up to that date, » since the oldest times. — T'ien Tan, after having defended during » five years the destitute city of Tsih-mih, executed various strata- » gems so perilous, that they offered one single chance of escaping » against ten thousand of perishing. To enrage his own men, he » took an abominable measure, consisting in that he induced those » of Yen (the besiegers) to dig up the graves of Ts'i and burn the » corpses; the men of Ts'i, on seeing it, burst into tears; with ten- » fold rage they attacked the army of Yen and routed it. So deeply, » indeed, did the incineration of the corpses of their ancestors affect » those sons and grandsons that they no longer regarded their own » lives as of any value; but for this reason, also, T'ien Tan was » five long years in devising so crafty a stratagem against his foes, » before he ventured to carry it into execution [3]. — When the

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Hia-fu Fuh-ki, in his capacity of Director of the ancestral temple of the royal family, had given the tablet of the recently deceased ruler Hi 僖 the precedence to that of his father. See the *Tso ch'wen*, second year of the Ruler Wen's reign, and, especially, the *Kwoh yü*, ch. 4.

[1] 震竊謂此亭爲焚人之親設也。人之焚其親不孝之大者也、此亭其可再也哉。謹案古者小斂大斂以至殯葬皆擗踊、爲遷其親之尸而動之也、况可得而火之邪。舉其尸而舁之火慘虐之極、無復人道。雖蚩尤作五虐之法、商紂爲炮烙之刑、皆施之於生前、未至戮之於死後也。展禽謂夏父弗忌必有殃、既葬焚煙徹於上、或者天寔災之。然謂之殃則凶可知也.

2 Evidently, Hwang Chin here distorts written history a little. Indeed, the reader has seen on page 1392, that Tszĕ-si opposed the proposed measure because he feared that the flames might destroy their own warriors fallen in a previous battle.

3 This episode is drawn from ch 82 of the Historical Records. T'ien Tan was a military commander in the service of Ts'i. When this kingdom was attacked by that of Yen, he defended the city of Tsih-mih, in the present province of Shantung, for many years, ridding it of its besiegers in 279 B. C. by several clever stratagems, especially by that related by Hwang Chin. Having caused them to be told that he

» Governor T'o resided in Ngao (the present Kwangtung), he was » told that the House of Han had dug up the graves of his » ancestors and burned the corpses. Luh Kia explained to him that » no such thing had taken place, and said, in the course of the » negociations: 'If you oppose the House of Han, it will indeed » dig up the graves of your ancestors and burn the corpses, » resorting, however, to a thing so unheard-of merely in order to » intimidate you, and by no means from insensibility' [1]. — Yin » Ts'i, while holding office in Hwai-yang, butchered many people. » On his death revengeful families desired to burn him; but his » remains disappeared and were carried to his old home for » burial [2], upon which it was rumoured that they had flown away. » The people's desire to burn his corpse proceeded from their very » deepest hatred, and its disappearance as soon as that desire » sprang up, shows that the dead possess spiritual power, and » what a fear-inspiring thing cremation is [3].

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feared they might desecrate the graves lying in the environs, they, anxious to chagrin him, forthwith began doing so, however, as Hwang Chin relates, with very disastrous results. The siege once raised, a series of victories rid Ts'i entirely of the invaders.

1 Chao T'o 趙佗 was a military commander in the service of Shi Hwang. Amid the disorders consequent on the death of that despot he proclaimed himself independent King of Southern Yueh 南越王, but readily submitted to the founder of the Han dynasty, who delegated Luh Kia to negociate with him. Comp. the Historical Records, ch. 113, ll. 2 *seq.*, and ch. 97, l. 6.

2 Comp. the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 90, l. 10. This event occurred in the second century before our era.

3 楚子期欲焚麇之師、子西戒不可、雖敵人之尸猶有所不忍也。衛侯掘褚師定子之墓、焚之於平莊之上、殆自古以來所無之事。田單守即墨之孤邑積五年、思出萬死一生之計。以激其民故襲用其毒誤燕人掘齊墓燒死人、齊人望之涕泣、怒十倍而齊破燕矣。然則焚其先人之尸爲子孫者所痛憤而不自愛其身、故田單思之五年出此詭計以誤敵也。尉佗在奧聞漢掘燒其先人冢。陸賈明其不然、與之要約亦曰、反則掘燒王先人冢耳、舉至不可聞之事以相恐、非忍爲之也。尹齊爲淮揚都尉、所誅甚多。及死仇家欲

» When the Han dynasty reigned, Khü, Prince of Kwang-ch'wen, » was a dissolute man, cruel and unjust. His secondary spouse, » named Chao-sin, killed Wang Chao-p'ing and Wang Ti-yü, his » favourite concubines, together with three female slaves; then falling » ill, she dreamed of her victims, which induced her to disinter » their corpses and burn them all to ashes; but Khü and herself were » murdered in their turn also [1]. — Incineration as a punishment was » instituted by Wang Mang; but after having inflicted it on Ch'en » Liang and others, he was also killed and his body destroyed [2]. — » Yueh, Prince of Tung-hai, having revolted against the dynasty of » Tsin, Shih Lih broke open his coffin and burned his corpse, saying: » 'This is the man who disturbed the peace of the Realm; in the » name of the Realm I now wreak vengeance upon him' [3]. Consi- » dering what mischief Yueh had done, he fully deserved to come » to such an end; and yet only a man as callous as Shih Li could » take it upon himself to bring the like fate on him. — It was also for » having taken arms against the constituted powers, that the Author- » ities dragged Wang Tun out of his grave, burned his dress and » cap, and struck his head from his shoulders [4]. In this case the clothes » and cap alone were given to the flames; but Su Siün, who likewise » had rebelled, was killed in own person, and cast into a fire [5]. — » And after Yang Yuen-kan had revolted against the House of Sui, » the grave of his father (Yang) Su was opened and the osseous remains » consigned to the flames [6]; indeed, the way being at that time open

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燒其尸、尸亡去歸葬、說者謂其尸飛去。夫欲燒其尸仇之深也、欲燒之而尸亡是死而有靈、猶知燒之可畏也.

1 See the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 53, l. 14.

2 Wang Mang was the usurper of supreme power, of whom we have spoken on page 314. It is, in fact, recorded in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, (ch. 99, third section, l. 32) that in a revolt, which put an end to his power in A. D. 23, his own soldiers struck his head from his shoulders and tore his corpse to pieces.

3 This event has been recounted by us on page 850.

4 This episode is recorded in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 98, l. 14.

5 See the same work, ch. 100, l. 23. The historiographer adds, that Su Siün's son avenged himself by similarly incinerating the buried parents of Yü Liang 庾亮, a loyal minister who was Su Siün's most implacable adversary.

6 Recorded in the Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 63, l. 14, and in the History of the North of the Realm, ch. 76, l. 16. We may here add, that Yang Yuen-kan himself was burned when, having raised the standard of revolt, he had been slain by his own brother, beheaded, and torn to pieces; — see the Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 70, l. 5, and the History of the North, ch. 30, l. 39.

» to gruesome cruelty, cremation was inflicted on the most wicked of » men, still without being elevated to the rank of a law to rule the » people. — When the House of Sui had the Jen-sheu Palace built, » and the men working at it perished at the roadside, (the aforesaid) » Yang Su cremated them, which the Emperor, on being informed » of it, disapproved; so, even a man such as this monarch Wen, » ruthless in applying capital punishment though he was, could » not find it in his heart to consign human beings to the flames [1]; » which shows that there is nothing so shocking and revolting as the » burning of men. — Tsiang Yuen-hwui, who carried out a foul » complot in the inner buildings of the Palace, was slain by Chu » Ts'üen-chung and thereupon burned [2], mere death being deemed » insufficient to wipe out his guilt [3].

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1 In the Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 48, l. 5, and the History of the North, ch. 41, l. 30, we read in fact, that the men employed by Yang Su in building the Jen-sheu Palace perished in great numbers and that the Emperor expressed his discontent thereof. But nowhere do we find it stated that Yang Su cremated them.

2 In 904 Tsiang Yuen-hwui in own person made a successful attack on the life of the Emperor Chao Tsung 昭宗 (see the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 20, first section, l. 51). Though he did so at the instigation of Chu Ts'üen-chung, this grandee had him racked between wheels or cars, and then burned without the gates of the capital. See the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 223, second section, ll. 11 *seq.*

3 漢廣川王去淫虐無道。其姬昭信共殺幸姬王昭平王地餘及從婢三人、後昭信病、夢昭平等、乃掘其尸皆燒爲灰、去與昭信旋亦誅死。王莽作焚如之刑、燒陳良等亦遂誅滅。東海王越亂晉、石勒剖其棺焚其尸曰、亂天下者此人也、吾爲天下報之。夫越之惡固宜至此、亦石勒之酷而忍爲此也。王敦叛逆、有司出其尸於墮、焚其衣冠、斬之。所焚猶衣冠耳、惟蘇峻以反誅焚其骨。楊元感反隋、亦掘其父素冢、焚其骸骨、慘虐之門既開因以施之極惡之人、然非治世法也。隋爲仁壽宮、役夫死道上、楊素焚之、上聞之不悅、夫淫刑如隋文且不忍焚人、則痛莫甚於焚人者矣。蔣元暉瀆亂宮闈、朱全忠殺而焚之、一死不足以盡其罪也.

» The pain of death thus being a long established punishment, » and incineration an unlawful proceeding, an illegitimate cruelty » not even allowable against those who deserve death, may we » then apply it to the flesh and bones of our fathers and mothers? » Those who nowadays do it, also in many cases collect the » remaining ashes and throw them into the water; but this reminds » us of a well known event of ancient times, that is to say, that » while the House of Sung exterminated the rebel faction of the » Crown-prince Shao, Wang Ying-wu and Yen Tao-yuh were burned » and their ashes strewn in the river [1], in order that their woe » might be carried to the highest pitch [2].

» Some regard cremation as an institution of the Buddha. I have, » indeed, heard of self-combustion by fire emanating from the com- » mandments of the Buddha; but is the incineration we now speak » of performed by that fire of the commandments, or by fire kindled » by man? is it self-combustion, or a combustion by sons and » grandsons? Moreover, the Buddhist doctrines are doctrines from » a foreign soil; and is the country we inhabit the Middle King- » dom, or is it a foreign land? It has already lasted too long that » men with a clear insight into the matter have had to be filled » with horror and disgust [3].

» The monks of the Convent of Universal Succour by incinerating » the people's parents for the sake of gain, have injured the proper » customs in the very highest measure. Happily Heaven itself has

1 This turmoil in the bosom of the Family of Sung, entailing a great onslaught among its members, occurred at the end of A. D. 452, or in the beginning of 453, on the death of the Emperor Wen 文. Shao was his eldest son. He and his brother were decapitated, together with their sons, and the bodies thrown into the Yang-tszĕ river. Wang Ying-wu was a slave woman of Shao's sister, and Yen Tao-yuh a very influential female medium between the spirits and men.

2 然殺之者常刑、焚之者非法、非法之虐且不可施之誅死之罪人、况可施之父母骨肉乎。世之施此於父母骨肉者又往往拾其遺燼而棄之於水、則宋誅太子劭逆黨王鸚鵡嚴道育既焚而揚灰於河之故智也、慘益甚矣.

3 而或者乃以焚人爲佛法。然聞佛之說戒火自焚也、今之焚者戒火耶人火耶、自焚耶其子孫耶。佛者外國之法、今吾所處中國耶外國耶。有識者爲之痛惋久矣.

» destroyed their crematories, and who is justified in rebuilding them? » Earnestly do I hope that Your Highness will show pity and » commiseration with the people, who know no better; ask Yourself » what wrong those dead have done, and forbid by proclamation » the said convent to re-erect the cremation-pavilions destroyed by » the thunder-shower. For such a measure shall restore, in no small » degree, the mournful love due to the dead and the careful treat- » ment of those who depart this life" [1].

It is now sufficiently proved by all the above extracts, that during the Sung dynasty cremation was especially common in the provinces of Shansi, Chehkiang and Kiangsu, and that the ruling class waged a paper war against it, but without resorting to rigorous measures for its repression. Thus, no doubt, China was then moving fast in the direction of general cremation. Matters took no other turn when the Yuen dynasty, Gengis' powerful family, destroyed that of Sung. As those Mongol conquerors could hardly discountenance one of the principal religious institutions of the many Buddhist countries united under their sceptre, the instances of cremation which are mentioned in Chinese books as having occurred during their dominion, are, relatively speaking, numerous. Some three, the mere perusal of which clearly shows that cremation was then rooted firmly in the customs of the people, have been already given on pp. 737 *seq.* We here add the case of seven concubines of one P'an Yuen-shao [2], a high officer in Kiangsu who played a leading part in the struggles which marked the downfall of the Yuen dynasty; those women having strangled themselves, were cremated before being committed to the earth [3]. This occurred in A. D. 1367. The local Memoirs of the same district of Wu in which, more than a hundred years before, the Prefect Wang Chin had drawn up his memorable philippic against cremation, speak with deep respect of an unnamed

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1 今通濟寺僧焚人之親以罔利傷風敗俗莫此爲甚。天幸廢之、何可興之。欲望台慈矜生民之無知、念死者之何罪、備榜通濟寺風雷已壞之焚人亭不許再行起置。其於哀死愼終寔非小補.

2 潘元紹.

3 *Su-cheu-fu chi*, Memoirs concerning the Department of Su-cheu, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 閨媛, ch. 48.

»coolie wife"[1], whose husband, a soldier in the armies of the rising Ming dynasty, perished in the same year 1367 »in a battle »westward from the city. She wailed and wept at the foot of the »walls, and on having found his corpse took off her own clothes »and wiped it clean therewith. Having put it into a coffin »and wailingly poured out her grief until it was exhausted, she »burned the corpse and collected the bones; then wrapping them »up in a cloth she looked up to Heaven and, greatly moved, »sprang with them into the water"[2].

There exists evidence that during the same Mongol domination cremation also throve in Fuhkien. For we read in the Memoirs concerning the Department of Chang-cheu: »Dame Yuen-'rh was »the wife of Kao Keng, who lived in the district of Chang-p'u. »Her husband, a man of poor extraction, who devoted himself to »study, died at the age of twenty. His encoffined remains having »been kept unburied outside the north gate, and the means »failing to fulfil her desire to commit them to the earth, her rela- »tions in the end furtively cremated them. Suddenly hearing that »they were doing so, she rushed to the spot, just to see the fire »glowing. Beating her breast and with piteous wailing she threw »herself into the flames, and both bodies were reduced to ashes"[3]. It would be incorrect to suppose, that during the sway of the Yuen dynasty no official efforts at all were made to check cremation. We read, indeed, that in 1278 a correspondence was going on between the Censorate and the high Departments of the central Government about the question whether it was advisable to forbid cremation in the Metropolis, where it had assumed considerable proportions, and whether it would be good only to connive at it when soldiers, or persons dying in the frontier districts, or prisoners and foreigners were concerned[4].

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[1] 擔夫婦.

[2] 夫戰死城西。婦號泣城下、得其尸解衣拭之。殮於棺、哭盡哀、既焚收骨、裹以帛、仰天、大慟、與身俱投於水. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing, loc. cit.*

[3] 阮二姐漳浦高耿妻。耿家貧、讀書、年二十卒。阮停夫柩于北關外、欲葬未能久之外姻竊用火化其夫柩。阮驟聞奔往、火正烈。撫心痛哭自投於火中、二骸俱燼. Ch. 34, l. 7.

[4] See the *Tuh li t'ung khao*, ch. 86, l. 4.

The prevalence of cremation was followed by an era of decline, as the Ming dynasty, which succeeded the Mongols on the throne, peremptorily forbade it. During its reign we see no scripturists or mandarins skirmish against it with the old rusty arguments looked up in the ancient and mediæval arsenals of history, for now they had effective Imperial laws at their disposal to suppress it with. In fact, the first Emperor of the dynasty »had ordained in the »third year of his reign, that free burial grounds should be laid »out in the departments and districts, that water-burial and cre- »mation should be forbidden in Chehkiang, Kiangsi and other »regions, and heavy punishments were to be inflicted on those guilty »of such doings" [1]. Two years after that, the same monarch gave the Board of Rites new orders to the same effect. »In ancient »times", thus they ran, »it was prescribed to bury the osseous and »carneous remains of the dead. Though the now living generation »conforms to this original institution, the dead among the people »are sometimes burned and the bones thrown into the water. More »than anything do such proceedings offend against the duty of »charity towards the dead and against good custom; they must »therefore be forbidden. Should the poor have no grounds at their »disposal, the local magistrates must single out vast vacant tracts, »to convert into graveyards for gratuitous use and thus cause »such people to bury the dead" [2].

That cremation had a bad time of it under the Ming dynasty, we may conclude from the fact that it was then even forbidden by the Code of Laws to burn the corpses of relatives who themselves had willed and ordained it. »Whoever, acting in obedience to the »testamentary dispositions of a relative higher in the hierarchy of »the family, destroys the corpse of that relative by fire, or rids »himself of it by putting it in the water, shall receive one »hundred blows with the long stick; and if the corpse is that of »an inferior or junior relation of the perpetrator, the punishment »shall be two degrees lighter. Should in a case of death in a

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[1] 洪武三年令郡縣設義塚、禁浙西等處水葬火葬、違者坐以重罪. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, ch. 65.

[2] 古有掩骼埋胔之令。近世狃元、俗死者或以火焚而投其骨於水。傷恩敗俗莫此爲甚、其禁止之。若貧無地者、所在官司擇寬閒地爲義塚、俾之葬埋. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 22.

» distant region the sons and grandsons incinerate the corpse because » it would otherwise be impossible for them to carry home the » remains, they must be allowed to follow this course" [1].

This concession is remarkable, because it shows that the Ming dynasty, though deeming cremation exceedingly baneful to the dead, much preferred it to their burial at great distances from their sacrificing clansmen and the abodes of the souls of their ancestors. It will not have escaped the attention of our readers in perusing this chapter, that that antipathy to burial in foreign soil had already during many centuries before that time been conducive to incineration of the dead. Cremation was by no means squashed by the stringent laws in force under the Ming dynasty. Cases of it continued to be mentioned in the books. The one we gave on page 738 shows, that it held its ground among the lower classes in the department of Su-cheu. Nor was it then entirely banished from the Imperial Court. For, » when Wu [2], the repudi- » ated consort of the Emperor Hien Tsung, died (in 1506), » Liu Khin proposed to destroy the last vestiges of her existence » by burning her corpse, and pretended that it was not lawful » to wear deep mourning for her; but Wang Ngao said, though » it might be allowable to wear incomplete mourning for her, » her burial ought not to take place in a heartless way; and » his advice was followed" [3]. To this case we may add one, which though not bearing upon incineration of whole corpses, acquaints us with an interesting form of partial cremation: — » On Hi Tsung's demise, the Lady Khoh (his inferior Consort) » received permission from the (new) Emperor to return to her » private dwelling. In the fifth watch she donned deep mourning- » garments, repaired to the place where the coffin stood, and in » front of it produced a small parcel, wrapping it in a yellow piece » of cloth adorned with dragons. It contained the first callow hair

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[1] 其從尊長遺言將屍燒化及棄置水中者杖一百、卑幼並減二等。若亡歿遠方、子孫不能歸葬而燒化者、聽從其便. *Ta ming hwui tien*, ch. 129, l. 9.

[2] 吳.

[3] 憲宗廢后吳氏之喪、[劉]瑾議欲焚之以滅迹、曰不可以成服。[王]鏊曰、服可以不成、葬不可薄也、從之. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 181, l. 22. See also ch. 113 of the same work, l. 18.

» of the defunct, his small-pox scabs, the shavings of his hair and » beard collected during many years, as also the teeth he had » lost, his finger-nails, etc. Wailing bitterly, she burned these things, » and went on" [1]. This curious performance will appear less strange to the reader who remembers the fact, stated by us on pp. 335 and 342 *seq.*, that it was customary in ancient China to bury in the ground the trimmings of the hair, beard and nails of the dead, or to put them in their coffins, and that in the mediæval and modern Codices of Rites this custom found a place as a formal rescript.

The now reigning dynasty likewise has forbidden cremation, authorizing it only in the event of human remains having to be conveyed back to the old home. The Code of Laws in fact contains an article which is a literal copy of the one in the Code of the Ming dynasty, which we have already placed before our readers [2]. An additional note explicitly declares, » that incinerating a corpse or put- » ting it in the water must be considered as mangling it or throwing » it away" [3]; so those crimes fall under the article translated by us on page 871. Still we find in the same part of the Code the following supplementary article: » The Manchu Bannermen are » in no case allowed to incinerate the dead. All those who commit » such a crime shall be punished in accordance with the funda- » mental article containing provisions against it, except the indigent » living far from their home, who, unable to take an encoffined » body to the native village, see no other way open to convey » the bones home for burial; cremation need not be forbidden » them. Clan chiefs, Banner Majors etc., who hush up cases of » cremation and do not report them to the Authorities, shall be » condemned separately to chastisement with the whip, without » any mild application of the law being granted them" [4].

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[1] 熹宗崩、上准客氏歸私第。五更客氏衰服赴梓宮前、出一小函、用黃色龍袱包裹。皆先帝胎髮痘痂、累年剃髮、落齒指甲等。痛哭焚化而去. *Lih tai ling-ts'in khao*, ch. 50, l. 1.

[2] *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, ch. 17, § 喪葬.

[3] 將屍燒化及棄置水中是卽毀棄矣.

[4] 旗民喪葬槩不許火化。除遠鄉貧人不能扶柩歸里、不得已攜骨歸葬者姑聽不禁外、其餘

The liberty thus granted to the people to incinerate the dead if they possess no means to send them home in their entirety, is, no doubt, frequently made use of nowadays. We have often seen soldiers from the Hunan province, garrisoned in the Amoy harbour-forts, burn their dead comrades, avowedly with no other object than to put the charred bones in their own travelling luggage, and take them home for burial in an urn or in a coffin. Such incinerations are invariably of the plainest description; they are performed under the open sky on a small pyre, raised against a wall or declivity, and, as a rule, it takes hardly forty cubic feet of pine-wood, moistened with some oil or petroleum, to completely volatilize the carneous parts. Very often those soldiers recur to a still cheaper method of destroying the flesh. Placing the corpse in a bad coffin, through the cracks of which the atmosphere can freely play, they put it down somewhere, either in the open air, or under some thatching of straw, or in one of the artillery casemates constructed in long rows in the walls of the defences lining the sea-coast; and there they leave it until natural decay has finished its work, sometimes accelerating this process by inserting chips of wood or stone between the case and the lid.

But, no doubt, to this very hour cremation prevails quite independent of motives sanctioned by the law. It is but hardly fifty years ago that Hwang Jü-ch'ing (see page 1071) declared it to be then largely practised among the inhabitants of the capital of Chehkiang province. To quote his own words: »In the city » of Hang-cheu cremation prevails to this day. Though a most » cruel and distressing custom it is, the mandarins put no stop » to it, nor are the gentry and notables known to have moved in » the least to warn against it, so that it is practised as if it were » a custom borrowed from antiquity. And that, notwithstanding » the citizens have daily and monthly to report some conflagrations, » how the flames, breaking out from one house, attack several dwel- » lings or several dozen, in the worst cases even destroying whole » streets, and how the magistrates and the people rush out at the » outbreak to afford assistance, without being able to check the » flames Who knows but what it may not be the accumulated wrath

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有犯照違制律治罪。族長及佐領等隱匿不報、照不應輕律分別鞭責議處.

» of the souls of the cremated, which causes such calamities?" [1].

The Shen Pao [2], a Chinese newspaper with a large circulation in the coast districts and the Treaty Ports, on the 27th. of January 1891 contained a leading article, denouncing the custom, prevailing at Yü-chang [3] in the province of Kiangsi, of cremating young children. It pointed out that cremation was introduced into China by the Buddhists, and therefore should be confined to Buddhist priests [4]. In many works belonging to the great class of » Memoirs" concerning provinces, departments and districts (see page 746), dignified discourses against cremation are to be found, which, re-appearing, as they do, in every new edition, forbid us to believe that the custom they combat is entirely a matter of the past. Considering, however, that cremation is hardly ever mentioned by foreigners as witnessed in the coast regions and the Treaty Ports; considering, moreover, that no rumours about cremation actually performed ever reached our ears in the many provinces through which we travelled, and that we beheld cases of it only in military garrisons and Buddhist convents; considering, finally, that the spirit of the nation peremptorily condemns it, and that the Authorities, fully empowered by the law to eradicate it forcibly, may be expected to seldom leave this right unused — the conclusion is, we think, justified that cremation is now reduced within very narrow limits, and that it is fast dying out, the same as the exotic Church itself which planted it in the Chinese soil.

The twofold fact that inveterate customs are nowhere easily eradicated, and that no laws in China are implicitly obeyed, fully accounts for the phenomena that in Chehkiang and Kiangsu, where a long series of generations has been in the habit of burning the dead, a kind of middle course is observed at present by the people between their sympathies for cremation and the demands of the law. »In the section of country lying north of the Hang-cheu

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[1] 火葬之事杭城至今猶沿。其俗至爲慘傷、而長官不爲禁止、士大夫不知動色誡論、習爲古常。而今杭城火災日月相告、往往一家火發、連及數家或數十家、甚至有通巷被焚者、當火起時官民奔救、莫之能止。安知非此火化之魂積怨而致此厲也. *Jih chi luh*, ch. 15.

[2] 申報. [3] 豫章.

[4] The China Review, XX, page 50.

» bay and embracing all that portion of the Chehkiang province » north at least to Su-cheu and vicinity in the Kiangsu province, » the people are accustomed to place the dead in coffins for a few » months, or at most a year, when the remains are burned and » the charred bones are placed in an earthen vessel made for the » purpose, which is covered with a lid, and a small mound of » earth is usually raised over it. The coffins are sometimes used » for fuel at the burning, but often the same coffin is preserved » and used for the interment of several persons of the same family. » Sometimes a drawer is made in the bottom of the coffin, and » the corpse is laid in the drawer, so that it is quite convenient » to pull out the drawer and remove the remains for burning. » Sometimes only a portion of the coffin is used in the burning, » and the remainder is used in building boats, and for various » other purposes" [1].

This state of matters already fell under the notice of Van Braem Houckgeest, first *attaché* in an embassy from the Dutch East-India Company to the Emperor of China, which, travelling from Canton to Peking, traversed the country about Su-cheu in March 1795. In his interesting diary he wrote:

» J'ai remarqué ici un singulier usage relativement aux morts, » puisqu'on place indifféremment leurs cercueils dans un champ » quelconque, et sur la superficie de la terre. Les personnes qui » peuvent en payer la dépense, font faire autour de ce cercueil un » petit mur carré qui en a la hauteur, et au dessus duquel on » élève un petit toit couvert de tuiles; d'autres recouvrent le cer- » cueil avec de la paille et des nattes, tandis que les gens de la » dernière classe mettent uniquement une couche de gazon sur le » haut du cercueil et le laissent dans cette situation. Nous avons » passé devant beaucoup de sépultures de cette espèce depuis deux » jours.

» Les Chinois montrant une extrême vénération pour leurs morts, » cette manière, qu'on pourrait appeler indécente, par rapport à » eux, m'étonnait beaucoup. J'en cherchai donc la raison, et l'on » me dit que les terres étaient si basses, qu'on ne pouvait pas » inhumer les corps, parce qu'ils seraient dans l'eau, idée que les » Chinois ne peuvent adopter, puisqu'ils sont persuadés que les » morts aiment un séjour sec. Après un certain temps, les cercueils » qui ont été ainsi laissés en champ ouvert, sont brûlés avec le

1 Mr. Knowlton, in »Notes and Queries on China and Japan", II, p. 125.

» cadavre qu'ils renferment, en on recueille les cendres, qu'on met » dans des urnes recouvertes, et qu'on enfouit ensuite à demi dans » la terre. J'ai vu le long de ma route des urnes ainsi disposées.

» C'est pour la première fois que j'ai appris aujourd'hui que » l'usage du brûlement des morts et celui de recueillir leurs cendres » avaient lieu à la Chine comme chez les Grecs et chez les Romains. » Je ne me rappelle pas, du moins, que dans ce que j'ai lu autre- » fois sur la Chine il soit fait mention de rien de semblable, et » je n'en avais rien ouï depuis trente-six ans que je connais per- » sonnellement ce pays, espace durant lequel je me suis très-souvent » informé, auprès des hommes lettrés et savants, de tout ce qui » pouvait avoir trait à l'histoire, aux mœurs et aux autres particu- » larités de leur pays" [1].

This interesting extract precisely depicts the state of matters of the present day in that part of China. Foreigners living in Shanghai are quite familiar with the sight of unburied coffins along the roads and in the fields in the surrounding low country, each under a thin layer of turf merely covering the lid, and leaving the case entirely bare. The chance that the coffins, if buried, may lie in the water, can hardly be believed to be the principal motive to leave them thus badly covered, but, probably, an aversion to interment, naturally engendered by a long familiarity with the much less disgusting process of reduction to ashes, here prevails over all other considerations.

1 Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine, I, pp. 357 *seq.*

THE END OF BOOK I.

On sending this final sheet to press, the author wishes gratefully to acknowledge the kindness of some friends and scholars, who assisted him in various ways in compiling the First Book. Above all he has been under obligation to the late Dr. Rost, Principal Librarian in the India Office, who placed at his disposal various important books of the library entrusted to his care, even allowing him to take them to Holland for consultation in his own study. Likewise, the author is indebted for the use of Chinese and other books to the present Direction of that Library, and to Professor Douglas, Keeper of Oriental Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum, as well as to F. G. Kramp Esq. at Amsterdam, to whose erudition he, moreover, owes some valuable hints. The author has also to offer special thanks to Professor Dr. W. Grube, through whose courteous intervention the General Direction of the Royal Library at Berlin had the kindness to lend him, for a considerable length of time, some important Chinese books, indispensable for the completion of the present volume; the assistance thus given by that scholar was the more precious, as the loan of those works had been flatly refused to the author by the then Director of the Chinese library of Cambridge University, and were not obtainable anywhere else. Finally, the author is glad to take this opportunity of expressing his thanks to W. J. Oudendijk Esq., formerly his pupil, and now Secretary to Her Netherland Majesty's Legation at Peking, who from thence has enriched the University Library of Leyden, as well as the author's own, with some valuable Chinese works; and to G. Unidale Price Esq., who has sent him from Amoy some fine photographs, taken by himself, for the illustration of this work.

CORRECTIONS and ADDITIONS.

Page XII *for* line 16 *read* and will soon be ready for publication in two volumes
» » line 27 *for* only *read* oldest among the
» XIII » 19 *after* circle *add*, on their graves,
» XV » 27 » these » explanations
» 4 » 6 *for* Tsang *read* Tseng
» 37 » 19 » dukes » feudal Rulers
» 45 » 2 » necromancy *read* soothsaying
» 63 » 11 » deducted » deduced
» 65 » 1 » synonym » homonym
» » » 29 » life *read* existence
» 68 » 16 *omit* either
» 72 » 25 *for* the dead *read* this dead man
» 105 » 1—2 » the virgins of the dark spheres of the nine heavens *read* the mysterious Virgins of the nine Celestial Spheres
» » line 7 *omit* a
» 116 » 21 *for* dukes *read* feudal Rulers
» 134 » 8 » Tsuen » Ts^{c}üen
» 136 » 1 » or knowingly receive, etc. *read* they may be tried for ordinary theft, and their punishment fixed in accordance with the value of the things appropriated
» 156 line 22 *for* Tsuen *read* Ts^{c}üen
» 166 foot note *omit* next Volume, containing the
» 178 note 3 lines 2 and 8 *for Sam read San.*
» 188 lines 30 and 31 *read* though the songs might serve to soothe sorrow, yet they were not mentioned in the Classics, so that it had been an infringement. . . .
» 201 line 26 *for* Chen *read* Ch^{c}en
» 221 » 16 » Tsuen » Ts^{c}üen

Page 279 line 1 *for* while *read* The Imperial rescripts issued in 1372 for the burial of commoners, ordained that the latter might place no more than three coins in the mouths of the dead; but another edict, issued in the same year, entitled the officers of the five highest degrees to receive pearls in their mouths, and those of the lower ranks small pearls; see the History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, ll. 22 and 15.

» 289 line 1 *for* yin *read* yin
» 297 » 28 » Ch'ao » Chao
» 310 » 30 » Hu » Fu
» 313 » 4 » » » »
» 318 » 1 » this » the latter
» 328 » 13 » Chen » Ch'en
» 329 » 31 » 243 » 240
» » note 1 » next Volume *read* third Part of this Book
» 345 line 12 } » execution *read* { sentence has been confirmed
» 346 » 1 } { by the higher Authorities
» 349 » 30 » empire *read* State
» 369 » 28 » Ch'ao » Chao
» 379 » 20 » Ch'ehkiang *read* Chehkiang
» » lines 23 and 26 *for* Lu *read* Lü
» 380 line 1 *for* Lu *read* Lü
» » » 7 » Ch'ao » Chao
» 381 lines 21 and 28 *for* Tsuen *read* Ts'üen
» 396 » 11 » 14 » Lu » Lü
» » note 3 line 1 *for* 盧 *read* 廬
» 397 line 8 *for* 286 *read* 396
» » » 9 *after* Wei *insert* (334—319 B.C.)
» » » 19 » Ngai » (319—296 B.C.)
» 402 » 12 *for* you to repair to the lower place *read* Your Majesty to descend unto your seat
» » » 18 *for* panegyric *read* posthumous name
» 403 » 6 » one reed organ *read* one Pandean pipe or mouth organ
» 406 » 10 *for* Imperial Mirror *read Hwang lan*
» » » 12 *sqq. for* After the square had been dug etc. *read* After the grave had been dug and the hill thrown up, a square fortress was raised close by it; the central entrance (in front?) had four gates and four gateways, broad enough to enable six horses to pass abreast.

Page 422 line 18 *for* Imperial Mirror *read Hwang lan*
» 424 » 6 » » » » » »
» » » 11 » Map *read* Sketch
» 426 lines 1 and 10 *for* Imperial Mirror *read Hwang lan*
» » » 16—19 *read* It may have served also for the construction of the fortress erected at the square (see p. 406), probably in front of the latter, although it is nowhere stated that this fortress was of earth, and it may have been of bricks or stone. In front of the fortress .....
» » line 20 *for* gates *read* gateways
» » » 22 » gateway *read* gate
» 427 » 16 » Imperial Mirror *read Hwang lan*
» 436 note 4 *omit* abridged edition
» 438 lines 5 and 9. In ch. 78 of the History of the Yuen Dynasty, l. 2, *nah-shih-shih* is stated to mean 金錦, »tapestry enriched with gold". No doubt the word is a corruption of the Persian *nahcheh*, a diminutive of *nah*, which means a thick gold-embroidered stuff, often used for royal dresses.
» » at the end of the foot-note *add*: See also the History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 77, l. 17.
» 439 line 25 *for* belonging to *read* containing the remains of the Empress Wen-ming of...
» » line 28 *for* is there also *read* stands on that peak
» » » » *after* that of *add* (her grandson)
» 442 » 3 *for* this *read* the next
» » lines 10 and 13 *for* ch'ung *read* chung
» 444 last line *for* the tomb *read* their cemetery
» 445 line 11 » burial ground *read* mausoleum
» » » 12 » plots of ground » sepulchres
» » » 13 » graves, corresponding to *read* corpses,
» » » 14 » 1551 *read* Shi Tsung's reign
» » » 15 *after* harems *add* being a multiple of nine.
» » » 33 *for* Poh-nga *read* Poh-ya
» 446 » 7 » » » »
» » » 23 » Yin Lien » Yin Kien
» » lines 28 and 29 *read*: further southward there are two tablets of stone and a stone pillar, and to the south-west two stone sheep. It was erected in the fourth ....
» 449 last line *read* hall of seven divisions or compartments formed by the pillars, $109'/_2$ Chinese feet broad, $43^1/_2$ deep,

Page 450 line 6 *for* $11^1/_2$ *read* $21^1/_2$

» » lines 6 and 8 *for* apartments *read* compartments or divisions

» 451 table, last column, *for* pillar *read* tablet

» 452 note 5 *omit* of the abridged edition

» 495 line 7 *for* exercises himself *read* exerts all his strength

» 502 note 3 » 膝 *read* 膝

» 503 » 1 » » » »

» 541 lines 5, 10, 12, 24 *for* tribes *read* clans

» 569 line 26 *before* We *add* The above articles of the Code of Laws were copied verbatim from the Code of the Ming dynasty (See the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 129, ll. 8 *seq.*).

» » line 31 *after* to *add* ensure. *And omit* lines 32 and 33.

» 583 note *add* This article and the one quoted on the last page were copied by the legislator from the laws of the Ming dynasty; see the *Ta Ming hwui tien*, ch. 129 ll. 9 *seq.*

» 605 *after* line 18 *add* The mourning of mortuary houses is prescribed officially, as, in fact, the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites contain the following order: »Noblemen of the highest degree and those »of lower rank, and subjects military and civil, with »all men of higher rank, shall not renew the old »amulets at their doors during the twenty-seven months »of mourning" 民公以下、兵民以上、居喪二十七月內門戶不換舊符. Ch. 165, l. 3.

» 618 *after* line 3 *add the following al.* Closely connected with the official prohibitions of marriage during the mourning period is a clause in the Code of Laws, prescribing that men or women who have illicit sexual intercourse in that period, shall be punished considerably heavier than those who render themselves guilty of the same offence in ordinary times. »Any person »who within the period of mourning for his (or her) »father or mother, or any wife who in the time »allotted to mourning for her husband, or any person »who, being a Buddhist or Taoist monk or nun, com- »mits illicit intercourse, shall receive a punishment »two degrees more severe than that which is to be

»inflicted for such intercourse in ordinary cases. The »other party in the crime shall be punished as for »illicit intercourse under ordinary circumstances" 凡居父母及夫喪若僧尼道士女冠犯姦者各加凡姦罪二等。相姦之人以凡姦論. Ch. 33, § 居喪及僧道犯姦.

Page 630 lines 8 and 12 *for* Nga *read* Ya

» 662 last line } » 663 line 8 } *for* Yen-ling Ki-tszĕ *read* Ki-tszĕ of Yen-ling

» » » 2 *for* one of his dead *read* (his eldest son)

» 685 » 21 » Annals *read* Annuary

» 689 » 13 » Hu » Fu

» 696 » 13 » thin » tin

» 698 » 1 *insert* The dynastic Regulations enacted by the House of Sung for the burial of public functionaries, contained this rescript: »It is not allowed to conceal gold, precious articles, pearls or jade in their coffins" 棺內不得藏金寶珠玉. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 124, l. 14.

» 699 lines 15, 16, 17. An »erect cucumber" 立瓜 was a gilded wooden ball on the top of a bamboo staff, with a dragon's head superposed. A k w u h-t'o likewise was a sort of ornamental weapon on the top of a long staff of bamboo. A h i a n g-t s i e h was a bamboo pole with an iron wire on which twelve copper coins were strung; these coins bore the inscription 天下太平, »universal peace throughout the Empire", and were wrapped in a piece of yellow silk. A t a n-m a or »honorary horse" was a horse of state, decorated with red reins, a yellow bridle and an embroidered saddle-cloth. See the enumeration of objects carried by the attendants of grandees, which is given in ch. 148 of the *Ta Ming hwui tien*.

» 718 line 26 *after* which *add*, containing one hundred chapters,

» 765 » 10 » or » other

» 792 note 1 line 3 *insert* All the rescripts bearing on the subject are given in the Rules and Regulations for the Board of Rites, ch. 48

» 808 line 27 *for* Hu *read* Fu

» 813 » 15 » Poh-nga and Yin Lien *read* Poh-ya and Yin Kien

Page 825 note 1 *add* The complete title of this work is *Chih kuh-tszĕ luh* 炙轂子錄, »Writings of Chih kuh-tszĕ".

» 837 last line *for* the etherial parts of that breath *read* their vital spirits

» 845 al. 2 is entirely to be read in the past tense, Formosa having been ceded to Japan after the sheet was printed.

» 867 *for* the last four lines *read*: Those enacted by the House of Ming, laid down in chapter 130 (ll. 10—12) of its Collective Statutes, the dynasty now on the Throne has give a place in its own Code as fundamental articles, copying them to the very letter. In the following pages we offer our readers a complete translation.

» 873 at the bottom
» 902 line 7 } *for* 1882 *read* 1892.

» 909 » 1 of the Chinese text *for* 大 *read* 火, and in line 2 of the translation *for* or the great avenue *read* and the fire-road. I do not know what road this is.

» 932 last line *for* Enacted by Imperial command *read* Respect this

» 943 line 19 *for* a very old book, viz. the Historial Records, *read* the *Li ki* (ch. 51, l. 6)

» » note 2 *for Shi ki*, ch. 24, l. 17 *read* Section 樂記, II.

» 947 line 11 *for* nga *read* ya

» 948 last line *for* Chu Hi, the *read* Cheu Tun-i 周敦頤, a very

» 949 line 1 *for* twelfth *read* eleventh

» » note 1 » Illustrated etc. *read* *T'ai Kih t'u* 太極圖, »Sketch of the Great Ultimate Principle" inserted in the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 427, ll. 3 *seq.*

» 978 line 14 *for* 189 *read* 89

» 997 note 1 » 書 » 經

» 1000 line 22 » Wu Khiu-kien *read* Wu-khiu Kien

» 1050 note 1 » Domestic Rituals » Rituals for Family Life

» 1062 line 6 » among *read* under

» 1089 » 7 » 440—441 *read* 439—440

» 1100 » 13 » stipulated » prescribed

» 1146 after line 18 *add* Moreover, even the birth of grandees of the highest ranks is promoted among the offspring of the buried man if such a stag is carved in his sepulchral tablet, it being stated already in the Histories

of the fifth century, that »the Celestial Stag, an animal »with a pure soul, appears when the course of conduct »of Rulers is perfect" 天鹿者純靈之獸也、王者道備則至. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 29, l. 40.

Page 1173 line 10 *omit* Revised
» » note 7 *for Shuh read Suh*
» 1175 » 1 *omit* Revised
» 1211 » 37 *for Ling-yen men read Ling-ngen men*

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